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HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the present Time,



Vol. III,



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CREATION to the prefent Time,

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III Lack

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the Empires, Kingdoms, and States; their Revo-LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the Progress of their Learn-ING, Arts, Sciences, Commerce and Trade;

Together with

Their Chronology, Antiquities, Public Buildings, and Curiosities of Nature and Art.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Efq; JOHN GRAY, Efq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

Nec facundia deseret bunc, nec lucidus ordo.

Hor.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

BOOK VII.

The GRECIAN History.

CHAP. IX.

The History of the Grecian states in Asia Minor; namely,
IONIA, EOLIS, and DORIS.

TONIA, so called from the Ionians its inhabitants, was The bounded on the north by Eolia, on the west by the Egean boundaries and Icarian seas, on the south by Caria, and on the east ries of by Lydia and part of Caria. It lies between 37 and 40 Ionia. degrees of north latitude, but its longitude cannot be determined, there being great disagreement among authors as to

the boundaries of the inland country.

Among the chief cities of *Ionia* was *Phocæa*, fituated on the fea-coast between *Cuma* and *Smyrna*, not far from the *Hermus*. It was, in former times, one of the most wealthy and powerful cities in all *Asia*; but is now a poor beggarly village, tho' the fee of a bishop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus* informs us, expert mariners, and the first among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of 50 oars. They are said to have founded pretty early several cities on the coasts and in the islands of *Europe*, namely, *Velia* in *Italy*, *Alalia*, or rather *Aleria*, in *Corsica*, *Marseilles* in *France*, &c. Neither were they unacquainted with *Spain*, where some of them arriving in the time of *Cyrus* the Great, were treated with great kindness Vol. III.

A GENERAL HISTORY

by Arganthonius king of the country about Cadiz, who invited

them to fettle in his kingdom.

The Phoceans retire to Corfica. Not long after, Harpagus, one of the generals of Cyrus, befieging their city, and reducing them to great extremities, they put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects, on b ard several vessels, and conveyed them safe to the island of Chios. Their design was to purchase the Oenessian islands from the Chians; but they not caring to have them so near, lest they should engross all the trade to themselves, they put to sea again, and having retaken Phocaea by surprize, put all the Per-

fians they found in it to the fword.

As they expected the Persans would resent such inhuman proceedings, they reimbarked with all expedition, uttering most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, and binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return, they proceeded to Corfica. However, the Persians offering a general pardon to fuch as had been concerned in the massacre, above one half of the fleet broke thro' all their engagements, and returned to Phocaa. The remaining part fettling at Cornea, infested the neighbouring seas with pyracies, and ravaged the coasts of Italy, Gaul, and Carthage for several years. The Carthaginians and Tyrrbenians, with an united fleet of 120 fail, refolved to drive them from Corfica; but the Phocaeans, engaging them in the sea of Sardinia, put them to slight. As their vicfory had cost them very dear, 40 of their ships being sunk, and most of the rest disabled, they abandoned the island, and retired with their wives and children to Rhegium. Soon after they left that place and fettled in OEnotria, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrbenian sea, over-against Velia. Those who returned home lived in subjection either to the Persians or tyrants of their own.

They retire to Rhegium.

Various fate of Phocæa.

In the Roman times the city of Phocæa sided with Antiochus the Great; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered by the Roman general, but allowed to be governed by its own laws. They also assisted Aristonicus, brother to Attalus, against the Romans; which so displeased the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the Phocæans utterly rooted out. The Marislians, a Phocæan colony, interposing, with much difficulty asswaged the anger of the senate. Pompey declared Phocæa a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the first emperors it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all Asa Minor*.

Smyrna.

Smyrna, by the Turks called Ismyr, is situated on the Ishmus of the Ionian peninsula, at the bottom of a bay to which it gives name, and is at present one of the largest and richest cities of the Levant. In process of time Smyrna was united to

^{*} Strab. 1. xiv. Pausan. 1. vii. Mela. 1. i. Plin. 1. v. Herod. 1. i. & iv. Marcellin. 1. xv. Justin. 1. xhii. & xxxvii. Liv. dec. 4. 1. vii.

the famous Ionian league by means of the Ephesians. Herodotus and Valerius Paterculus reckon it among the cities of Æolis. The Ionians, afterwards destroying it, claimed the ground on which it stood, and all the neighbouring country. It must have been soon after rebuilt, for it is said to have been a samous empory in the time of Homer, whither merchants reforted from all parts. The city having been destroyed by the Lydians, the Smyrnæans lived for about 400 years in villages. Antigonus at length began to rebuild the city, and Lysimachus put the last hand to the work. This new city, which according to Strabo was built about twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city had stood, became in a short time one of the most populous and wealthy of all Afia, as is plain from feveral inscriptions, in which it is stiled, The metropolis, the first and chief city of Asia, the ornament of Ionia, &c. There are still to be feen many vestiges of the antient grandeur of Smyrna, namely, of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in Asia, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. a description of which our readers will find in Le Brun, Tournefort, Spon and other mo-The walls of Smyrna were washed by the dern travellers. Meles, a river of great note; for Homer is faid to have been born near its banks, whence he was called Melefigena. Smyrna was at the height of its grandeur under the Roman emperors, who diffinguished it with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities in Afia, Ephefus alone excepted. The Smyrnæans, on the other hand, continued ever faithful to the Romans, and are faid to have been the first in Asia that honoured Rome under the title of Rome the goddess, with a temple, priests, and facrifices, which they did while Carthage was at the highest pitch of its glory. Smyrna, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes, is still one of the richest and most populous cities of the east; its convenient harbour and situation having saved it from undergoing the same fate, which most of the famous cities of Asia have suffered. It was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Revelations; and is the only one that still remains in any reputation. Smyrna, as we have faid, belonged first to the Æolians, but it was taken from them by the Ionians in the following manner. While the Smyrneans were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of Bacchus without the walls, some refugees from Colophon, an Ionian city, who had been kindly received by them, thut the gates and feized on the city. The Æolians being all alarmed, hastened to the affistance of their countrymen; but the Colophonians being supported by the other cities of Ionia, an accommodation was agreed to. whereby it was stipulated, that the Ionians should restore to the Smyrnicans all their effects, and the Æolians, on their part. should quit their claim to the city; which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve Ionian cities, the Smyrneans being distributed among the other eleven, and allowed to enjoy the fame privileges as the Ionians. It was afterwards taken by Alyattes king of Lydia, and Harpagus, one of the generals of Cyrus, brought

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brought it and the other cities of *Ionia* under the *Persian* yoke. The *Smyrnæans* are said to have followed their pleasures, and lived in great luxury; but, what seldom happens, were at the

fame time brave and courageous *.

Clazo-

Clazomenæ, now Vourla, as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve Ionian cities, and of great note in the flourishing times of Greece. The antient city, as Paulanias informs us, flood on the continent; but the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of Cræsus, and furrender of Sardis, that they abandoned it, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built another city of the fame name, which Alexander the Great joined to the continent by a causway 250 paces long. The Romans always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, and often quarreled with the princes of Asia on their account. Augustus, on some medals, is stiled the founder of Clazomenæ, because he repaired and embellished the city; but it was without doubt founded by the Ionians. The Clazomenians held out against the Lydians, but became subject to the Persians in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Alexander reinstated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were enlarged by the Romans, whom they affifted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erythræ, one of the twelve Ionian cities, was feated, according to Strabo, on a peninsula over against the islands called by the antients Hippi. It had a spacious harbour called Cyssus, and a temple of Hercules, which was reckoned one of the most

stately edifices in all Afia.

Teos was likewise another of the twelve cities, and was situated on the south side of the Ionian peninsula. It was the native city of Anacreon the poet, and Hecatæus the historian. The inhabitants, being grievously oppressed by the Persians, abandoned their native country and settled in the city of Abdera in Thrace, which Timsus of Clazomenæ had sounded. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation; for in the Roman times the city of Teos was of some note, and well peopled. The Teians enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of Lebedus.

Lebedus, another of the confiderable cities, stood on the isthmus of the Ionian peninfula, over-against Smyrna. Lysimachus utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to Ephe-sus; but upon his death they returned and rebuilt their city,

which however never afterwards made any figure.

Colophon, now Altobosco, or as others will have it, Belvedere, was one of the chief cities of the Ionian league, and was seated on the coast. Lysimachus destroyed it; but after his death it was rebuilt in a more convenient situation. It was one of the seven cities that claimed the honour of the birth of Homer,

Erythræ.

Teos.

Lebedus.

Colophon.

^{*} Strabo. l. xiv. Vell. Paterc. l. i. Herodot. l, i. Plin. l. v. Pausan. Achaic. c. 5. Aristid. in Smyrnæ encomio.

who lived there some time. The small town of Notium, often mentioned by Livy, belonged to the Colophonians, and was by the Romans allowed to enjoy the same privileges as Colophon itself.

Ephelus, called by the present inhabitants Aiasalone, was in Ephelus. former times the metropolis of all Asia. Pliny stiles it the ornament of Asia, and Strabo, the greatest and most frequented empory of that continent; but at prefent it is only a forry village, inhabited by 30 or 40 Greek families. The antient city flood about 50 miles fouth of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Cayster. It was in antient times known by the names of Alopes, Ortygia, Morges, Smyrna, Trachæa, Samornion, and Ptela. It was called Ephesus, according to Heraclides, from the Greek word ephefus, fignifying permission, because Hercules, he says, permitted the Amazons to live and build a city in that place. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the Roman times was the metropolis of all Afia, acknowleded Lyfimachus for its founder; for that prince having caused the antient city to be demolished, rebuilt, at a vast expence, a new one in a place more convenient. This new Ephelus was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, but by that emperor repaired and adorned with feveral stately buildings. The Cayster was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe station for ships, but is now almost choaked up with fand.

The chief ornament of *Ephefus* was the famous temple of The tem-Diana, built at the common charge of all the states in *Afia*; ple of and for its structure, size, and furniture, accounted among the Diana.

and for its structure, fize, and furniture, accounted among the Diana. wonders of the world. This great edifice was fituate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh. Philo Byzantius tells us, that in making drains or vaults for carrying off the water that came down the hill, they used such a quantity of stone, as almost emptied all the quarries in the country. Above these conduits or sewers was built the temple; and to fecure the foundation, they laid beds of charcoal well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, or according to Pliny 400, were spent in building this wonderful temple by all Asia. It was 425 feet in length, and 200 in breadth, supported by 127 marble pillars 70 feet high, of which 27 were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of so many kings, and the most eminent architects and sculptors of antiquity were employed in The temple enjoyed the privilege of an afylum, the building. which at first extended to a furlong, tho' doubled afterwards; but Tiberius, to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, revoked them all, and declared, that no man guilty of any wicked or dishonest action should escape justice, tho' he fled to the altar itself. The priests who officiated in this temple were held in great effeem, and trusted with the care of the sacred virgins or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. All the Ionians reforted yearly to Ephesus with their wives and children, where they solemnized

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Diana of the Ephefians. the festival of Diana with great pomp and magnificence, making, on that occasion, rich offerings to the goddess and her priests. The great Diana of the Ephesians, as she was stilled by her blind adorers, was, according to Pliny, (l. xix.) a small statue of ebony, made by one Canitia, the commonly believed to have been sent down from Heaven by Jupiter. This statue was first placed in a niche, which 'tis said the Amazons caused to be made in the trunk of an elm. The first temple was burnt by Erostratus on the same day that Alexander was born; and the second is supposed to have been destroyed in consequence of an edict of Constantine.

Tyrants of Ephefus.

The Ionians first settled under the conduct of Androclus at Ephefus, having driven out the antient inhabitants. It was at first governed by Androclus and his descendants, who assumed the royal title, and exercised the regal authority over the new colony; whence his posterity, even in Strabo's time, were stiled kings, and allowed to wear a scarlet robe, with a sceptre. When the kingly government was changed into an aristocracy, cannot be ascertained; but this last government continued till the time of Pythagoras, who lived before Cyrus the Great, and was a most cruel and inhuman tyrant. Having driven out the fenate, and usurped the supreme power, he filled the city with blood, not sparing even those who fled to the temple of Diana Cræsus king of Lydia made himself master of the for thelter. city during the government of Pindarus the successor of Pythagoras, and nephew to Crafus; but in regard of the goddess he treated the Ephefans with great kindness, and restored them to their former liberty. The other tyrants of Ephelus mentioned in history, are Athenagoras, Comas, Aristarchus and Hegesias, which last was driven out by Alexander. In the war between Mithridates and the Romans, they fided with the former, and massacred all the Romans that resided in their city; for which they were severely, punished by Sylla, who afterwards, however, treated them kindly, and fuffered them to live according to their own laws. They were mightily given to superstition, forcery, and curious arts, as the Scripture stiles them; whence came the proverb, Ephefian letters, fignifying all forts of fpells or charms.

Priene.

Priese was one of the antient cities of Ionia, and the birthplace of Bias, one of the seven wise men. It is reckoned by all

geographers, except Ptolemy, a maritime city.

Miletus.

Miletus, now Palataschia, was formerly a city of great note, and stood on the south side of the river Mæander, near the sea-coast. Pliny mentions the antient and new Miletus; the former being built by the inhabitants of Crete, and the latter, according to Strabo, by Neleus, the son of Codrus king of Athens. The Milesians applied themselves very early to navigation, having sounded, according to Pliny, so, according to Seneca, 380 colonies in different parts of the world. The city was famous for a temple and oracle of Apollo, surnamed Didymæus. This temple being burnt by Xerxes, the Milesians rebuilt it to such

Many colonies founded by the M lesians.

In the time of Darius Hystaspes, Miletus was accounted the Domestic ornament of Ionia, tho' it had been strongly afflicted with do- troubles mestic troubles for two generations before. The different fac- in Miletus. tions chusing the Parians for arbitrators, they surveyed the whole country of the Milesians, which was in great part uncultivated; and wrote down the names of those few whose lands they obferved were well kept. Then calling an affembly of the Milefians, they put the government into the hands of those whose lands they had found in good condition, judging that they would administer the public affairs with the same care as they had bestowed on their own.

In he time of Psammitichus king of Egypt, the Milesians settled a colony in that country. The flourishing condition of Miletus, in those days, may be judged from the long and expensive wars which they maintained against Gyges, Ardyes, Sadyattes, and Alyattes, kings of Lydia, without being affifted by any of the Ionians except the Chians. After the defeat of Craelus, Cyrus the Great admitted the Milesians alone of all the Ionians, to an alliance with him on the terms of their former agreement with the Lydians. By this indulgence Miletus flourished above all the cities of Ionia, till it fell into the hands of Hyfliaus and Aristagoras, who by their revolt brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all Ionia; for the Persians having laid Miletus in ashes, transferred the inhabitants first to Susa, and Miletus then to Ampæ, a city near the mouth of the Tigris. The Per-ruined by hans referved to themselves the land round the ruined city, but the Perbestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the Carians of Pe- hans. dicis. However, the Milesians, being suffered afterwards to return, rebuilt their city; but they never afterwards recovered The Miletheir former power. Eight years before the Peloponnefian war, fan rehaving a dispute with the Samians about the sovereignty of build their Priene, they received affiftance from the Athenians; in return city. for which service they declared for them in the Peloponnesian war, till they were persuaded by Alcibiades, then in banishment, to join the Lacedemonians.

When Cyrus the Younger revolted against his brother Artaxerxes, they declared for the young prince; but Tissaphernes, governor of that province, having timely notice of ther defign, reduced their city to a miserable state of slavery. Alexander, tho' they did not submit to him till reduced to the last extremities, nevertheless restored them to their antient liberties. By the Romans they were treated very kindly, and fuffered to enjoy their freedom, especially under the emperors. The Milefians, like the other states of Ionia, were often reduced to a B 4

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Tyrants of miserable slavery by tyrants of their own. Thoas and Damase-Miletus. nor, who first usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, filled the city with blood and slaughter. Their successor Thra-sybulus, they of a tyrannical disposition, was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of Greece courted his friendship, and governed themselves by his advice. Upon the death of Thrasybulus, several other tyrants rose up, the chief of whom were Hystiaus and Aristagoras. In the time of Antiochus II. king of Syria, we read of one Timarchus reigning in Miletus, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince,

whom the Milesians, on that account, honoured with the name of Theos or God.

The boundaries of Æolis.

On the north of Ionia lay Æolis, so called from the Æolians who settled in this part of Asia. According to Strabo, this country extended from the promontory Lectus to the river Hermus, and contained the following cities, Cyme, Larissa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cylla, Notium, Ægiroesso, Pitane, Ægea, Myrina, and in more antient times Smyrna. Cyme stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of Æolis towards Ionia. Larissa, which Strabo places between Achaum and Colon, belonged properly to Treas, which province in former times was comprehended in Æolis. Neontichus lay near the sea-coast, among those Holians who were called Apodoti. Tenus, or Temnos, is placed by all geographers, except Pliny, in the inland parts of Æolis. Cylla was a colony of the Eolians on the sea-coast of Mysia, Notium stood on the sea-side, about two miles from Colophon. Pitane stood near the mouth of the river Caicus. Ægæa was an inland city; and Myrina, the most antient city of all Æolis, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. To these Pliny, Strabo, and Mela, add Grinium, famous for a temple and grove of Apollo, and Elaa, which was the port of Pergamus, and the birth-place of Zeno the philosopher.

Doris, properly so called, was that large promontory of Caria, which runs into the sea over against the island of Telos. The capital city of this country was Halicarnassus, famous for the magnificent tomb built by Artemisia in honour of her husband Mausolus, and for being the native city of the celebrated historians Herodotus and Dionysius, and of the poets Heraclitus and Callimachus. It was reckoned one of the strongest cities of Asia, but is now an heap of ruins. Cnidus, Lindus, Jabysus,

and Camirus, were likewise cities of the Dorians.

The first migration of the Greeks into these provinces of Asia, is said by all chronologers, except Eusebius, to have happened 140 years after the taking of Troy. The Eolic migration preceded the Ionic about 52 years, and that of the Dorians was near 70 years later than the Ionic.

The Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms; but the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was

The government of the Afiatic

Greeks.

Descrip-

tion of

Doris.

fettled in almost all the Greek cities of Afia Minor, each of them being independant of the other, and governed folely by its own laws. However, in most of these states, some private citizens advanced themselves to the supreme power, by cabal, treachery, and violence; facrificing to their own fecurity all whom merit, rank, or zeal for public liberty, rendered obnoxious to them. The Ionians, while they inhabited the Peloponnese, being divided into twelve cantons, still kept up the same divisions when they came into Asia. To their cities, which we have already mentioned, Thycydides adds the cities of the islands of Lemnos and Imbros; and Velleius, those of Delos, Paros, Andros, and Tenos, which, he fays, were all peopled by the Ionians. As they brought no women with them out of Greece, they forced those of Caria away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations who opposed them. In revenge of this cruelty, the Carian women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as facred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names. The Ionians having established themselves in Asia, were soon joined by new adventurers from Greece. The Abantes came hither from Eubæa, and the Mynian Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, and Molossians, with the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and several others were, as Herodotus informs us, intermixed with the Athenians, who were fent by the Prytanæan council.

The Dorians, on their arrival in Asia, formed themselves into fix independant states, which were confined within the narrow bounds of the fix following cities, Lindus, Jalysus, Camirus, Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus. There were other cities in their territory; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine Dorians, were admitted into their temple at Triope, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of Apollo Triopius.

The *Eolian* confederacy was also formed of several small independent states or cantons. They possessed at first twelve cities, but *Smyrna*, as we have related, was taken from them by the *Ionians*. The *Eolians*, besides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of *Lesbos*,

one in Tenedos, and another in the 100 islands.

The religion and laws of the Greek colonies in Asia, were Their remuch the same with those of Greece. Their principal deities ligion, were Geres, Apollo, Diana, and Neptune. The Ionians, who laws, &c. came from Athens, celebrated every fifth year the mysteries of Geres Eleusina; and the Milesians worshiped Apollo Didynæus as their tutelary god. An annual feast was celebrated by the Ionians in honour of Diana Triclaria; to appease whose wrath for an incest committed in her temple, men and women used to walk baresooted to it.

The trade of the Asiatic Greeks was doubtless very extensive, Their as they had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and their countrade. try was stocked with many useful commodities, abounding also in all things necessary for life. We know that they were very

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powerful by fea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in Gaul and beyond the pillars of Hercules. They foon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people. They are faid to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or deserts. The Æolians and Darians being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so foon debauched as the Ionians, and were accounted no way inferior to the European Greeks till they were subdued by the Persians, when they gave themselves up to sloth, and in a short time became no less effeminate than the other Asiatics.

Their hiftory. mit to Crafus.

Are conque ed by Cyrus.

The Greek colonies in Asia were first subdued by Graefus king of Lydia, to whom they paid a yearly tribute, furnishing him They sub- also with ships and mariners in time of war, and with landforces when required. Having enjoyed a profound tranquility under his mild government, they therefore refused the advantageous proposals made them by Cyrus when he first invaded Lydia; but Cræsus being deseated, and Sardis taken, they sent ambaffadors to the conqueror, with offers of fubmiffion on the terms they had enjoyed under Cræsus. Cyrus answered them by the following fable: "A piper feeing many sholes of fish in "the fea, and imagining he might entice them on shore by his " music, began to play; but finding his hopes disappointed, he " threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he faw the fish leaping on the ground, "he said, since you would not dance to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all." The ambassadors returning with this answer, the Greeks immediately repaired the fortifications of their cities, and fent to folicite fuccours from the Lacedemonians. The Spartans could not be prevailed on to lend them any affistance, but sent some of their chief men to Asia to interpose their good offices with Cyrus. The chief of this embaffy repairing to Sardis, told Cyrus, that if he committed any hostilities against the Grecian cities, the republic of Lacedemon would refent them as offered to herfelf. Cyrus, enquiring of those about him who the Lacedemonians were, and what number of men they could bring into the field, answered the deputy, that he was no way afraid of a people who, in the midit of their cities, had a place of public refort, (meaning their market-places) where they met to impose on each other by mutual deceits; and that if the gods preferved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the Afiatics. Returning foon after to Persia, he charged Mazares, one of his lieutenants, with the reduction of Holis, Doris, and Ionia. Mazares dying after he had reduced fome places, was succeeded in the command by Harpagus, who obliged the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians to Submit. The Phocaens and Teians, indeed, chose rather to abandon their country; and the Milefians, by a voluntary submission, obtained the same terms from Cyrus

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Cyfus as had formerly been granted them by Cræsus. The Greeks in the Asiatic islands, struck with the rapidity of the Persian conquests, all submitted of their own accord, and were reduced to a state of greater dependancy and subjection than they had ever felt before. In the reign of Darius Hystaspes they made an attempt towards the recovery of their antient liberty; but after a fix years war, were again brought under subjection, and punished with great severity.

When Xerxes invaded Greece, the Ionians affifted him with They join 100 thips; but Themistocles, the Athenian commander, conjec- Xerses in turing that the Ionians served in the expedition against their his expewill, left inscriptions on the rocks on the shores of Eubæa, to dition the following purpose: " Men of Ionia, you are guilty of a against "heinous crime, in fighting against your fathers: resolve, Grece. "therefore, to come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, "withdraw your forces from the enemy: but if both of these " are impracticable, favour us at least when we come to an en-" gagement." The Ionians having read these inscriptions, refolved to comply with them; and accordingly when the two fleets engaged at Salamis, instead of falling upon the Athenians, they tacked about and made to sea, which contributed not a little to the defeat of the Persians. The same stratagem was used by Leotychides, the commander of the Greek fleet, before the battle of Mycale; in confequence of which he gained a fignal victory over the Persians, who, in the heat of the engagement, were deferted by their Greek auxiliaries, and even at-

The Asiatic Greeks having thus a second time openly revolted They refrom the Persians, the Lacedemonians were for transplanting volt from them out of Asia into Greece, to which they themselves seemed the Persinclined, well knowing that the Persians would not easily for-sians, give their proceedings. The Athenians, however, persuaded them to remain in Asia, promising faithfully to assist them on all occasions to the utmost of their power. Several years after, upon the conclusion of the peace between the Greeks and Persians, one of the articles swern to by both parties was, that all

the Greek states of Asia should be made free.

The Ionians then entered into an alliance with the Athenians, The Athenians who came by degrees to treat them as subjects rather than alnians treat lies, obliging them to contribute to all the charge of the Pelothem as a ponnessan war. In the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, we find conquered them again subject to the Persians, and governed by Tissaphernes, people. from whom they revolted to Cyrus the Younger. Cyrus being Their vasiain at the battle of Cunaxa, and Tissaphernes about to return to his government, they implored the assistance and protection of the Lacedemonians, who, laying hold of this opportunity of breaking with the Persians, first sent Thimbro, after him Dercyllidas, and lastly Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia. Darius, being unable to oppose the arms of the Lacedemonians in Asia, rekindled the war in Greece, which obliged the Spartans to recal their king, and conclude a peace with the

Perfians,

Persians, equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Grecian name; for all the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Cyprus and Clazomenæ, were then declared subject to the Persians. Several years after, they were delivered from the Persian yoke by Alexander the Great, who restored them to their antient liberties.

After the death of Alexander, they fell under the power of the kings of Syria, and continued subject to them, till the Romans obliged Antiochus the Great to grant the Asiatic Greeks the fame liberty which they had procured for the Greek states in Europe. Many years afterwards, finding the Romans to be very burdensome and oppressive friends, they joined Mithridates king of Pontus against them, and at his desire massacred all the Romans and Italians in their country. Being soon weary of his tyrannical government, upon Sylla's arrival in Asia, almost all of them declared for the Romans; upon which the king, to prevent a general defection, pronounced them all free, granting freedom even to the flaves. Sylla, having foon reduced all the Leffer Asia, revenged on the Asiatics the death of so many thoufand Romans, whom they had inhumanly murdered. He deprived them of their liberty, and obliged them to pay, as a fine, no less than 3,875,000 l. sterling; for the raising of which they were forced to fell not only their moveables, but even a great part of their lands *. The Asiatic Greeks never after this recovered their antient splendor, notwithstanding the favour shewn them by many of the emperors.



APPENDIX to the GRECIAN History;

Giving an account of the famous retreat of the 10,000 GREEKS, under the conduct of the great XENOPHON.

The Greeks propose to return to Lonia.

THE day after the battle fought at Cunaxa near Babylon, the Greek auxiliaries, who had marched thither in the army of Cyrus, hearing that he was flain in the engagement, fent deputies to Ariæus, the general of the barbarians, to offer him, as victors, the crown of Persia, in the room of Cyrus. Ariæus declining their offer, and declaring that he intended to march immediately back into Ionia, the Greeks joined him, under the command of Clearchus; and swearing an alliance with him, he promised to conduct the army without fraud. Ariæus did not think proper to return by the same route they came; because having found nothing for their subsistence

^{*} Appian. in Mithridat. & Plut. in Syl.

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the last seventeen days of their march, they must have suffered much more, had they taken the same way back again. Having exhorted them to make long marches at first, in order to evade the king's pursuit, he set out on his return; but towards evening, when they were about to halt, the enemy appeared in The Greeks next morning by day-break drew up in or- Are opder of battle to oppose the Persians, who seeing their formidable appearance, fent heralds to them, to propose peace and posed by a treaty. Clearchus, after making the heralds wait a little, advanced to them with the most shewy of his officers, and having fians. heard their proposals, made answer, that they must begin with giving battle; because the army being in want of provisions, had no time to lofe. The heralds, foon returning, told him, that they had orders to conduct his troops to villages where they would find provisions in abundance; and conducted them thither accordingly. Meanwhile Tissaphernes, accompanied with feveral Persian grandees, came to their camp, and told the generals, that he had used his good offices with the king for leave to reconduct them to their own country, being convinced that neither they themselves, nor their cities, would ever be unmindful of that favour. On the third day after he came again Tiffapherto the camp, and having told them, that he had at length ob-nes contained the king's grace for them, he concluded a treaty with cludes a them, on the following conditions: That the Greeks should treaty meet with no obstacle on their return, and should be supplied with with provisions, or suffered to buy them: that they should not commit any them. disorders on their march, and should only take what was necessary. He then withdrew to dispose his affairs, promising to return as foon as possible. The Greeks waited for him above twenty days; They are and Arians, who in the mean time was frequently visited by his doubtful relations, beginning to cool in his affection towards the Greek of his officers, they began to be alarmed, and urged Clearchus to fidelity. march off without delay. Clearchus answered them, that to depart without confulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war, by violating the treaty; that they would be abandoned by Ariæus, and would be without a conductor in a ftrange country, where no body would supply them with provisions.

Tissaphernes, however, arriving at last with some troops, they They fet out on their return, Ariaus encamping with the barbarians, march and the Greeks separately, at some distance, which kept up a thro' the continual distrust among them. After three days march, they wall of arrived at the wall of Media, which was 100 feet high, twenty Media, bebroad, and twenty leagues in extent, all built of bricks ce-ing conmented with bitumen. When they had passed it, they marched ducted by eight leagues in two days, and after having croffed two of the Tiffaphercanals of the Tigris, cut for watering the country, they passed ness. that river upon a bridge of twenty-feven boats near Sittace, a very great and populous city. After four days march, they arrived at another very powerful city, called Opis; and from thence, having passed the desarts of Media, they came, after a

A GENERAL HISTORY

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march of fix days, to a place called the lands of Parysatis, the revenues of which belonged to that princess. Tissaphernes, to infult the memory of her fon Cyrus, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march along the east fide of the Tigris thro' the defart, they arrived at Cona, a very great and rich city, and from thence they proceeded to the river Zabates.

The occasions of distrust increasing every day between the

Greeks and barbarians, Clearchus thought it incumbent on him

lealoufy between the two camps.

The

Greek

generals

treache-

Saphernes.

to come to an explanation, once for all, with Tiffaphernes, who feemed willing, in the most fincere manner, to fatisfy him; and declared, that if he would bring his officers to his camp, he would shew him those who had been the instruments of the disgust. Clearchus having supped with Tissaphernes, next day proposed to the assembly to wait upon him with his officers. Some objected that it did not confift with prudence to rely implicitly upon the professions of a barbarian; but Clearchus insisting upon what he had moved, it was agreed that he and four generals, with twenty captains, should go to the Persian camp, and that roully cut off by Tif. 200 foldiers should go with them, under pretence of buying provisions. The five commanders, when they arrived at the tent of Tissaphernes, were suffered to enter; but the captains remained without at the door, and upon a fignal given, were put to the fword. The generals within were feized and fent to

The army encou-

the king, who caused their heads to be struck off. The Greek troops, upon hearing of the perfidy of the Perfians, who, besides basely murdering their officers, had interraged by cepted and cut off some of their stragglers, were in the ut-Xenophon, most consternation. They saw themselves without a general, five or fix hundred leagues from Greece, furrounded with enemies and great rivers, without any supplies of provisions. this extreme difficulty, Xenophon, by his fingular eloquence, not only inspired the desponding Greeks with fresh courage, but persuaded them to form the resolution of forcing their retreat. What enhances his merit on this occasion is, that he had till then ferved only as a volunteer, and without any commission or command, and was, as is commonly supposed, under 30 years who, with of age. Having urged the officers immediately to nominate new generals, he and four others were accordingly chosen to that

others, are dignity. declared generals.

These new generals, having affembled the army about daybreak, made speeches to animate the troops; and Xenophon among the rest. "Fellow-soldiers (said he) the loss of so many brave men, by vile treachery, is very deplorable; " but we must not fink under our misfortunes, and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuse rather to perish gloriously than to " fall into the hands of barbarians. Let us call to mind the 4 late battle of Cunaxa, and the glorious victories of Platea, " Marathon, and Salamis, with many others gained by our art-" cestors, over the numerous armies of the Persians. " gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's

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breach of faith, will be favourable to us. Let us confider " in what manner we may march with the greatest security, " and, if necessary, fight with the greatest advantage. First of " all, I think we ought to burn all our useless baggage, and "keep only what is absolutely necessary in our march. One " fuccessful victory will indemnify us: for both the conquered " and what belongs to them will be ours of course. That the " loss of our able generals may be supplied, it will be abso-" lutely necessary that the present commanders be more cautious "and vigilant, and the foldiers be more obedient and submif-" five, and that you should all agree to affift the officers to pu-" nish the stubborn and disobedient." The soldiers lifting up They retheir hands to fignify their consent to all that had been faid, Xe- folve to nophon concluded his speech with regulating the order of their force their

The foldiers having burnt their carriages, tents, and fuperfluous baggage, fat down to dinner before they should begin their march. Meanwhile, Mithridates, who had ferved in the army of Cyrus, came from the Persian camp, and, pretending great friendship for the Greeks, asked their design, and told them, that if they were upon any falutary expedient, he would join them with all his men. Being informed that they proposed a retreat into their own country, he endeavoured to perfuade them, that fuch an enterprize would be impracticable: but his arguments having no weight with them, he retired, having inveigled an Arcadian captain, with twenty of his men, to defert to the Perfians. The Greeks, therefore, refolved that they would never admit of any farther treaty or parley with the Persians, till they were got out of their dominions. As foon as they had dined, they began their march, in the form of a great hollow fquare, with the baggage in the centre. Cheirisophus the Lacedemonian had the vanguard, the two eldest generals the right and left, and Timasion with Xenophon had the charge of the rear, as the youngest officers.

In the first day's march they were so greatly harassed by the They are enemy, that they only advanced 25 stades. As the Grecian harassed bows did not carry fo far as those of the Persians, who attacked by the them, Kenophon made a fally from the main body, upon which Perfians, the enemy retired. Cheirisophus, however, when they halted, took the liberty of reproving him, for venturing to leave the main body. Xenophon confessed that he had acted imprudently; but added, that they had reason to thank the gods, that the enemy, instead of doing them any harm, had only shewed them what they still wanted, to secure their retreat. He then proposed to pick some horses from among their baggage, and form them into a body of cavalry, and also to arm the Rhodians who were among them, and some others, with slings. Two who are hundred accordingly lifted themselves among the slingers, and repulsed 50 of them were mounted and provided with cuirasses; so that by Xens. next day when Mithridates, at the head of 1000 horse and 400 phon. archers, attempted to harafs their rear, they were unexpect-

The Per-

fians still

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A GENERAL HISTORY

edly attacked and put to flight. In the pursuit the Persians lost many of their foot, and about 18 of their horse; and the Greeks, to create the greater horror in the enemy, mangled the bodies

of the flain.

Having thus put the enemy to flight, they continued their march, and came, in the evening, to the banks of the Tigris. where stood a large uninhabited city called Larissa, two leagues The next day, after a march of fix leagues, they in circuit. came to an old uninhabited castle, which stood near the town of Mespila, formerly inhabited by the Medes. On the next day they marched four paralangs, during which Mithridates appeared at the head of his own cavalry, with a great number of other forces, some of which he disposed against the Grecian rear, and others against their flanks. These troops contenting themselves with making a discharge of their darts and stones, the Rhodians and Cretans, who were much more expert at their bows and flings, let fly whole vollies at them with fuch fuccefs, that the Persians were glad to retire out of their reach, and allow them to pursue their march without disturbance. The Greeks having halted two days to supply themselves with provisions, and with lead and bow-strings, all which they happily found in the villages where they were stationed, on the third day continued their march; but having found the inconveniency of retreating in the form of a hollow square in the face of an enemy, from the unevenness of the ground, hedges, and other obstacles, they altered their disposition, and draughted off a body of troops, who formed a column behind the main body.

They made four marches according to this disposition, without meeting with any thing worth notice; but on the fifth day, as they marched over feveral hills, they were greatly annoyed by the archers and flingers of the enemy, whilft those of the Greeks, not having room to extend themselves, were prevented from acting. The Persian satraps, according to their usual discipline, drove their troops on towards the enemy, and if the Greeks offered to advance towards them, they immediately retreated out of their reach, and as foon as those had rejoined their main body, they fet upon them afresh. The Greeks having marched over three of the hills, encamped at a village where the governor of the province kept his magazines of provisions. Here they halted three days, not only to get themselves a fresh supply, but likewise to take care of their wounded, of whom many, being so maimed as not to be able to march, were carried by their companions. On the sourth day, as they descended into the next plain, being overtaken by Tissaphernes, they encamped at the first village they came to, and quickly repulsed the Persians, who not daring to attack them in their posts retired, and fixed their station at the usual distance of 60 stades from their camp, for fear of being surprised

by them in the dead of the night.

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Four days after, the Persians again appeared on an eminence which commanded the road, thro' which the Greeks must pass. Xenophon then coming to the front, and observing that there was a passage to the top of the hill above the enemy's post, offered to Cheirisophus to go himself and dislodge them. Having formed a body of targeteers, he immediately attempted the The Perascent with such swiftness, that both armies began to shout, sans each endeavouring to gain the top before the other. While driven Kenophon was encouraging his men, a Sicyonian peevishly told from a him, that he spoke at his ease being on horseback, while he strong post was quite foundered with lugging his shield. Xenophon imme- by Xenodiately leaped from his horse, and taking the shield in his phon. hand, moved with double speed up the hill; which so exasperated the others against the Sicyonian, that they loaded him with ill language, and made him take up his shield again. The Greeks had no fooner gained the top, than they beheld the cowardly Tiffaphernes and Ariaus turning out of the road, and marching off with the utmost speed. Cheirisophus, at the same time, led his army down into the plain, where he found plenty of all things; but some of his troops venturing too far after plunder, were killed by the Persians.

The Greeks arriving at length at the Tigris, consulted whe- The Greeks ther it was practicable to pass over the river. Being soon con-uncertain vinced that it would be impossible for them to execute that de- how to fign, they resolved to take a quite contrary road from that steer their they had come, and to burn all the villages they left behind, courfe. to discourage the enemy from pursuing them. The prisoners, whom they examined, told them, that the fouth road, thro' which they had come, led to Media and Babylon; that the east road led to Susa and Echatan; that the western, which lay over the Tygris, led to Lydia and Ionia; and the northern, which was over high mountains, led to the country of the Carduchi, a warlike and unconquered people, which had once defeated a Persian army of 120,000 men. The prisoners added, that having got over those barbarous countries, they would enter Armenia, where they might either ford the Tygris, or march round its spring-head, and from thence continue their route which way they pleased. They determined to take the nor- They take thern road; and that they might gain the neighbouring moun- the nortains before the enemy could feize them, they began their thern march in the night, Xenophon bringing up the rear with the road. heavy armed troops, as there was then little danger on that

The Carduchi no sooner perceived the Greeks than they be- The Cartook themselves to slight, and gave them a fair opportunity of duchi sly supplying themselves with provisions. The Greeks slattering from themselves that they would obtain a friendly passage thro' their them. country, as both were enemies to the Persians, called after them, and by the tone of their voice and gestures, endeavoured to bring them to a friendly parley. Finding them, however, deaf to all their invitations and motions, they encamped in VOL. III.

The Greeks afterwards haraffed by them.

fome of their villages, but took only fuch things as they needed. Towards evening, some loose bands of the Carduchi began to affault their rear, which after fuftaining some loss, arrived at the camp. The Carduchi made fires all round them upon the mountains, and both fides spent the night in watching each other.

The officers of the Greeks beginning to find what a dangerous talk it would be to open themselves a way thro' a country fo craggy and mountainous, and a people fo fout and fierce, refolved, in a council of war, to leave behind them all their fuperfluous baggage, horfes, flaves and prisoners, which only ferved to clog and retard their march. This regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, fometimes fighting and fornetimes halting. The Carduchi did as much excell the Greeks in the use and strength of their bows, as these did the Persans. As they knew the passes of the country, and no shield was proof against their arrows, they terri-Xenopion's bly annoyed the Greeks, particularly the rear guard under Xerear suffer nophon, who was one day abandoned by Cheirisophus, and lost by them. two of his bravest officers. It being necessary to seize a craggy eminence which was held by the enemy, 2000 volunteers un-

dertook the enterprize; and being conducted by a prisoner, they surprized the enemy, and drove them down the precipices. Having then given a fignal to their friends, the light armed troops removed towards them by different ways, some of which were fo craggy and fleep, that those who were above were forced to draw the rest up with their pikes. Xenophon and his heavy armed rear and fumpter horses, were obliged to take a greater circuit, which greatly exposed them to the enemy, who rolled down great stones upon them. Next day the Greeks, with much difficulty, gained three other eminences which were abandoned by the barbarians, who now refolved to harafs their In the attack that enfued, many brave Greek officers loft their lives in defence of their post; and the enemy having afterwards stationed themselves on an opposite eminence, Xenophon then treated with them by an interpreter, and demanded his dead from them; to which they confented, on condition that that he would not burn their villages. The Greeks at length. after a fatiguing and dangerous march of feven days thro' the most dreadful rocks, hills and dales, and haraffed all that time by the barbarians, arrived at a most delightful plain, where they found many fine houses to quarter in, and such a great plenty of provisions, especially of wine, that the inhabitants delightful had filled their cifterns with it. Tho' they were now in view of the Armenian plains, yet their march thither was interrupted by the river Centrites, which is 200 feet wide, and falls into a lake of a vast extent. However, after they arrived at its banks, they halted to refresh themselves, thinking their dangers at an end; but next morning they were alarmed at the fight of an army of horse and foot drawn up on the other fide of the river to oppose their passage. They nevertheless a.tempted

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attempted to ford the river, but found it impracticable, many of them being carried down by the current. The troops being again feized with despondency, Xenophon encouraged them by the interpretation of a dream which he had dreamed the night before. About the same time two young soldiers coming to him, told him, that while they had gone a little way to gather fome firing, they had ventured to try the depth of the river, and had passed it, the water not rising above their mid-The army accordingly croffed the river at this ford, where the banks were inaccessable to the enemy's horse. Carduchi made an attempt to cut off the rear under the command of Xenophon; but some of the troops that had passed first again entering the river, and discharging a shower of arrows and leaden bullets upon them, they retired. The Greeks, af- They enter passing the river, marched five parasangs, or more than four ter Armeleagues, and halted at a town where was a flately palace be-ia. longing to a fatrap, most of the other houses being adorned with turrets. In five days more, having marched 25 parafangs, and got above the head of the Tigris, they came to the river Teleboas, which tho' not large, had many handsome villages along its banks, where they found plenty of provisions. This country was called the western Armenia, and was governed by Tiribazus, a fatrap in such favour with the king, that, when prefent, he was the only person allowed to help him to mount his horse. He offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the foldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition they should commit no ravages; which proposal being accepted, was folemnly ratified by both parties.

The three following days, having marched 15 parafangs, They are they were incommoded by a deep fnow, and were informed, incomthat Tiribazus and the Persans intended to attack them at a moded by certain pass of the mountains. On this intelligence they re- a deep folved to encamp close together; but so great a quantity of snow. fnow had fallen in the night, that the foldiers and fumpter horses were so benumbed with cold, that they could hardly be got upon their feet. Xenophon took a hatchet, and being imitated by the rest, they cut down large boughs from the trees. and having made many fires, anointed themselves with such oils and drugs as they could get. Their vigour being restored. they advanced against the Persians, who intended to secure the pass, and having routed them, proceeded over the mountain thro' very deep fnows, which did not a little obstruct their march. Having passed the defile, they made three days marches thro' a defart, and came near the head of the Euphrates, which they forded with ease, advancing afterwards 15 parasangs thro' deep fnows. During this march, they fuffered greatly from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration; fo that it was thought necessary to facrifice to the north wind, upon which it feemed to abate. As they marched in Men and fnow a fathom deep, and the cold was extremely intense, many beasts beof their flaves and horses died, besides 30 soldiers, and many numbed,

others,

others, thro' weakness and want of spirits, dropped down on the ground; but by the care of Xenophon, who brought them refreshments, they recovered. While Cheirisophus, who led the van, quartered his troops in a village, Xenophon, who could not come up with him, was obliged to encamp in the open air, without fire or victuals; so that many of his men died with hunger and cold, and the rest were quite exhausted and spiritless. Some of them lost their fight by the glaring of the snow, and others their hands and feet by the coldness of it. But the greatest of all their evils, was their being dejected and quite spiritless, infomuch that several of them laid themselves down by the fide of a fountain, where the fnow was melted round, and protested that they would stir no farther but die there. Xenophon earnestly entreated them to follow the army, and told them, that the enemy was just at hand, a detachment of whom had actually surprized some of their horses and baggage; but all they answered was, that their lives were at his disposal, and that he might kill them if he pleased; for they were not able to go on.

The army in great. distrefs,

but at lieved.

A difference betwixt Cheirifaphus and Xenophon.

Having successfully repulsed the barbarians, he returned again to the fick men, and promifed that they should have fome relief by the next morning. Before he had moved half a mile forward, he found other fick men in the same dismal plight, lying on the fnow starved with cold and hunger, and without any guard. He affisted these; and as the vanguard did not move forward, the next day he fent fome troops from thence, who brought up the fick, then very numerous, and by that means reunited the whole army; which foon after arrived at feveral villages, where they found plenty of all provisions, length re- and spent seven whole days in such feasting and jollity, as they thought made them ample amends for all their fatigues and hardships. The houses were built under ground, with an opening at the top like a well, thro' which the descent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found in those villages sheep, goats, cows, poultry, with wheat, barley, and pulse. For drink, there was beer, which was very strong, when not mixed with water. Xenophon, having by his fingular mo-deration and generofity, gained the affection of the bailiff of the village, that officer not only discovered to him a large referve of wine hid under ground, but presented some very fine horses to the officers, and engaged likewise to be their guide till they arrived at another nation. After he had conducted them three days thro' an uninhabited plain, Cheirisophus struck him for not leading them to fome villages; whereupon he difappeared that very night. This ill treatment of the bailiff, caused a great difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon; tho' probably the only one they had during their march. Their late guide taught them to fasten hurdles to their horses feet to prevent their finking in the fnow, as before they had been almost up to their girth at every step. After

After a route of feven days, in which they marched 35 parafangs, they croffed the Phasis, which is generally supposed to be the Araxes, and proceeding ten paralangs, they perceived an high mountain before them, the passage over which was guarded by troops, whom they found afterwards to be Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. A council of war being affembled, it was refolved, by Xenophon's advice, not to attempt to force the enemy; but to endeavour, by ftealing a march, to pass the mountain in some other part. A detachment of their troops accordingly feized an eminence above the place where the enemy was stationed; but they resolving, nevertheless, to oppose the Greeks, an engagement enfued, in which the barbarians were defeated.

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The Greeks having passed the mountains, entered the coun-The try of the Toachians, who to defend themselves, retired with Greeks entheir effects to rocks and precipices. One of these, with much ter the difficulty, the Greeks made themselves masters of. The bar-country of barians then flung themselves down headlong with such fury, the Toathat one *Eneas*, shocked at the dreadful spectacle, and endea-chians. youring to stop one of these furious creatures from following the rest, was dragged himself down the precipice and dashed in pieces. The Greeks having carried off a great number of sheep, oxen, and asses, entered the country of the Chalybians, and in feven days marched upwards of 47 leagues. ple were the most fierce and warlike of all the barbarians; and being equally able to engage the Greeks on the plains as on the mountains, they followed them close, and terribly annoyed them in their march. At the end of feven days, the troops passed the river Harpagus, which was 400 feet wide; and four days after they arrived at some villages, where they got some provisions. In a few days more, having reached a large and well-inhabited city called Gymnias, from thence they were conducted by the governor of the country thro' the territories of his enemies, which at his defire they laid waste with fire and fword. On the fifth day they arrived at a high mountain Come in called Teches, where as foon as the vanguard had gained the top, view of and had got in full view of the fea, they fet up fuch shouts, the fea. as made Xenophon and his rear-guard conclude that they had been attacked by the enemy. As Xenophon and his troops advanced with the defign of fuccouring their companions, they heard them distinctly crying out, the fea! the fea! which quickly filled them with joy and gaiety. When they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, the fea! the fea! whilft they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and Then without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms. Having dismissed their guide with considerable presents, they advanced into the country of the Macronians, who were perfuaded to enter into a treaty with them, and conducted them in three days to the Cholchian mountains. The

Chol-

They ar- Cholchians had posted themselves on a mountain to oppose the rive at the Greeks; but being vigorously attacked by them, were soon Cholchian driven from their station and dispersed; which gave the troops an opportunity of encamping in feveral villages full of all forts mounof provisions. tains.

A strange effect of honey.

A very strange accident happened here to the army, which put them into great consternation. The foldiers finding great plenty of honey of exquisite talte and flavour, eat of it in such quantities, that they were all feized with a strange giddiness. Some who had eaten only a little of it, wallowed on the ground like drunken men; while others who had eaten more largely, were feized with a kind of phrenzy, infomuch that the ground round their camp feemed like a field of battle covered with dying men; every fymptom appearing mortal to those who beheld them. In about 24 hours, however, they recovered their fenses, the dangerous symptoms generally venting themselves in a violent vomiting and purging; which weakened them fo much, that for feveral days they could hardly stand upon their feet. Having at length recovered their strength, they arrived, They ar- after a march of three days, at Trebisond, on the south coast of the Euxine sea, and found themselves at length in a place of Trebisond. fafety, after their long and glorious march. Here the Greek chiefs made it one of their first cares to pay their thanks and vows to the gods, to whom they ascribed all their surprising suc-The gymnic games which fucceeded their facrifices, augmented the joy as well as magnificence of the folemnity.

rive at

They propose to by fea.

The diversions and feastings being over, the chiefs called a general affembly, in order to deliberate which way they should fleer next; when an old foldier flood up, and told them, that their route he earnestly wished to take the advantage of the sea and to fail home. This proposal being universally approved, Cheirisophus next offered to go to his friend Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, and to prevail with him to fend them back with a fufficient number of transports. They all applauded him, and accepted his offer; and as foon as he was gone, by Xenophon's advice, they made feveral inroads into the neighbouring countries, in order to supply the army with necessaries till his return. Xenophon regulated the manner in which these incursions should be made, and also advised them to secure all the ships that should arrive at Trebifond, that in case the transports brought by Cheirisophus should not be sufficient, they might be supplied with others. He, at the same time, sent orders to the maritime cities that lay on the fouthern shore, that the Greek army would shortly march through their territories, and that if the roads proved good, they would the fooner leave their country. This precaution he took, left the army should be obliged at length to return by land. Soon after, one half of the army marched under the command of Xenophon against the Drillians. curfion proved very unsuccessful; for the with great difficulty the Greeks made themselves masters of one of their chief cities, yet finding it an impregnable citadel, they were obliged to retire.

tire, and were greatly haraffed by the enemy in their retreat, returning to their camp with very little booty, and some loss of men.

Cheirisophus not returning, and the ships they had secured They dinot being sufficient to transport them, they put on board the vide their vessels all the soldiers and women that were sick and wounded, army, and the remainder took their march along the sea-coast. After three days march, arriving at Cerasus, a colony of the Sinopians, they disposed of their slaves, and made a distribution of the money to the men; after deducting a tenth part for an offering to the Delphic Apollo and the Ephesian Diana. Their little sleet also stopping here, they reviewed the remainder of their army, and sound, that of between 10 or 11,000 men, of which it consisted when they accompanied Cyrus, they had still 8000 left, after all the disasters that had befallen them, and

all the fatigues they had undergone.

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· After a stay of ten days, they again proceeded, one part by fea and the other by land. The army arriving at length at the confines of the Mosynæcians, a very herce and warlike people, entered into a treaty with them; and as they were then at war with some of their neighbours, affisted them in taking a frong city from the enemy, in which they found great plenty of provisions. Having well refreshed themselves, they delivered the city to the Mosynæcians, and proceeded on their march, finding most of the other towns abandoned or ready to fur-These stood at the distance of about two miles from each other; yet so hollow and mountainous was the country, that they could call from one to the other and be heard. The Greeks, after eight days march thro' this country, the inhabitants of which were very favage and brutal, came into the territories of the Chalybians. From thence, croffing the country of the Tibarenians, who in token of hospitality met them with presents, they arrived at the city of Cotyora, where they staid They arno less than forty days. They had now travelled in their re-rive at treat from the field of battle at Cunaxa to this city in 122 Cotyora. marches, 620 parasangs, or 1800 stades, in about eight months.

The Cotyorans at first refused admittance to their sick, or to furnish their army with provisions. The Greeks, however, seizing one of the gates, conducted their sick into the place, and made no scruple to ravage their territories. This produced an The Sino-angry embassly from the Sinopians, who threatned to revenge tians comthe injury done to their colony at Cotyora; but Xenophon reprepalin senting that the Cotyorans, by their inhospitality, had drawn the against hostilities on themselves, and shewing that it was in his power them, even to injure the Sinopians by joining the Paphlagonians against them, the ambassadors changed their tone, and entered into but are rean alliance with him. Soon after, at his request, they pro-conciled mised to surnish the army with ships for their passage to Hera- to them.

clea by fea.

During the absence of the deputies, who were sent with this proposal to Sinope, Xenophon formed a design of establishing a

Greek colony on the Euxine coast of his targeteers, archers and flingers. He, in the first place, defired the augur Silanus to consult the gods about his defign; but he, who made a fordid trade of his office, and was in hafte to return with the wealth he had acquired to Greece, instead of consulting the gods, betrayed the whole fecret to the Greek army. This discovery occasioned no small disturbance among the troops; but Xenophon, by his reasoning and eloquence, justified himself, and restored a mutual harmony among them.

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Not long after, the promised vessels from Heraclea and Sinope arriving, the troops embarked, and fet fail with a favourable wind. Anchoring next day at Harmene, not far from Sinope, they received from the inhabitants a prefent of wine and 3000 measures of flour, and were joined by Cheirisophus, who brought

only a few gallies.

Diffenarmy.

The foldiers, now finding themselves not far from Greece, fions in the defired to return home with some more booty than they had with them; and with this view refolved to nominate a general with full authority. They accordingly offered that dignity to Xenophon; but he, being afraid lest any thing should happen that might fully all his former glory, modestly refused it, and advised them to chuse a Lacedemonian for their general, that the Spartan state, which then ruled in Greece, might be difposed to support them. This reason was not relished, and they pressed him again to accept of the command; when he was obliged to tell them, that having confulted the gods, upon the offer they had made him, it appeared that they did not approve of their choice. They then proceeded to elect Cheirisophus for their general, who gladly accepted of the command. Having again set sail, they passed the mouths of the rivers Thermodon, Halys, Parthenius, &c. and landed in the peninsula called Acherusia, near the city of Heraclea. Being now very eager after plunder, and also very headstrong and ungovernable, they sent four subalterns, contrary to all the remonstrances of Cheirisophus, to demand 10,000 cyzicens, or about 9000 !. sterling, from the Heracleans; who outwitted the deputies, and instantly put their city in a state of defence. Upon the return of the subalterns, the army was filled with mutiny and uproar, and treated all their chiefs with the bitterest invectives, Xenophon particularly, as the main obstructors of their wealth and glory.

The Acheans and Arcadians presently after abandoning Cheirisophus, chose ten chiefs of their own nation, and embarked by themselves, to the number of about 4500 men; and landing at Calpe, between Heraclea and Byzantium, began to plunder the Afiatic Thrace. The Thracians foon affembling in great numbers, furrounded them on all fides, and in frequent skirmishes cut off great numbers of them, so that the rest were obliged to fue for an accommodation, which was even refused them. The remaining part of the army had also divided, one part marching by land under Cheirisophus, and others embarking with Xenophon, who landing on the confines of Thrace, was informed

The Acharans and Arcadians depart by themfelves.

and are terribly harrassed.

by some prisoners of the distress of the Arcadians. He immediately marched to their relief; but before he arrived at the place where they were belieged, the Thracians, who had notice of his approach, fled, and the Arcadians had returned towards Xenophon immediately marched thither, and arrived foon They are after them, Cheirisophus not long after joining him with 2000 relieved men. The army being thus happily reunited, nothing was by Xeno-feen for a while but the most hearty congratulations on all phon. hands; and the next day it was unanimously agreed, that whoever, for the future, proposed to divide the army, should be put to death. Cheirisophus dying by a medicine he took in a

fever, Neon the Asmean was chosen to succeed him.

Some divisions soon arose again among the troops, one party New diproposing, tho' contrary to the admonitions of the diviners, to visions make incursions in fearch of provisions, and another arguing among the strenuously for obeying the admonitions of the gods. Neon, the troops. new general, favoured the former, and caused proclamation to be made, that those who had a mind might go in quest of pro-Two thousand men accordingly went out of the camp with a guide; but a detachment of horse being sent against them by Pharnabazus governor of Phrygia, 500 of them were flain, and the rest driven to a hill. Xenophon hearing of their The are misfortune, marched to their relief, and had the good fortune attacked to bring them back to the camp, which at night was alarmed by the by the Bythinians, who killed feveral of the out-guards. The Phrygians Greeks, next morning, chose another camp, which they forti- and Perfied with palifadoes and a trench, and two days after Xenophon fians. marched out with almost all the troops against the enemy, whom, tho' very numerous, and joined by a body of Persian cavalry, he routed and dispersed. Having buried those who were flain a few days before, the Greeks erected a trophy, and returned to their camp, which was about nine miles distance. The barbarians now not venturing to make any opposition, the Greeks plundered the country, and conveyed an immense booty and plenty of provisions to their camp. As they had been Fresh difinformed that Cleander, governor of Byzantium, had promifed turbances to come with a fleet to carry them off, they waited impatiently in the for his arrival. When he came, they were greatly disappoint- army, ed; for he brought with him only two gallies, and had in his company one Dexippus, a public pyrate, who had lately carried off a fifty oared galley from Trebisond. Cleander committed the plunder to his charge, which foon occasioned new difturbances in the army; fo that at last the soldiers began to vent their rage against Dexippus, by throwing stones at him, and calling him many opprobrious names. Xenophon did his utmost to appeale the tumult; but foreseeing the ill consequence of exasperating Cleander, who, as governor of Byzantium, took upon him the whole cognizance of the affair, he fummoned the army together, and in a speech set before them the danger of letting him depart in anger, feeing the Lacedemonians, who now were malters of all Greece, had it in their power to shut up all the

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Grecian cities against them. Agastas, and some others who had been concerned in affronting Dexippus, accordingly went and fubmitted themselves to the decision of Cleander, who at first assumed an air of resentment; but being softened by the intercession of Xenophon, he released them, and offered sacrifices for the happy return of the army to Greece, affuring them, that when they arrived at Byzantium, he would treat them with the utmost hospitality. After his departure, the army, in a few days arrived at Chrysopolis, a small city on the east side of the Thracian Bosphorus, where they staid feven days to fell the booty which they had got in Bythinia.

They arrive at Byzantium.

Shut out zantines.

Having passed the Bosphorus, they were with difficulty admitted into Byzantium, Pharnabazus, before their arrival, having prejudiced the Lacedemonians against them, and urged them to fend them off directly to Greece. The Lacedemonians had even promised to take them into their pay; yet they persuaded them, under a pretence of reviewing them, to march out of their city, and then shut the gates against them, advising them of the city to proceed to Greece. The army immediately refented this inby the By-fult, and re-entering the city by force, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, they expecting to be treated as enemies. Xenophon dreading the confequences of their plundering that metropolis, affembled the foldiers with the utmost diligence, and by an elegant and pathetic discourse, disfuaded them from their intention. By his advice they deputed proper officers to the Spartan admiral, to declare that they did not intend any hostilities, but expected only the fulfilling of his promifes. He answered, that they should have no cause to repent their fubmission; and the affair being accommodated, they left Byzantium, Anaxibius ordering proclamation to be made, that if any foldier should be found tarrying in the city, he should be fold for a flave.

The army, foon after their departure from Byzantium, sepaseparates, rated, some embarking in merchant vessels, and arriving safe at and Xeno- their respective homes, whilst others entered themselves into phonenters foreign service. Of these last was Xenophon, who entered into into the the service of Seuthes king of Thrace, with as many of his service of men as were willing to follow him. This prince, instead of fulfilling the promises he had made to him, even wanted to of Thrace. rob him and his troops of all the spoils they had brought from Persia. Xenophon warmly reproached him with his breach of faith; and passing over to Lampsacus with his troops, who amounted to near 6000 men, he joined Thimbro the Lacedemonian, who was fent against Tisjaphernes and Pharnabazus. On his arrival at Lampfacus, Xenophon was congratulated on his fafe return by the Phliasan priest Euclides, who took the liberty to ask him, how much gold he had brought with him? Xenophon readily answered him with an oath, that he had not enough left to carry him home, unless he fold his horse and equipage; and he was foon after obliged to fell his horse for 50 Daries.

His poverty.

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The troops from Lampfacus proceeded to Pergamus, a city in Mylia, and from thence to Parthenium, where Xenophon, with a detachment of 600 men, took a rich Persian satrap prisoner, with his wife, children, horses, and all his riches. By this booty, he not only enriched himself, but his troops; and Thimbro foon after arriving, he left the army with a defign to spend the remainder of his days in folitude and privacy. As the city of Athens had banished him for serving under Cyrus, he followed, for some time, the famed Agefilaus king of Sparta, and was treated by him with all the marks of efteem and friendship. Having ferved fome campaigns under him, he retired to the city Retires to Sciluns, where he wrote his history and philosophical works, a private Thus ended this noble expedition, which our author concludes life. in the following words: "The whole of the way, both of the " expedition and retreat, confifted of 215 days march, of 1155 " parasangs, and of 34,650 stades; and the whole time employ-" ed in both was a year and three months *."



BOOK VIII.

The History of SICILY.

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CHAP. I.

The history of the island of Sicily, till it was reduced by the Romans.

HIS large and fruitful island was antiently called Sica-The nia and Sicilia, from the Sicani and Siculi; and Trina-name of cria, or Triquetra, from its triangular figure, form-Sicily. ed by three famous promontories, Pælorum, Pachynum, and Lilybæum. The first, now called by the natives Capo di Faro, faces Italy, from which it is divided by the straits of Messina. These straits are, according to Pliny, Strabo, and other geographers, between 12 and 15 miles in the broadest place, and in the narrowest about a mile and a half. From this nar-

^{*} Xenop. Anabas, Hutchins. & Spelman. not. in Xenoph. Forster, &c.

rowness, some of the antients concluded, that Sicily was origi. nally joined to the continent of Italy by an isthmus, which in process of time was worn away by the fury of the waves and the violence of earthquakes; tho' others treat this account as a fabulous tradition*. The famous Scylla and Charibdis, so much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the straits. The former is a rock on the coast of Italy, and the latter a whirlpool on the fide of Sicily. In antient times, the passage between these two was very dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the tides, which are very irregular, and sometimes rush in with fuch violence, that ships riding at anchor are in danger. The promontory Pachynum, now known by the name of Capo Passaro, faces Greece; and Lilybæum, now called Capo di Marsella, or Capo di Boeo, lies over-against Afric. Ælian, Pliny, Solinus, and Valerius Maximus tell us, that one named Strabo had fuch an extraordinary fight, that from a watch-tower at Lilybæum he discovered a fleet sailing out of the port of Carthage, and remarked their bigness and number; tho' Carthage is distant from the coast of Sicily 180 miles.

north latitude. Its greatest length is 200 miles, and its greatest

breadth 180. It has been always greatly noted for its fertility,

and was antiently called the granary of Rome. One of the

most remarkable cities on the eastern coast is Messana, situated

on the straits. Its antient name was Zancle, and it is faid to

have been founded 530 years before the fiege of Troy, and 964

before Romulus laid the foundation of Rome. The Messenians,

from the Peloponnese, having afterwards settled in this city,

changed its name to Messene, or Messana. According to Strabo

and Thucydides, these Messenians came to the assistance of the

Zancleans, and were received by them as friends; but according to Paufanias, they, in-conjunction with the inhabitants of

Rhegium, took possession of the city by force. The Mamertini

afterwards feizing the city, and making it their capital, it be-

Sicily extends from 35 deg. 40 min. to the 38 deg. 30 min. of

Situation. Oc.

Cities. Meffana.

Taurominium.

Catana.

came very rich and powerful. About 35 miles fouth from Messana stood Taurominium, so called from the river Taurominius, which watered the city. It is now called Taormina, and is still a place of some consideration.

Further fouthward stood Catana, on the gulf of the Ionian It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of Chalcis, and continued in great splendor for many ages; but at last it underwent the same fate as most of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount Ætna, having been in great part confumed by the eruptions of that mountain. About the 76th Olympiad, according to Strabo, the city was rebuilt by Hiero, who expelled the antient inhabitants, and named the place Ætna; but upon his death, the exiles again recovered the possession of it.

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^{*} Mela, l. i. c. 2. Strab. l. v. Plin. l. iv. c. 6.

Leontini stood about 5 miles distance from the coast, 10 from Leontini. Catana, and 20 from Syracuse. It was built by the Chalcidians under the conduct of Theocles the Athenian, in the first year of the 13th Olympiad. At a small distance from this city was a lake about 20 miles in compass, and abounding in sish. The air was deemed very unwholesome, owing to the vapours arising from the marches overslowed by the lake; but the fields were so fruitful, that, according to Pliny, they yielded 100 fold; and the wines it produced were thought the most delicious of the whole island.

The Sicani built the city of Hybla, but were expelled by a Megaris, colony of Greeks from Megara, who called the place by the or Hybla. name of their native city. There were two other cities named

Hybla in the inland parts of Sicily.

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About twenty miles fouth from Hybla stood Syracuse, once Syracus. the metropolis of all Sicily, and a most flourishing commonwealth. It was built, according to Thucydides and Strabo, by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came into Sicily in the fecond year of the 11th Olympiad. Its walls were 18 miles in compass, and enclosed four very considerable cities united into one. These were Acradina, Tyche, Neapolis, and the island of Ortygia. In Acradina, the largest of the four, there was a vast square surrounded with porticoes, a magnificent temple dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, and several other buildings which were reckoned master-pieces of architecture. The chief ornaments of Tyche were a spacious and beautiful gymnasium, and feveral temples, particularly that of Fortune, by the Greeks called Tyche, greatly admired for their inimitable structure. The third quarter, called the island, was joined to Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis by a bridge; and in this part were the palace of Hiero, and two magnificent temples. The chief ornaments of Neapolis, or the new city, were a spacious amphitheatre, two beautiful temples, and a statue of Apollo Tempites, afterwards carried to Rome.

Of these four cities, Ortygia alone is now remaining. The ruins still left of the other three, are described at length by Fazellus. Near the city stood a steep hill called Epipola, in which was the samous prison called Latonia, or the Quarries. This dreadful prison was a cave 125 paces long, and 20 soot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of Dionysius the tyrant, who caused those to be shut up in it who had the missortune to incur his displeasure. The whole city was enclosed with a treble wall, so slanked with towers and castles at proper distances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours, separated only by the island. The great harbour was above 3000 paces in circumference, and the entrance of it 500 paces wide. Dionysius the Younger, who governed this city, kept in constant pay 100,000 foot and

^{*} Cicer. Act. vi, in Verr.

10,000 horse, beside a fleet of 400 sail. It is still a very considerable place, and well peopled.

Camarina.

Camarina, on the fouthern coast, was another considerable city of Sicily, tho' nothing now remains of it but some ruins.

Gela.

Next to Camarina stood Gela, a city once of great note, said by Thucydides to have been founded by a body of Rhodians, who were afterwards expelled by some Cretans. This city is commonly thought to have stood at the mouth of the Gela, where Terra Nova now stands.

Agrigen-

Agrigentum, or Agragas, was once a city of great note, and no less famous for its buildings than Syracuse itself. It stood between the rivers Agragas and Ilypsa, and is said by Thucydides to have been founded about the 50th Olympiad by the inhabitants of Gela. Its walls, Polybius tells us, were built upon an inaccessible rock; and it was covered on both sides by two rivers, being defended on the east by a fortress built on a precipice. Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples, greatly commended by the antients*.

About twenty miles west from Agrigentum stood Heraclea Minoa, so called, according to Diodorus, because built by Minos king of Crete. Some relate, that the city was built before the Cretans arrived in Sicily, and was called Macara. The Cretans were driven out by the Selinuntii, and these by a colony of the Lacedemonians under the command of one of the He-

raclidæ, from whom it borrowed the name Heraclea.

Selinus is ranked by the antients among the chief cities of Sicily. Strabo tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of Megara in Sicily, about 100 years after the foundation of their own city. The city borrowed its name from the river Selinus, and the river from the great quantity of smallage, called in the

Greek Selinon, which grew on its banks.

The first city that lay on the coast opposite to Italy, was Lilybæum, which gave name to the cape, and was, according to Tully, one of the strongest and most considerable cities of Sicily. Tho' it was standing in Strabo's time, there is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of some aqueducts and temples. The city Marsella, whence the cape is now calle Capo di Marsella, is supposed to have been built out of its ruins.

Drepanum, now Trapani, was so called from the Greek word Drepanos, a scythe, such being the shape of the shore on which it stood. It was antiently a famous mart, with a safe harbour, and was fortified by Hamilear the sather of Hannibal, who made

it the feat of war against the Romans.

Eryx stood on the top of an hill of the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and was generally noted for a samous temple of Venus, whose son Eryx is said to have been killed there by Hercules.

Heraclea Minoa.

Selinus.

Lilybæum.

Eryx.

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Not far from mount Eryx stood Segesta, called also Egesta; Segesta. and fometimes Acesta. According to an antient tradition it was built by Encas, when he was driven by a storm on the coast of Sicily. Some say it was built by Egestus, or, as Virgil calls him, Acestes, before Eneas came into Italy; and others are of opinion, that it was founded by one Elymus a Trojan. It was watered by two rivers, named by the Trojans Scamander and Simois, in memory of those in their native country.

Panormus, now Palermo, and the capital of Sicily, was built Panormus. by the Phænicians some time before the arrival of any Greeks in the island. In the neighbourhood of this city stood antiently a strong fortress, called Ereta, which was also the name of the

hill now called Monte Pelegrino.

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About 20 miles east from Panormus stood Himera, founded Himera. by the inhabitants of Messina, and utterly ruined by the Carthaginians. It was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans; and Tully speaks of it as one of the most considerably cities in Sicily. In the reign of Augustus it was made a Roman colony, as appears from fome medals.

Further east on this coast stood Alasa and Agathyrna, both con- Alasa and fiderable cities, but now destroyed. The first, it is supposed, Agathyrstood near the present city Caronia, on the river Alasus, and na. the other at a small distance from the promontory, which the Sicilians call Capo d'Orlando. Among the inland cities the fol-

lowing are the most remarkable.

Adranum, now Aderno, at the foot of mount Ætna, built, Adranum, according to Diodorus, by Dionysius the Elder. It was famous for the temple of Adranus, the tutelary god of the Siculi, whither the inhabitants of the island and foreigners slocked at stated times of the year to make their offerings. Ælian tells us, that 1000 large mastiffs were constantly kept here, and that they fawned on those who brought presents to the temple, and conducted drunken persons home in the night, while they fell furiously on thieves and tore them in pieces.

Enna stood on an eminence in the middle of Sicily, whence Enna, it was called the navel of Sicily. It was one of the strongest places in the island, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful foil, and many lakes and fprings which watered its territory. Ceres, it is faid, was born in this diffrict, and first taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. The rape of Proserpine by Pluto, Diodorus fays, also happened near Enna, while the young goddess was gathering flowers among the mea-This opinion prevailing among the Enneans, they shewed a large cavern which, they believed, opened itself to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. The Sicilians, on this account, worshiped these two divinities, and Gelo erected a magnificent temple to Ceres in this city.

Engyum was, according to Cicero, one of the most consider- Engyum. able cities of Sicily. It stood near mount Maurus, now Mandonia, was founded by the Cretans, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*; in which were lodged javelins and brazen helmets that had been consecrated by Meriones and Ulysses

to certain goddesses called Mothers, who are said to have ap-

peared from time to time.

Mountains. Æina. The most remarkable mountain in Sicily is Ætna, now Mongibello. It is the highest in Sicily, and samous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often destroyed the country to a great distance. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle shaded with woods, and the top covered with snow great part of the year, notwithstanding the slames and hot cinders it frequently throws up. The antients supposed that this mountain was the prison of the giants who rebelled against Jupiter; and also, that Vulcan and the Cyclops here employed themselves in forging thunderbolts. On this last account they erected on the hill a temple to Vulcan, in which was kept, as Ælian informs us, a perpetual fire. Next to Ætna in height and compass is mount Eryx.

The principal rivers were the Terius, now La Tavetta; the Himera, now called the Salso, on account of the brakish taste

of its waters; the Halycus, now Il Platara, &c.

The Æolian islands.

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Rivers.

Off the north coast of Sicily, about 40 miles distance, lay the Eolian islands, so called from Eolus, who is supposed to have reigned there. They were also called the Vulcanian islands, and by the Greeks Hephæstiades, because some of them vomited out slames like mount Aitna. The antients reckon seven of them; namely, Lipara, Hiera, Strongylæ, Euonymos, Didyme, Ericusa, and Phænicusæ. Lipara, or Lipari, the largest of these islands, is 18 miles in compass, and is the best peopled. It abounds with alum, sulphur, and bitumen, and has a fruitful soil, and many medicinal baths, which formerly were much frequented. Strongylæ, now Strombolo, is about 10 miles in compass, and very fruitful; but is frequently wasted by the slames from a burning mountain. The other islands are no ways considerable, most of them being uninhabited, and mere rocks.

The islands called Agates, or Agades, lie north of cape Lilybæum, and are three in number; namely, Phorbantia or Buccina, Agusa or Capraria, and Hiera or Maritima. Their mo-

dern names are Levenzo, Favigana, and Maretano.

The first inhabitants of Sicily are said to have been the Cyclopes and Læstrigones; but from whence they came, is uncertain. According to the poets, they were huge giants who sed on human sless, and some moderns have endeavoured to prove their large stature from the remains of some dead bodies of a gigantic size which have been sound in several parts of this island*.

The most antient inhabitants after the Cyclopes were the Sicani, who, according to several antient authors, came from a country in Spain, watered by the river Sicanus †. Diodorus, upon the authority of Timæus, who wrote the history of Sicily

+ Thucyd. I. vi. Dion. Hal. I. i. Diod. Sic. I. v. Solin. c. 10.

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^{*} Fazel. D. i. l. i. Marian Valguarrera de primis inc. Sicil.

from the earliest ages, affirms, that the Sicani were the original inhabitants of Sicily. In the time of Thucydides they still inhabited the western parts of the island, some Trojans having settled among them, and built the cities of Eryx and Egesta; some Phocenses also joined them on their return from the siege of Troy. The people called Siculi, long after came over from Ausonia in Italy, and settled in that part of the island which the Sicani had forfaken on account of the eruptions of mount Ætna. They foon began to encroach upon their neighbours; and having defeated the Sicani in a pitched battle, confined them to a corner of the island. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, on the authority of Philistus, fays, that the Siculi were originally Ligures, and being conquered by Hercules in his return from Spain, and incorporated into his army, were fettled by him in Sicily. The Phænicians also made some settlements in the island, for the conveniency of trade.

About 300 years after the arrival of the Siculi, the island began to be known to the Greeks, who, as we have already related, planted colonies on its coasts*. According to Diodorus, indeed, a colony of Cretans fettled in the island long before any other Greeks. Strabo relates, that part of the island near Mongantium, was peopled by the Morgetes, who were driven out of Italy by the Oenotrians. The Campani, who assumed the name of Mamertini, that is, invincible warriors, and the Carthaginians, who fettled very early in Sicily, may likewise be

counted among the antient inhabitants of the island.

As the works of the original authors, who have expressly The hiftreated of the affairs of Sicily, have not reached our times, the tory of the Sicilian history is very obscure and imperfect (A). Of the Le- Sicani and strigones and Cyclopes, nothing is known but the fabulous rela- Siculi. tions of the poets. Some, indeed, not without good grounds, have imagined, that the Lestrigones and the Sicani were one and the fame people +. The Sicani had at first as many kings as cities; but were in process of time brought under subjection to one prince. Of all their kings, we find only two mentioned in history; namely, Cocalus and Teutus. In the reign of Cocalus, Minos king of Crete invaded the island, and required the king to deliver up Dædalus, who had fled hither. Cocalus feeming to comply with the request of Minos, invited him to his palace, where he caused him to be stifled in a hot bath. In the reign of Teutus, the Sicani being at variance among themselves, were fubdued by Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, who took their king prisoner. The Sicani, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, fided with the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards they joined Dio-

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^{*} Thucyd. l. vi.

⁺ Reineccii hist. Jul. v. ii.

⁽A) These authors were Ti- and their works are frequently mæus, Philistus, Antiochus of Sy- cited by Diodorus and Thucyracuse, Hipys, and Theopompus; dides.

nysius, tyrant of Syracuse, against the Carthaginians; but were at last intirely subdued by the latter. Upon the conclusion of the first Punic war, they became in a manner subject to the

Romans.

According to Diodorus and Justin, Æolus was the first king of all the Siculi; and his fucceffors were Butes and Eryx. The most renowned of their princes was Ducetius, who governed with great wisdom. He built the city Palicon, so called from a temple dedicated to the gods Palici, which was held very facred, the violation of oaths taken there being, as it is faid, always attended with fudden and exemplary punishment. Having united all the Siculi, except the inhabitants of Hybla, into one body, he engaged in a war against the Syracusans, and gained several victories over them; but being at last defeated, and basely abandoned by his troops, he went and furrendered himself to the Syracusans, who granted him his life, and banished him to their mother city Corinth. After his departure, the Syracufans reduced the whole country of the Siculi, except Trinacria, their capital. The Trinacrians, however, being at length almost all flain in an engagement, the Syracusans made themselves masters of their city, razed it to the ground, fold all the men and women for flaves, and fent the spoils by way of thanksgiving to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The Siculi did not continue long subject to Syracuse; for in the war that broke out between the Syracusans and the Athenians, they affisted the latter; and not long after, when the Carthaginians declared war against Syracuse, they joined them with 28,000 men. The Carthaginians, however, beginning to act as mafters, they afterwards affisted Dionysius the Elder against them: but he being obliged to fubmit, the Carthaginians foon reduced the Siculi, tho' they at length were forced to abandon the island. We shall now give a short account of the affairs of Syracuse, the chief Greek colony in the island.

The hiftory of Syracuse.

As Athenaus and Elian mention one Polis as reigning in Syracuse in the earliest times, some have concluded that the city was first governed by kings. However, that a democracy very early prevailed, is manifest from Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, and Justin*. The transactions of the republic for 200 years, are buried in oblivion; but when Syracuse became again subject to a single person, the Syracusans began to make a considerable figure.

Gelon the first tyrant of Syracuse.

Gelon, who is reckoned their first tyrant, was born in the city of Gela, and fignalized himself in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against his neighbouring states. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, seized

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^{*} Arist. Polit. 1. v. Diod. Sic. 1. xx. Justin. 1. xxii.

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on the fovereignty for himself. Being soon afterwards put in possession of Syracuse by a faction of the Syracusans whom he had supported, he gave the government of Gela to his brother Hiero, and bent all his thoughts on the beautifying of Syracufe, and extending the limits of that state. His first care was to people it well; and therefore having destroyed the city of Camarina, and those of the Megareans, he transported the most wealthy among the inhabitants to Syracuse; but fold the common people for flaves, obliging those who purchased them to transport them out of Sicily; saying, it was more easy to govern 1000 men of substance, than one who had nothing to lofe.

Gelon having, by these means, greatly increased his power, His allithe states of Athens and Lacademon courted his friendship, and ance is invited them to enter into an alliance with them against Xerxes courted king of Persia. Tho' these states had formerly refused their by the affiftance to Gelon against the Carthaginians, he nevertheless told neightheir ambassadors, that he was so far from retaliating such an bouring ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to states. fupply them with 200 gallies, 20,000 men completely armed, 2000 horse, 2000 bowmen, 2000 slingers, 2000 light horse, and besides, to furnish the whole Greek army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. The ambaffdors rejecting this proposal with indignation, Gelon offered to be satisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army: but this

being likewise rejected, they were ordered to depart.

Soon after, Gelon hearing that Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, dispatched to Delphi one Cadmus, whom he could confide in, with rich prefents, injoining him to wait the event of a battle; and in case Xerxes should conquer, to present him with the treasure, and pay him homage in his name; but if the Greeks should get the better of the barbarians, to bring back the presents to Sicily. However, some of the Sicilian writers, as Herodotus informs us, related, that Gelon was afterwards defirous of affifting the Lacademonians; but was prevented, being obliged to guard against an invasion from the Carthaginians: for after the departure of the Greek ambassadors, he learnt, that the Carthaginians had entered into a treaty with Xerxes, to fall upon the Greeks in Sicily and Italy, to prevent them from giving any affistance to their mother country. In consequence of this alli- The Carance, the Carthaginians made immense preparations for three thaginiyears, and affembled no less than 300,000 men, with 2000 ships ans invade of war, and 3000 transports. With this formidable army Ha-Sicily, milcar failed from Carthage, and landing without opposition at Panormus, laid fiege to Himera, then governed by Theron tyrant of Agrigentum, whose daughter Gelon had married. Himera being a place of great strength, Hamilear had caused two large camps to be well fortified, lodging his land army in one, and in the other the marines with the ships, which he had caused

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by Gelon.

to be drawn on shore. Gelon drawing together an army of 50,000 foot and 5000 horse, marched with all possible expedition to the relief of his father-in-law. On his approach to Himera, he intercepted a letter, by which he was informed, that a body of horse from Selinus, proposed next day to join Hamilear, who that morning was to offer a solemn sacrifice to Neptune in the camp of the marines. On this intelligence, he ordered an equal number of his own horse to advance to the enemy's camp, as if they had been the Selinuntines; and these being admitted without the least suspicion, immediately made up to Hamiltar and flew him; after which they cut in pieces most of the marines who were attending him without arms, and then set fire to the ships. Gelon, in the mean time, attacked the other camp, who hearing of the death of their general, and feeing their fleet in a blaze, betook themselves to a precipitate flight, when no fewer than 150,000 of them were cut to pieces. The rest, for want of provisions, were soon after obliged to furrender at discretion; so that of this mighty army, the greatest that had ever been raised in those western parts, not one fingle man made his escape *.

This victory, however, is plainly represented by *Pindar* in his ode to *Hiero*, as a naval one; which account seems, in a great measure, confirmed by the Scholiast of *Pindar*, who quotes a passage from *Ephorus*, a *Sicilian* historian, to the following purpose: that *Gelon*, with a fleet of 200 ships, vanquished the *Carthaginians*; by which victory he not only saved *Sicily*, but all *Greece*. According to *Pausanias*, indeed, it would appear,

that Gelon gained a victory both by fea and land +.

After the total defeat of the enemy, Gelon amply rewarded all who had fignalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. Having offered the greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, to the gods, he shared the captives with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good. So many prisoners were taken, that all Africa, as our author says, seemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the private citizens of Agrigentum, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had 500 a-piece. The Agrigentines, on this occasion, built their samous temple, and made those conduits which were so much admired by the antients. Of the whole Carthaginian sleet, only 80 vessels escaped from Sicily; but before they reached Carthage they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat.

The Carthaginians, upon hearing of the total destruction of their fleet and army, were struck with the greatest consternation and despair, and immediately sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with Gelon. He, being moved by their entreaties, ac-

Carthage in great confernation.

^{*} Herod. 1 vii. Diod 1. xi.

[†] Pindar. Paufan. 1. vi. cordingly

cordingly granted them a peace on the following terms; namely, They ask that, they should pay 2000 talents of filver, build two temples, a peace where the articles of the treaty should be lodged and kept as from facred, and for the future abstain from offering human facri- Gelon. fices. The Carthaginians gladly accepted of this peace; and to shew their gratitude to Demarata, Gelon's wife, who had interceded in their behalf, they fent her a golden crown, which was valued at 100 talents of gold.

Gelon now refolved to pass into Greece, and to join his coun- He retrymen there against the Persians; but as he was about to em- solves to bark, a messenger from Corinth brought him the joyful news assist the of the defeat of the Persian fleet at Salamis, and of the precipitate Greeks retreat of Xerxes. He then difmissed his army, after giving each against of the foldiers some token of his favour: allowing his allies to Xerxes. return home, and quartering his mercenaries in places at a dif-

tance from Syracuse.

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Having then affembled the Syracufans in arms, he himself The peowent into the midst of them without arms or guards, and ple oblige there gave them an account of his whole conduct, declaring him to that he had never any thing else in view but the public wel- take the fare; and if he had acted amiss, it was now in their power title of The numerous affembly, affected with the king. to punish him. confidence he had reposed in them, answered only with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king; which last title they not only obliged him to accept of, but by a decree fettled the crown after his death on his two brothers Hiero and Thrasybulus. In memory also of the generous confidence he had reposed in them, they erected a flatue to him, representing him simply in the habit of a citizen. Many years after, when the statues of all their tyrants were formally tried and condemned, this statue alone was acquitted *.

Gelon, according to Diodorus, was the first man that became He studies more virtuous by his being raifed to the throne. Before his the happipower was established, he was, contrary to his natural dispo-ness of his fition, obliged to use some severity; but when the supreme au- people. thority was by the universal consent put into his hands, he made it his only study to oblige all, and to serve the public to the utmost of his power. He began with bestowing on 10,000 foreigners, who had ferved under him, all the rights and privileges of the Syracufans; by this means, both encreasing the power of the state, and rewarding the services of so many brave

He was famous for his honesty, truth, and fincerity; and is faid never to have wilfully wronged the meanest of his subjects, and never to have promifed a thing which he did not perform. One of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging Encouof agriculture. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, rages

iculture.

^{*} Diod. Sic. 1 > i. Plut. in Timol. Ælian. 1. xiii.

and took delight in employing his spare hours in working with them in the fields; his defign being not only to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and to an active hardy life; being himself a professed enemy to all luxury, pomp, and oftentation. Gelon assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the fatisfaction of procuring happiness to others, which, to a virtuous mind, is the greatest of all satisfactions. The Syracusans, he often said, could have no other defign in placing the crown upon his head, than to engage him, by fo fignal a favour, to defend the state, to preserve order in all things, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit, by his simple, modest, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil virtues. This defign he answered above any prince that had reigned before him, his whole life being taken up in promoting the worship of the gods, the observance of the laws, and the welfare of his subjects.

His death.

His reign, however, was but short; for he died of a dropsy in the 3d, or the beginning of the 4th, year after the decree of the Syracufans investing him with the supreme authority. The grief of his subjects, on account of his death, was equal to the love and esteem they had always born him. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, tho' it was above twenty miles distant from Syracuse. When fire was set to the funeral pile, a favourite dog, Pliny fays, threw himself into the flames, and was reduced to ashes. In the place where Gelon was buried, the people, in token of their gratitude and affection to him, erected a magnificent mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a furprifing height, and decreed him those honours which were then paid to the demigods or heroes *.

Hiero.

471.

Gelon was succeeded by Hiero his elder brother, who came Bef. Christ to the crown in the beginning of the 76th Olympaid. He is commended by Ælian as an excellent prince; but by Diodorus he is represented as a covetous, head-strong, and cruel tyrant. Suspecting that his brother Polyzelus, who had great interest among the citizens, defigned to drive him from the throne, he therefore suffered no Syracusan to enter his palace, and employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him. In order to get rid of Polyzelus, he resolved to send him to Italy with an army; but his brother refusing the command, the tyrant was so exasperated, that he would have put him to death, had he not, by a timely flight, faved himself in the territories of Theron the tyrant of Agrigentum, who had married his daughter. Theren refuling to deliver him up, a war broke out between him and tween the Hiero; which after lafting several years, was ended in the foltyrants of lowing manner. The inhabitants of Himera, who were oppressed by Thrasideus the son of Theron, offered privately to deand Agri- liver up their city to Hiero. He detesting their treachery, dif-

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^{*} Diod. I. xi. Plin. I. vi. c. 4. Pindar. Olymp. Plut, apog.

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covered their design to *Theron*; who out of gratitude, concluded a peace with him, on terms very advantageous to the *Syracusans*. Theron, having given *Hiero* his sister in marriage, prevailed on him to receive his brother *Polyzelus* into friendship again.

After the conclusion of this peace, Hiero drove the inhabi-Hiero extants of Catana and Naxus from their country, and in their pels the room settled a colony of Syracusans and Peloponnesians. He inhabi-incorporated the Cataneans and Naxians with the Leontines, tants of The same year he obtained a naval victory over the Hetrus-Catana cans of Tyrrhenia, who had long infested the Sicilian coasts. and Naxus

Mean while Thrasideus succeeding his father on the throne Engaged of Agrigentum, declared war against Hiero, because he had pre- in a new fumed to advise him not to oppress his subjects, but to treat war athem with humanity. Having entered the territories of Syra-gainst the cuse in an hostile manner, Hiero marched out against him; and Agrigenafter a bloody engagement, totally defeated him. He, in de-tines. spair, having abdicated the government, and laid violent hands on himself at Megara, the Agrigentines entered into an alliance with Hiero. Not long after Hiero died at Catana, and was Hiero dies. there buried with great pomp and magnificence. Authors are not agreed whether he reigned 10, or 11, or 12 years *. Before his death he fell into a lingering illness, during which his only delight was to converse with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for their instructive and entertaining conversation. Among these were Simonides, Pindar, Æschylus, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus, the greatest philosophers and poets of their age. Simonides, particularly, had a great ascendant over the king, who frequently converfed with him on philosophical subjects; and in one of their conversations, asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the Deity. Simonides asked one day to consider on the subject, and next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. When Hiero pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed that the subject was above his comprehension; and that the more he meditated upon it, he found it the more incomprehensible. Diodorus, as we have observed, gives a bad character of Hiero; but the panegyric bestowed on him by Ælian, seems confirmed by Pindar, who in his odes praises him not only for the victory he won in the Olympic games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. It is certain, that his court was a place of refort for all men of wit and learning; and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and liberality.

Hiero was succeeded by his brother Thrasybulus, a savage and Is sucbloody tyrant, who practised all forts of cruelty on his sub-ceeded by jects. All who gave him the least disgust were barbarously Thrasybumurdered; which provoked the Syracusans at length to take lus.

Bef. Chr.

^{*} Diod. Sic. l. xi. xii. Ælian, var. hift, l. xi. Arift. polit. l. v.

He governs ty-

up arms against him and declare him an enemy to his country. The tyrant, tho' he kept 15,000 mercenaries in pay, attempted at first to appeale the tumult with fair words; but finding that rannically, the incenfed citizens were not to be imposed upon, he feized two of the divisions of the city, and began hostilities against The Syracufans foliciting the affiltance of the cities of Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Himera, and several others, received fuccours from them, by which they were enabled to venture a general engagement. The tyrant being defeated, was obliged to refign his authority, and retire out of Sicily. He, accordingly, withdrew to Locros in Italy, where he led a private life, after a short reign of ten months.

out by the Syracu-Jans. A popular government established at Syracufe.

Is driven

The Syraculans having thus recovered their former liberty, unanimously decreed in a general assembly, that a statue should be erected to Jupiter the deliverer, of the fize of a colossus; and that on the anniversary of the happy day of the recovery of their liberty, folemn games should be exhibited, and 450 bulls facrificed as a thankfgiving to the gods. By another decree, the magistrates were ordered to be chosen from among the chief citizens; but the strangers made free by Gelan, were excluded from all employments of truft. The foreigners having, for fome time, in vain complained of this hardship, at last joined together to the number of 7000, and feizing on Acradina and the illand, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town. After an obstinate relistance, they were most of them cut in pieces, tho' not without great flaughter of the Syracufans. All the other Greek cities in Sicily, after the example of Syracuse, entered into an alliance against the mercenaries and foreigners, and driving them from their possessions, restored the antient proprietors.

Notwithstanding this general expulsion of the tyrants and their abettors, there remained feveral fecret well-wishers of arbitrary government, who frequently disturbed the public peace. In Syracuse, one Tyndarides attempted to assume the sovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were put to death. punishment, however, not deterring other wealthy persons introdu- from the like attempt, the Syracusans at length made a law not ced at Sy- unlike the Athenian Ostracism. By this law, which was called Petalism, from the Greek word Petalon, the names of such as they apprehended powerful enough to usurp the fovereignty, were written on leaves by the citizens; and when the leaves were counted, he who had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. The fatal effects of this law were very foon felt; for those who were most capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the administration of public affairs committed to the meanest of the people. Others, who were able to do their country great service, voluntarily retiring from the city, the republic was on the brink of ruin; which foon obliged them to repeal the law, and again to trust the reins of government to those who could manage them.

Petalism racuse.

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In the mean time Ducetius prince of the Siculi, who inhabited War bethe inland parts of the island, having taken the city of Enna by tween the
storm, advanced to Agrigentum, with the design of driving the SyracuGreeks from all the cities which had formerly been possessed by Jans and
his countrymen. The Agrigentines being defeated in a battle, Siculi.
and threatned with a siege, received a strong reinforcement
from the Syracusans, which tempted them again to take the

from the Syracyans, which tempted them again to take the field, when they were a fecond time defeated. The Syracyan general having loft almost all his troops, and being convicted of corresponding with the enemy, was put to death upon his return, and a new general appointed, who reduced all the cities of the Siculi, and obliged Ducetius to submit to the Syracyans.

The Siculi being reduced, the Syracusans in a manner gave law to the whole island, the Greek cities acknowleging them as their chiefs and protectors. Not contented with the honour of being protector, Syracuse, by degrees, began to assume the authority of a sovereign over cities that were no less free than herself, which quickly disturbed the tranquillity of the island. The Leontines being attacked by the Syracusans, on what pre-The Athe-

tence we know not, had recourse for affistance to the Atheni-nians affist ans, from whom they were originally descended. Gorgias, their the Leonambassador, was the most famous orator of his time, and is said tines ato have been the first that taught the rules of rhetoric. The gain the Athenians, who had long meditated the conquest of Sicily, tho' Syracutheir ambitious defigns had been prudently checked by Pericles, fans. were at this time mafters of the fea, and every where fuccess- Bef. Ch. ful, having many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above 10,000 talents. They were therefore fully perfuaded that they should be able to overcome the Lacedæmonians, with whom they were then at war, and at the same time reduce the island of Sicily. They accordingly, without helitation, espoused the cause of the oppressed Leontines, and sent 100 sail of ships well manned, under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias, against Syracuse. These arriving at Rhegium, were there joined by 100 other vessels from the Athenian colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Eolian* islands, and defeating the *Myleans*, and taking their city, committed great devastations in the enemy's country. The Athenians, encouraged with the fuccess of their fleet, fent other 40 ships to Sicily; but the Leontines being fenfible of their ambitious views, concluded a separate peace with the Syracusans, and were all made free of Syracuse. This peace disappointing the hopes of the Athenians, they vented their rage against the commanders in that expedition.

About ten years after broke out the most memorable war The Atherthat had ever to that time been waged in Sicily, occasioned by nians a dispute arising between the inhabitants of Egesta and Selinus, make a concerning their borders. The Egestines being defeated by the second at-Selinuntines, solicited succours from Agrigentum, Syracuse, and tempt to Carthage, without success. They then implored the assistance conquer of the Athenians, who joyfully embraced the opportunity of Sicily.

inter-Bef. Chr.

Nicias.

intermeddling in the Sicilian affairs, and fent ambaffadors to enquire into the state of the island. The Egestines, upon their arrival, borrowed from the neighbouring states a great many gold and filver veffels, which they were at pains to expose to their view; affirming, that they had wealth sufficient to defray the whole expence of the war. The Athenians, upon the return of their ambassadors, hearing of the great wealth of the Egestines, who engaged to pay the troops sent to their affistance, The Sici- immediately deliberated on the Sicilian war. Tho' Nicias, a lian expe- man of no small authority among the people, argued with great dition op- prudence against the war, and among other things shewed that it was impossible to contend with the Lacedæmonians, and at the fame time fend fo great a force as would be necessary into Sicily; yet the contrary opinion, which was supported by Alcibiades, prevailed in the affembly by a great majority. Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lammachus, were accordingly appointed to command the fleet, with full power to regulate affairs in Sicily in such a manner as they judged best for the interest of the republic.

Nicias, not daring any longer openly to oppose an expedition on which all Athens was so violently bent, thwarted it indirectly by starting a great many difficulties drawn from the vast charges that would attend the war: but all he could allege ferved only to inflame the ardour of the people, who unanimoully granted him full power to raife what forces and fit out what ships he thought necessary. As the Athenians did not make the least doubt but they should conquer the island, it was determined, in a conference betwixt the commanders and the fenate, that the Syracufans, and their allies the Selinuntines, should be fold for slaves, and the rest obliged to pay an annual

Theirfleet fails.

tribute, and live according to the laws of Athens. Next day the army, confifting of 7000 chosen men, marched to the Pyraum; and before the fleet failed, folemn prayers were offered up for the fuccess of the expedition, the whole army, at the fame time, both officers and foldiers, drinking, according to custom, success to the undertaking. The fleet, after arriving at Corcyra, was joined by their allies and their tranfports, and failed from thence for Italy. Upon their arrival at Rhegium, they solicited the Rhegians to declare for the Leontines; but without success. During their stay here, they sent some ships to examine the state of the Egestines. These, upon their return, acquainting the generals that the Egestines had imposed on the Athenians, and were a poor people with only 30 talents in their treasury, a council of war was immediately called, in which Nicias proposed to fail directly to Selinus, and endeavour, if possible, to oblige the Selinuntines and Egestines to come to an accommodation, and so return to Athens. Alcibiades, on the contrary, alledging, that it would be dishonourable to return without making conquests, proposed to solicit the cities of Sicily to a confederacy against the Syracusans and Selinuntines. Lamachus proposed immediately to attack Syracuse, before

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before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. The Syracusans, at first, would not credit the report of the Athenian invasion; but the approach of their fleet being at last confirmed, they garrisoned all the forts and castles in the country, reviewed their troops, and, in short, prepared all things, as if the enemy had been already in the heart of their country.

The Athenians, in the mean time, following the opinion of Theyland Alcibiades, landed their forces near Catana, and took that city in Sicily. by furprise. Naxus soon after submitted, and Hyccara, a town belonging to the Sicanians, was taken by storm, and its inhabitants fold for flaves. Alcibiades being called home, to stand his trial on an accusation of sacrilege, and winter approaching, the two other generals resolved to take up their quarters near Syracuse, that they might be in readiness to undertake the siege of that place early in the spring. Having deceived the Syracusans, and by false intelligence persuaded them that the Cataneans intended to attack their camp, the Syracufans marched out with the flower of their troops to affist the Cataneans in the affault. The Athenians, finding their stratagem had succeeded, embarked The Syratheir forces and ammunition, and failed for Syracuse, and with- cusans put out any opposition seized a strong fortress called Olympicum, to slight within view of the walls. The Syracusans next day, upon their by Nicias, return, offered the Athenians battle, and being defeated, were obliged to retire into the town.

The Athenians, after this battle, returned with their fleet and army to Naxus and Catana, where they wintered, receiving who reforme reinforcements of cavalry from their Sicilian allies, who ceives new furnished their army with provisions. Some troops of horse also supplies arrived from Athens, with 300 talents in money. The Syracu-from fans, in the mean time, soliciting the affistance of the Lacedæ-Athens. monians, Alcibiades, who had taken fanctuary at Sparta, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence; so that the Spartans resolved to send some troops under Gylippus to their

affiftance.

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Before the arrival of these succours, Nicias landing his army unexpectedly in the night at Syracuse, possessed himself of the important post of Epipolæ, a very steep hill that overlooks the He invests city. Nicias having repulsed the Syracusans, who attempted to Syracuse. dislodge him, began to build a wall round the city; which work he finished with great dispatch, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the besieged to interrupt it. In one of their sallies, the garrison were so successful as to repulse the Athenians with great slaughter, to demolish part of their works, and to kill Lamachus, one of the generals, with many other officers of distinction. Nicias, nevertheless, pursued the siege; and by cutting the canals that supplied the place with water, drove the besieged to such extremity, that they began to think of capitulating.

When they were deliberating about the articles, they received the joyful news of the approach of Gylippus, who accordingly

the Lacedæmonians.

The Syra- ingly foon after entered the city with 3000 foot and 200 cufans re- horse, having forced his passage thro' the lines of the enemy ceive fuc- A few days after his arrival, he attempted, with his troops and cours from the Syracusan forces, to destroy the works of the besiegers; but after a sharp engagement, he was repulsed with loss. Gylippus reproached himself with his ill success, and next day made another fally, in which he repulsed the enemy.

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Soon after 13 gallies arrived from Corinth with confiderable supplies of men and money for the Syracusans; and Gylippus making a progress thro' feveral cities, raised above 3000 men, with which he reinforced the garrison. Nicias, on the other hand, finding his troops lessen daily, began to be disheartned, and wrote to the Athenians in the strongest terms, shewing, that without powerful supplies, the enterprize would prove abortive. Tho' Attica was at this time invaded by the Lacedamo. nians, yet so infatuated were the Athenians with the Sicilian expedition, that they decreed 80 gallies and 5000 land forces to be fent thither, under the command of Eurymedon and Demosthenes.

The Syracul ni fuccefsful in an attack by land, and the Atbenians by sea.

ni ns defeated at

fea by the Syracu-

fans,

Mean while the Syracufans resolved to make an attempt to open the communication with the fea, and for that purpole failed out of the harbour with 80 gallies well manned. Being met by the enemy's fleet, confisting of 60 fail, an engagement enfued; and the Athenians leaving their posts to be idle spectators of the combat, Gylippus attacked and carried feveral of their forts, cutting to pieces very many of the beliegers, which occasioned a great noise and tumult in their camp. The Athenians engaged at fea, finding it impossible to assist their countrymen at land, fell with double fury upon the Syracusans, sunk eleven of their veffels, and at length gained a complete victory. In the forts that were taken, the Athenians loft all their treasure, and great part of their provisions and military stores.

The Syracusans, hearing that reinforcements were coming to the enemy, wanted earnestly to risk a second engagement at fea before their arrival. Nicias proposed to wait the arrival of the fuccours; but Menander and Euthydemus, who had been appointed to share the command with him till the arrival of Demosthenes, were very urgent for an engagement, and at length The Ath- forced him to a compliance. The Athenians allowing themfelves to be furprized, were routed with the loss of feven gallies

and a great many men.

Nicias, upon this defeat, was firuck with the utmost confternation, when a few days after his hopes were revived with the appearance of the fleet of Demosthenes, which confisted of 73 gallies, having on board 8000 men besides mariners, and great thore of provisions and warlike engines. His gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with coffly streamers, and as he advanced the trumpets founded and the crews shouted; which pomp and air of triumph struck the besieged with great dread.

Demosthenes

Demosthenes proposed to make an assault on the very day of his arrival; which precipitate resolution was opposed by Nicias, who having intelligence daily of what was transacting in the city, declared that the enemy were in great want of money and provisions, and would probably soon be forced to surrender. His remonstrances were construed to proceed from his dilatory disposition. All the officers, therefore, came over to the opinion of Demosthenes, and Nicias himself was forced to acquiesce in it. Demosthenes accordingly, at midnight, attacked and also the important post of Epipolæ, and was at first attended with repulsed fuccess; but the besiegers rallying, at length the Athenians were at land. repulsed with great loss, 2000 of them being killed on this occalion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

This unexpected repulse damped the ardour of Demosthenes, who was for returning immediately to Athens. Nicias again opposed him, as he had still hopes of becoming master of the city, and besides, was under apprehension of the Athenians, who had already banished two generals for returning from Sicily, tho' they had acted a very prudent part in quitting the island. He chose rather, he said, to fall gloriously by the enemy's fword, than be ignominously condemned by the suffrages of the people; so that Demosthenes at last yielded to him.

Soon after a plague breaking out in the Athenian army, and The the Syracusans receiving powerful supplies from the Siculi, Seli-plague in nuntines, Geleans, and Camarineans, Nicias altered his opinion, the Atheand iffued private orders to the officers of the fleet to have their nian army. gallies in readiness to fail on the first notice. The foldiers having shipped all their baggage, began to embark, when the moon being fuddenly eclipfed, Nicias, who was naturally fuperstitious, was so terrified, that he stopped the embarkation till he should consult the soothsayers; who pronounced, that the enterprize must now be delayed for three times nine days. During this delay, the Syracufans having notice of their intention, resolved to attack them both by sea and land. They accordingly failed with 60 gallies against the fleet of the enemy, which confisted of 86 gallies; and notwithstanding their inferiority, gained a compleat victory, killing the Athenian admiral and 2000 men, and destroying 18 ships. Gylippus, at the same time, made an attempt against the land forces, but was repulsed with loss; so that both parties erected trophies for their particular The Syraculans, however, encouraged by their superiority at fea, blocked up the Athenians in the great harbour, with ships and gallies joined and fastened together with anchors and iron chains.

The Athenians, who now thought of nothing but retreating, The Athenians unanimously resolved to make an attempt to break thro' the nian fleet fleet that shut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces defeated, on board to Catana; but if they should not succeed in the un- and the dertaking, to fet fire to their ships, and to march by land to admiral the nearest city belonging to their allies. The flower of the killed. troops accordingly embarked on board 115 gallies, while the

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rest of the army drew up in battalia on the shore. The Syracusans, at the same time, sailed with 74 gallies to defend their boom, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, being filled with crowds of spectators. The commanders on both fides having used all their eloquence to animate their men, the charge began with great fury, and continued with great flaughter for feveral hours. Tho' both parties were then quite fpent, and could neither handle their arms or their oars, yet when any of them offered to retreat, their friends on shore received them with reproaches, and obliged them, tho' forely wounded, to return to the combat. Thus the engagement was continued thro' the whole day; but at length the Athenians, in spite of their utmost efforts, were driven on shore, fixty of their gallies being loft, and most of the rest being rendered quite unserviceable. The Syracusans lost only eight ships, and had eleven difabled.

nians refolve to retire.

In this desperate condition, the Athenian officers holding a council of war, Demosthenes proposed to man the few gallies that remained with Greek foldiers, and to furprize the enemy The Athe- by making a fecond attempt to break the barricade. opposing this advice, or, as others fay, the foldiers refusing to obey, it was thereupon determined to retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. Hermocrates, commander in chief in Syracuse, suspecting their design, ordered the Syracusans to march out to stop the passes; but they absolutely refusing to interrupt their rejoicing on account of their late victory, he fent some horsemen to the Athenian camp, who, as friends, advised Nicias not to march off, as the Syracusans had feized on all the passes leading to the cities of their allies.

> Nicias being thus deluded, flopt his march for two days to refresh his foldiers. Hermocrates, in the mean time, possessed himself of the most difficult passes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse in the plains. The Athenians having no subsistance in their camp, set out on the third day after the battle, to the number of 40,000 men, leaving behind them great part of their baggage. The fick and wounded in vain used their utmost entreaties not to be left behind. Nicias, the dejected and worn out with a tedious illness, and destitute of all necessaries, when his age and infirmities required them most, nevertheless exhausted himself on this occasion in encouraging his men.

They are greatly harraffed racusans.

His desponding troops being somewhat revived by his speech, marched off in two bodies, each drawn up in the form of a phalanx, with the baggage in the center. They forced their by the Sy- passage over the river Anapus, notwithstanding the vigorous oppolition they met with; but in their march for feveral days were continually galled by the Syracusans, who always declined hazarding a battle, but harraffed them continually with showers of darts and arrows. Many of the Athenians being wounded, and their army being in great want of provisions, Nicias and Demosthenes

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Demosthenes resolved to alter their route, and instead of proceeding to Catana, to make the best of their way to Camarina and Gela. The vanguard led by Nicias, marched off in good order; but half the rear, commanded by Demosthenes, fell into confusion and lost their way. The Syracusans, next day, came up with him about noon, and immediately drove his troops into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. The Athenians defended themselves with the utmost bravery till Part of the evening, when Demosthenes, to fave the lives of his country- their army men, capitulated, on condition that neither he nor any of his forced to men should be put to death, or sentenced to perpetual impri- surrender. fonment.

Six thousand Athenians having now laid down their arms, the Syracusans, the day after, came up with Nicias, who had encamped on an eminence near the river Erineus, and summoned him to furrender, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias having obtained leave to fatisfy himself of the truth of what they affirmed concerning his colleague, then offered to pay the whole charges of the war, on condition he was allowed to leave the island with all his forces. This proposal being rejected, the Syracusans attacked him with great vigour, the Athenians gallantly defending themselves till night put an end to the com-Nicias being in absolute want of all necessaries, attempted to fteal off from the enemy in the night; but foon found that design impracticable. At break of day, he pursued his march thro' continual showers of darts. The Athenians, upon their arrival at the river Asmarus, were thrown into the utmost confusion; and while some were impatient to pass over, and others eager to quench their thirst, the Syracusan cavalry made dreadful havoc of them, and cut off no less than 18,000 of them. Nicias, with a small body, escaped this slaughter; but Nicias also being hemmed in on every fide, they furrendered to Gylippus, obliged to on condition their lives might be spared, hoping to meet with capitulate, better treatment from him than from the Syracusans. Some few Athenians that had separated from the rest, and were straggling in the country, were foon after taken by the Syracufan horse; so that out of so numerous an army, very few had the good fortune to escape either death or servitude. The Syracu-Jans returned in triumph to their city, where they were received with joyful acclamations by their fellow citizens, who, in conjunction with them, returned thanks to the gods in the most solemn manner, for having auspiciously ended the greatest war they had ever been engaged in.

Next day, an affembly being called to determine the fate of The Syrathe captives, one Diocles, a man of great efteem and authority cusans put among the people, proposed, that the two Athenian generals the Atheshould be first whipt with rods, and then put to death; that nian comthe rest should be shut up in the quarries, with a small allow-manders ance of flour and water; and that the inhabitants of the island, to death, who had joined them, should be fold for slaves. Hermocrates, to whom the Syracufans were chiefly indebted for their late vic-

tory, strenuously opposed this opinion; but the incensed multitude would not fuffer him to continue his speech. Nicolaus, a venerable old man, who had loft his only two fons in the war, next rofe up; and as the people expected he would pronounce a bitter invective against the prisoners, he was heard with attention; when by a most pathetic speech he moved the affembly to compaffion. However, the enemies of the Athenians afterwards expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the Syracusans, and the many calamities they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former resolution, and followed the advice of Diocles. The generals, after being whipt, were put to death, and the other prisoners were thrust down into the quarries, where they fuffered inexpressible miseries for the space of eight months. They were exposed to the inclemencies of the air and alterations of weather. They lay together in heaps, and were poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, and the bodies of those who died of wounds and difeases; being at the same time tormented with hunger and thirst, as their allowance was scarce sufficient to keep them alive. Most of them died of the hardships they suffered; others were were taken out of the quarries, and being fold for flaves, were generously set at liberty by their masters.

The Syracufans rewarded their allies, especially the Lacedæpart of the monians, with great part of the spoils; dividing what remained among their own foldiers, and hanging up part of it in their temples. Gylippus, on his return to Sparta, was accompanied by 35 Syracusan gallies, which were to be employed against the Athenians, who had reaped nothing from the Sicilian war but

loss and dishonour *.

The Syraculan's being foon after involved in a new war, were obliged to recall their fleet to defend their own country. The Egestines being disappointed in their hopes of affistance from the Athenians, had recourse to the Carthaginians; who from a desire of extending their dominions, had promifed them powerful fuccours. That they might meet with the lefs opposition, the Carthaginians attempted to fow seeds of division between the Selinuntines and Syracusans, urging the latter to act as arbitrators betwixt the former and the Egestines. This artifice not succeeding according to their wish, they fent 5000 Africans, and 800 men from Campania to Egesta; with which fuccours the Egestines falling upon the Selinuntines, killed 1000 of them on the spot, and took all their baggage.

The war being now kindled, both the Syraculans and Carthaginians resolved to support their respective allies to the utmost of their power. The Carthaginians committed the whole management of the war to Hannibal the fon of Gifco, and grandfon of Hamiltar, who had been killed by Gelon before Himera. As he now hoped to wipe off the difgrace of the former de-

and fend spoils to their allies. Bef. Ch. 413.

The Carthaginian war.

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feat, he made immense preparations, and the following spring came over into Sicily with an army of 300,000 men, according to some, but of only 100,000, according to others. He marched directly against Selinus; and notwithstanding the gallant re- The Carfistance of the inhabitants, took the place by storm in a few thaginians days, before the succours raised by the Syracusans, Agrigentines, take and and Geleans, could arrive to its relief. About 2600 of the in-raze Selihabitants escaped to Agrigentum; but all the rest, men, women, nus. and children, were put to the sword; the city being set on slames and razed to the ground, about 250 years after it had been built. Soon after, at the intercession of some Sicilians of the Carthaginian party, Hannibal permitted those Selinuntines, who had sled to Agrigentum, to repeople their city, upon paying to the Carthaginians an annual tribute.

Hannibal next marched against Himera, being extremely de-Himera firous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather Ha- besieged.

milcar. On his march, he was joined by 20,000 Siculi and Sicani, who with the main body of the army invested the city, while he with a body of 40,000 men encamped on a rising ground at some distance. The Himereans having received considerable succours from the Syracusans and their other allies, made a most vigorous defence, and in a general fally with 10,000 men, put the whole Carthaginian army to slight, and pursued them with great slaughter to the camp of Hannibal, who rallying his forces, drove the besieged back to the city, and killed 3000 men. The Carthaginians, according to Ephorus, lost 20,000 men in this action, but according to Timæus,

only 6000.

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A report being foon after spread, that the Syracusans were marching with all their forces to relieve Himera, Hannibal proposed to raise the siege, and attempt to surprise Syracuse. This report was occasioned by the appearance of 25 Syracusan gallies off the harbour, which proved to be the remainder of the fleet that was fent to the affiftance of the Lacedæmonians. Diocles returned on board this fleet to Syracuse, with half of the Syracusan succours, in order to put his native city in a posture of defence. After the departure of Diocles, Hannibal redoubled The city his efforts, and at last took the place by storm; when the taken and inhuman Carthaginians and Iberians committed all manner of razed. barbarities, fo that the kennels of the streets flowed with blood. The city being pillaged and burnt, Hannibal caused 3000 of the captives to be malfacred at the place where his grandfather had been defeated and killed. Hannibal having thus concluded the campaign, difmiffed his confederates, difbanded the Campanians, and returned with great part of his troops to Carthage, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Syracuse, in the mean time, was torn to pieces by do-Domestic mestic factions. One of the factions was headed by Diocles, dissensions a man highly esteemed for his wisdom and probity. The in Syracsyracusans, by his advice, altered their form of government, cuse.

Vol. III.

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and chose their magistrates by lot. They also appointed him to compose a body of laws for them, which were afterwards observed in most of the free states of Sicily (A). The head of the other party was Hermocrates, a man of great probity, who had performed many eminent services to his country. While he was absent with the fleet sent to the Lacedamonians, he was banished by the contrary faction, meerly on account of his great worth and authority. He having returned to Sicily, and levyed some troops at his own expence, made several incurfions into the territories subject to the Carthaginians, which greatly raised his reputation at Syracuse, and made his friends concert the means of his returning to the city. He accordingly furprised one of the gates with 300 men, and the affistance of his friends; but the citizens running to arms, flew him in the market-place, and cut most of his small army in pieces. All who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment; and among the rest his son-in-law Dionysius, who afterwards feized the government.

The Carreturn to Sicily.

They befiege Agrigentum.

Mean while, the fuccess of the Carthaginians in Sicily having thagin ans inspired them with the hopes of conquering the whole island, they fent over hither another army, equal to the former, under the command of Hannibal and Imilear the fon of Hanno. Syracusans having complained to the senate of Carthage of the hostilities committed by Hannibal, without receiving a satisfactory answer, were now prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. Hannibal first invested the city of Agrigentum; but the Agrigentines, by the direction of Dexippus, a Lacedamonian, having provided all things necessary for a siege, made a most vigorous defence. Having, in their first fally, burnt all the enemy's engines, destroyed all their towers, and made great slaughter in their camp, Hannibal hereupon caused all the tombs and stately monuments round the city to be demolished; and mounts to be raifed with the rubbish. Soon after the plague breaking out in the army, quickly carried off a great number of foldiers, and Hannibal himself.

The Syracusans, in the mean time, sent an army of above 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse, to the relief of the besieged: which was attacked by the enemy in the plains near Agrigentum. Tho' the enemy were greatly superior in number, yet the Syracusans,

fide. A bystander remarking to him, that he had transgressed one of his own laws; he answered, that he would confirm them with his blood; and instantly drawing his fword, stabbed himself. After his death, divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory.

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⁽A) By one of his laws he decreed, that if any man came armed into the court where the public assemblies were kept, he should be put to death. Not long after the publication of this law, as he was going to march out against fome invaders, a tumult arofe in the court, upon which he haftened thither with his fword by his

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after an obstinate dispute, gained a complete victory; after Are dewhich they blockaded the enemy's camp, and reduced them to feated by fuch straits, that the Campanians and other mercenaries threat- the Syraned to join the Sicilians if they had not their usual allowance ersans. of bread. Imilcar exhorted them to bear patiently their prefent want for a few days; and hearing that a convoy of provisions was coming by sea from Syracuse to Agrigentum, he dispatched orders to his fleet to lie in wait for it. He, accordingly, was fo fuccessful as to intercept 60 transports laden with corn and other provisions; which loss reduced the Agrigentines, in their turn, to the utmost distress. Eight hundred Campanians, who ferved in the garrison, went all over in a body to the Carthaginians; being advised to desert, it is said, by Dexippus, who had been bribed by the enemy with 15 talents. The Agrigentines finding it impossible to defend the place any The Agrilonger, came to a resolution to abandon the city; which, when gentines publickly known, threw the citizens into the utmost conster- obliged to nation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every house; but abandon as they expected no mercy from so cruel an enemy, the hopes their city. of faving their lives made them at length fubmit to leave the place. Many, indeed, not finding in their heart to abandon their fick parents and relations, staid behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. Those who marched out were conducted by the Syracufan troops to Gela, where they were received with great kindness and humanity. Syracusans afterwards granted them the city and territory of

Leontini. Imilcar entering the city, put all those he found in it to the The barfword; not sparing even such as fled to the temples. Gellias, barity of a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity (B), * feeing the the Carbarbarity of the enemy, fet fire to the temple of Minerva, and thaginiconfumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches an. of that stately edifice. The booty which the enemy found in the place was prodigious, and fuch as might be expected in one

* Val. Max. l. iv. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. i. Diod. Sic. ut supra.

(B) He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and during a famine, supported the Agrigentines. He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair. He is faid to have built feveral rooms in his house of an extraordinary fize for public entertainments; placing his fervants at his gate; and charging them to invite all who went by to be his guests. Five hundred horsemen from Gela

happening to pass through Agrigentum in winter time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furnished them all on their departure with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. Pelyclitus the historian, as quoted by Diodorus, tells us, that when he ferved among the troops of Agrigentum, he faw a wine-cellar in his house which contained 300 great vessels full of wine, each vessel holding 100 amphoræ.

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of the most opulent cities in Sicily, which contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even befleged. Among other curiofities in the city, was the famous

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bull of Phalaris, which was fent to Carthage.

Imilcar having thus gained the city after an eight months flege, took up his winter-quarters there, with the delign of pushing his conquests early in the spring. The Sicilians, in The Sicithe mean time, were struck with the greatest consternation. great con- Many of them fled from their native cities to Syracuse, or resternation, tired with their families and effects to Italy. Those who took fanctuary in Syracuse, were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Several of the refugees were Agrigentines, who made great outcries against the Syracusan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemy's hands. Such disturbances on this account arose in Syracuse, as gave Dionysius an opportunity of feizing on the fovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abused.

Dionysius was born in Syracuse, of a noble and illustrious family, according to some, but according to others, of a mean extraction. He affisted Hermocrates in his attempt to enter Syracuse by force; and being then dangerously wounded, his friends, to fave his life, spread abroad a report of his death. When the present war broke out, he was, by the intercession of his friends, recalled; and by diftinguishing himself in several actions against the Carthaginians, particularly at the battle near Agrigentum, he had now become a favourite with the

Dionyfius accuses their commanders of having betrayed Agrigentum. He is chosen general.

When a council was called at Syracuse to deliberate about the war, Dionysius rose up, and having accused the commanders of betraying Agrigentum to the enemy, urged the people to punish them without waiting for the formalities of law. His speech having set all the assembly in a flame, they forthwith deprived their officers of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was Dionysius; who having gained this step of preferment, began to consider how he might get his collegues turned out, and the whole command of the army lodged in himself. With this view, he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders; and hoping to get them laid aside, he gave out, that they kept a secret correspondence with the enemy. His designs began to be sufpected by the most prudent citizens, who in their assemblies charged him with ambitious views in very harsh terms. On the other hand, the common people, ignorant of his deceit and fraud, praised all his actions, and published every where, that now at length they had got a faithful guardian and defender of the city.

Dionysius observing that the Syracusans were under great apprehensions of the islue of the war, proposed to them to recall the exiles, who, he doubted not, would be faithfully attached to him, and be proper tools for the execution of his defigns.

He prevails with the Syracusan to recal the exiles.

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Having represented to the people, that they ought not to hire foreigners, when they might be supplied with excellent forces by recalling their own countrymen, a decree was immediately passed in favour of the exiles. None of his collegues durst contradict him, as they perceived that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the multitude against them, and raise the reputation of *Dionysius*. The decree was no sooner published, but the exiles slocked from all parts to *Syracuse*.

Mean while disturbances arising in Gela, Dionysius marched with 2000 foot and 400 horse to the assistance of one of the parties, which had implored the protection of Syracuse. Dionysius took the part of the popular faction, and caused the chiefs of the other party to be condemned and put to death. Their estates he confiscated and fold; and with the money arising from the sale, paid the soldiers, who were then in garrison under Dexippus, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from Syracuse, and declaring at the same time to them, that their pay promised by the city should be doubled. The Geleans were so pleased with his conduct, that they conferred upon him the supreme power, and thanked the Syracusans, by a formal embassy, for the services he had done them.

Dionysius having in vain endeavoured to draw Dexippus into his measures, returned to Syracuse. The people coming out of the theatre as he entered the city, thronged about him, and earnestly enquired news of the enemy. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city had not so much cause to be assaid of them as of their own officers and magistrates, of whose treachery he was now convinced; for that Imilcar had sent an officer to him under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in truth to persuade him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his collegues; that he was therefore determined to lay down his commission, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert with

This stratagem succeeded to his wish; for the people being The Syraathrown into the utmost consternation, next day, in an assement of each bly, declared him general, with sole and absolute power. He clare him began with signing an order, that the soldiers should receive generalised ouble pay; and being sure of their savour, he began to think simo, of the means to secure himself against the sickleness of the people, many of whom had no sooner left the assembly, than they repented of their rash proceeding. He commanded all under 40 years of age, able to bear arms, to march with 30 days provision to Leontini, which belonged to the Syracusans, and was full of foreigners and exiles. On his march, he pre-

pretended to have discovered a plot against his life, and sled in a pretended pannic to the castle of *Leontini*. Next morning, ac-He proquainting the people of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended cures a to have been in, he obtained leave to chuse a guard of 600 guard. men for the security of his person. He presently chose above

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1000 men as his guards, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promises. He also attached the mercenaries in a peculiar manner to his interest by his winning and courteous speeches; and new modelled the army, by giving commissions to those whom he confided in, and turning out those he distrusted. Among the latter was Dexippus the Lacedamonian, an officer of great experience, whom he fent back into Greece. Being then joined by the garrison of Gela, and having encreased his army by great numbers of fugitives, exiles, debtors and criminals, he marched back to Syracuse, and taking possession of the citadel, declared himself king, being then in the 25th year of his age. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, and gave his own fifter in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law to Her-

Seizes on the citadel, and declares himfelf king of Syracuje.

The Carthaginians make ' themfelves masters of Gela.

Soon after Imilar moving from his winter-quarters, and invetting Gela, Dionysius advanced to the relief of the place with an army of 50,000 men, according to some, tho' Timæus makes them 30,000, and 1000 horse. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the fea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. Not being able, however, to give any effectual fuccour to the befieged, and his army having fuffered confiderably from the enemy, he perfuaded the Geleans to abandon their city, as the only means of faving their lives, and covered their retreat with his army. The Carthaginians immediately entered the city, and either put to the fword or crucified all those they found in it. Having then plundered the place, they advanced to Camarina, the inhabitants of which city, at the persuasion of Dionysius, withdrew with their wives and children to Syracuse. The moving fight of aged persons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, raised compassion in the breasts of Dionysius's soldiers, and incensed them against the tyrant. They began to imagine that he acted in concert with the Carthaginians, as none of the mercenaries had been killed by the enemy, who even did not offer to pursue The Italians, therefore, left his camp in a body, and The Syra- the Syracusan cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, rode with full speed to Syracuse, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards not suspecting what had happened. They immediately forced his palace, ranfacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that thro' grief and shame she poisoned herself. Dionyfius suspecting their design, pursued after them with the utmost expedition; and having marched 50 miles without once halting, forced one of the gates of the city about midnight. Being now mafter of the city, he scoured the streets, putting all those to the fword that came in his way; and even entering the houses of such as he took to be his enemies and cutting them off with their whole families. His army arrived next morning; but the Geleans and Camarineans retired to Leontini.

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In the mean time the plague raging among the Carthagini- A peace ans, forced Imilcar to offer terms of peace to Dionysius. A between peace was accordingly concluded on these terms; namely, the Carthat the Carthaginians, besides their antient acquisitions in Sicily, thaginians should possess the countries of the Sicani, and Selinus, Agrigen- and Diotum, and Himera, with their territories; that the Geleans and nyfius. Camarineans might return to their respective countries, on condition of paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians. That all the other inhabitants of Sicily should live according to their own laws, except the Syracufans, who should continue subject to Dionysius. These articles being ratified, Imilcar returned to Carthage with the remains of his army, one half of it having been destroyed by the plague in Sicily.

After his departure, Dionysius neglected nothing to secure He fortihis power. He fortified the island, and divided it from the rest fies the of the city with an high and thick wall. He built also a castle, island. which commanded the city, to serve him for a retreat. He chose the most fertile lands for himself and his friends, and distributed the rest equally among the citizens, including those

flaves whom he had made free.

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Having, as he thought, firmly established his authority, he began to think of extending his dominions, and accordingly marched with an army against the city of Herbessus. The Syracusans in the army thought this a fit time to attempt the re- The Syracovery of their liberty; and having formed themselves into a cusans separate body for that purpose, sent to the horse that had for- again remerly revolted, and had now fortified themselves at Ætna, de-volt. firing their concurrence. Dionysius, alarmed at these proceedings, returned immediately to Syracuse, whither he was followed by the revolters, who encamping on Epipolæ, cut off the communication between the country and the city. The Rhegians and Messaneans, at their entreaty, sent 80 gallies well manned to their affiftance; upon the arrival of which reinforcement, they promised, by the common crier, a great reward to any one that should kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners that should abandon him and come over to them.

In confequence of this proclamation, the tyrant, in a few days, faw himself quite abandoned by those in whom he chiefly confided; while the besiegers, being strongly reinforced, reduced those few that stuck by him to the greatest extremity. Dionyfius, in this desperate condition, consulting his friends, Dionyfius was advised by some of them to lay violent hands on himself; reduced to but Philistus the historian, who from the beginning had sup-great ported him with his money, told him, that he ought to main-firaits, tain himself upon the throne at the hazard of his life. Dionysius closed with this advice; but to extricate himself out of the present difficulty, he obtained a kind of truce, by offering to

leave the city.

The befiegers thinking they had now got the better of the tyrant, neglected their accustomed guards; while Dionysius, by

but recovers the fovereign power.

great promises, prevailed on the Campanians that were left behind by the Carthaginians, to come to his relief. They accordingly broke thro' the revolters into the city, and being afterwards joined by 300 mercenaries, made a fally upon the befiegers with fuch fuccess, that the Syracusans now offered again to submit. The Syracusan cavalry, however, rejected the propofals made by the tyrant, and returned to their fortress at Ætna. When all things were again quieted, he dismissed the Campanians with great rewards. They prevailing on the citizens of Entella to receive them within their walls, requited the favour by murdering in the night all the townsmen; and marrying the wives of the deceased, they maintained themselves in pollession of the city many years. Dionystus, now convinced that he could not trust the Syracu-

fans, took an opportunity, when most of the citizens were

abroad gathering in their harvest, to search their houses, and

He difarms the Syracu-Jans.

Subdues

feveral

to carry off all the arms he could find. He then enclosed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, and hired a great many foreigners. To prevent the Syracusans from reflecting on the miferies of flavery, he again employed some of them in expeditions against their neighbours. In the very first campaign, he possessed himself of Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Ætna, Enna, and other cities; some of which he treated with free cities, great clemency to gain the affection of the people, and others he plundered, felling the inhabitants for flaves. What pretence he alleged in justification of these hostilities, is not known. The cities of Messana and Rhegium resolved to thwart his defigns, and privately proposed to the Syracusans to assist them in the recovery of their liberty. Some diffensions, however, af-

terwards happening among their troops when they were on

the point of marching against the tyrant, all the preparations

for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between the two

and makes parations for a war with the nians.

cities and Dionyfius. The tyrant, having now greatly enlarged his power, began great pre to prepare for the execution of his defign of expelling the Carthaginians out of Sicily. His first care was to bring to Syracuse great numbers of expert workmen, whom he employed in forging all forts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, Carthagi- but the schools, walks, and every public place, nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. Dionysius encouraged them with great rewards; and fuch as diffinguished themselves by their ingenuity or application, were fure to receive particular marks of his favour. Having thus inspirited them, and rendered them indefatigable, in a short time 140,000 complete fuits of armour were finished. He then applied himself entirely to the fitting out of a fleet. Having brought timber at a great expence from Italy, he with great dispatch built and equipped a fleet of 200 fail, to which he added 110 old gallies, made fit The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners, and his land-army was composed of Syracufans and other Sicilians, with great numbers of Greeks

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and Italians, who were induced to enter into his fervice, on a promise of large pay. To gain the affection of his troops, he applied in a particular manner to oblige all, especially the Sy-

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That no enemy might have it in their power to seize on the hill of Epipolæ, he carried a fortification, of 30 surlongs in length, along the back part of it, where it was most abrupt. Besides those at work in the quarries, he employed 60,000 men in building the wall and its towers, which was composed of hewn stone, each stone being four foot square. Six thousand yoke of oxen were also employed in the work; and so great was the ardour of the workmen, that the whole was finished in twenty days.

Dionysius seeing his great preparations now complete, ac-War dequainted the Syracusans with his design. They, partly from clared ahatred to the Carthaginians, and partly from hopes of recover-gainst the ing their liberty, concurred in his opinion; and war being Carthaginanimously resolved upon, Dionysius allowed the people to nians.

feize on all the goods and estates of the Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties, had settled in Syracuse. He then sent an herald to Carthage with a letter to the senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not withdraw their garrison forthwith from the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse

would treat them as enemies.

The Carthaginians, who were at this time greatly afflicted with the plague, were not a little aftonished at this declaration; but notwithstanding their distress, they resolved to defend their Sicilian conquests. Dionysius, without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians, took the field with an army of 80,000 foot and 3000 horse. His fleet consisted of 200 gallies and 500 Motya betransports laden with warlike engines and all forts of proviseged. sions. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the general magazine of the Carthaginians, and was seated near mount Eryx, on a peninsula, or rather on an island, which had been joined to Sicily by an artificial mole.

This the Motyans having now ruined, Dionysius ordered some of his forces and the fleet under his brother Leptines, to fill up the breach with stones and rubbish, and marched with the bulk of his army to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians. All these submitted without opposition, except Ancyra, Solas, Egesta, Panormus, and Entella. The two last he besieged; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, which after a most obstinate resistance, he made himself master of.

The Carthaginians, during the siege, sailed into the harbour of Syracuse in the night with ten gallies, and having destroyed a great many vessels, retired without the loss of a single man. Imileo, the Carthaginian general, afterwards fitted out 100 gallies, and surprized the Syracusan fleet in the harbour of Motya; but the heaftroyed several vessels, he was not able to raise

the fiege, and was obliged to retire with loss.

The

taken by fform.

The Sicilians having made themselves masters of the place. put all the inhabitants to the fword, without diffinction of fex or age; those only excepted who took fanctuary in the temples. Dionysius gave up the city to be plundered, and fold such of the Motvans as were left alive for flaves; but commanded all the Greeks who had joined the Carthaginians to be crucified Leaving a strong garrison in Motya, and ordering Leptines with 120 gallies to watch the Carthaginians at sea, he returned with his army to Syracuse, to prepare for the following campaign.

against

The Carthaginians being informed of the strength of Dioparations nylius, refolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and of the Car- Thips. They accordingly got together an army of above 300,000 . baginians foot and 4000 horse, with 400 chariots, and a fleet of 300 gallies and 600 transports, according to Ephorus; but Timeus af-Dionysius. firms, that only 100,000 men were transported into Sicily, and that they were joined by 3000 Sicilians. The transports having outfailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of Panormus by Leptines, who funk 50 of them, in which 5000 men and They take 200 chariots were loft. Imileo landed his troops without any

Motya.

Erva and confiderable loss, and marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to accompany him along the coast. He took Eryx by treachery, and recovered Motya by affault, before Dionyfius, who was then belieging Egefta, could fend any forces to its relief. The Sicilian troops were very eager for venturing a battle; but Dionysius thought it more advisable to abandon the open country to the enemy. He exhorted the Sicani to leave their cities and join the army, promising them a richer and more fertile country than their own; or at the conclusion of the war, to allow them to return to their own habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, liftened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to Imileo, who foon after marching towards Messana, received the submission of a great many cities. Dionysius, in the mean time, made all speed to Syracuse,

Dionyfius retire to Syracufe.

obliged to plundering and laying waste the country thro' which he passed. The inhabitants of Messana, on the approach of the enemy, were greatly divided in their opinions. Some reflecting on the ruinous state of their walls, were for submitting to the invaders. Others confidering the inhumanity of the barbarians, and encouraged by the antient prophecy, which foretold, That the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in their city, proposed to defend the place to the last extremity. This last opinion prevailed; but the Carthaginians, with much difficulty, made themselves masters of the place, which they plundered taken and and razed to the ground, throwing the very rubbish into the fea; so that after their departure, it was hard to discover where the city had stood. Those who defended the ramparts, died

the Carthaginians, valiantly on the spot; others fled to the neighbouring cities,

Mesana

by fwimming to the opposite shore of Italy, which is distant about a mile and a half. Great numbers of the Sicilians now declaring obli

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ing for the Carthaginians, Dionysius, to recruit his forces, was obliged to give the Syracusan flaves their liberty, and with them he manned 60 gallies. About the fame time, receiving a reinforcement of 1000 Lacedamonians, by which his army was augmented to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, he marched along the coast about 20 miles from Syracuse, being attended by his fleet, which confifted of 180 gallies. Being informed that Imileo was advancing towards him by land, and that the Carthaginian fleet was standing off Catana waiting for their landarmy, he marched thither, and ordered his brother Leptines to attack the fleet of the enemy, which was commanded by by Mago, charging him not to break his line. Leptines imprudently neglected this precaution, and bore down upon the enemy, who was greatly superior to him, with 30 of his best gallies. He quickly funk fome of their ships; but being himself furrounded, was obliged to fly, after having fought for some hours hand to hand with the enemy, as if in a battle on land. The other Syracusan gallies seeing their admiral put to slight, The Syrafoon gave way, and fled to the shore. Many threw themselves cusans deinto the sea, in hopes of faving themselves by swimming; but feated at the Carthaginian transports, which lay near the shore, having sea: manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men. In the engagement, above 100 of the Syraculan gallies were either funk or taken, and more than 20,000 of their men were killed.

The land army, notwithstanding this misfortune, solicited Dionysius to fight Imilco. He seemed at first willing to comply with this proposal; but afterwards, considering that whilst he was carrying this prject into execution, Mago might possess himself of Syracuse, he dropt this design, and hastened to the defence of his metropolis. Many of the Sicilians being unwilling to undergo the hardships and fatigues of a siege, deserted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their respective homes. Imilco, having in vain endeavoured to prevail with the Campanians of Ætna to declare for him, foon after arrived at Syracuse with his fleet and army. Above 200 gallies, adorned The Carwith the spoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the thaginians great haven of Syracuse, and were followed by 1000 transports, besiege The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on Syracuse. the other fide, confifting of 300,000 foot and 4000 horse. ter having fixed the quarters of his troops, he drew them out in battalia before the walls, and offered the Syracusans battle; which they thought proper to decline. As there was no force to oppose him, he ravaged the country for many miles round, He took, by affault, the quarter of the town called Acradina; but judging that the fiege, nevertheless, would be long and tedious, he furrounded his camp with a trench, and inclosed it with strong walls; demolishing for that purpose all the tombs which stood round the city, and among others that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the sea at equal distances, and

GENERAL HISTORY

in these laid up vast stores of provision, which, with other neceffaries, were brought him by transports from Sardinia and

Africa.

Soon after the commencement of the fiege, Polyxenus, the kinsman of Dionystus, who had been sent into Italy and Greece to raise troops, arrived with some land forces, and 30 Laceda. monian gallies. The Syracusans, encouraged by this reinforcement, ventured to appear at fea with their fleet, took a transport laden with provision, and afterwards attacking part of the enemy's fleet, took 24 of their gallies, and damaged others. The Carthaginians, discouraged with this unexpected overthrow, kept within their harbour, tho' their fleet was three times more numerous than that of the befieged, who challenged them to a fecond engagement.

pell the tyrant.

As the Syraculans had gained these advantages in the absence cufans pro- of Dionysius, they began to encourage each other to shake off his pose to ex- shameful yoke, and held several cabals for that purpose. Dionystus, in the mean time, who had been out on a cruise, returning to port, called an affembly, and having congratulated them on their late victory, promifed, in a short time, to put an end to the war. Before the affembly broke up, Theodorus, a nobleman of great authority, rose up and spoke to the following purpose: "Altho' Dionysius has advanced many falsehoods in his speech, yet what he said in the close of it, namely, that he would put a speedy end to the war, he may truly perform, " if he himself, who has always been overcome, resign the " command, and restore us to our liberty. Let us get rid of " the tyrant within our walls, before we attempt to drive away " a less dangerous enemy without. Against whom can we " better employ our arms, than against one who has reduced " us to fuch a deplorable condition, that we are pitied even "by our enemies." This speech made a great impression on the Syracusans, and they longed only to know the opinion of Their de their allies; when Pharacidas, the admiral of the Lacedæmonian fign is op- fleet, rose up. Every one expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty; but they were disappointed their Lace- in their hopes; for he told them, that he had been fent to affift the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to make war upon Dionysius. The Syracusans raging in their minds against the Spartans, now saw it was in vain to make any farther attempt, especially as the mercenaries began to flock about Dionysius, who in a great fright dismissed the asfembly. From this time he courted the people with very fair and smooth words, presenting some with large gifts, and inviting others to his feafts and banquets.

dæmonian allies.

A plague in the Carthaginian army.

In the mean time, a plague breaking out in the Carthaginian camp, raged with fuch fury, as foon obliged them to abandon the fiege. It was attributed by the fuperstitious to the refentment of Ceres and Proferpine; and by others, to the unwholesome exhalations raised by the excessive hot summer from the fens and marshes adjoining to the camp. For some time they

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buried their dead; but their number daily encreasing, they at length left them unburied. So violent was the distemper, that

in a very short time it swept away above 150,000 men.

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The distress of the enemy, encouraged the Syracusans to attack Dionysius of their seet and army. While Pharacidas and Leptines, with burns the both their fleet and army. 80 gallies, fell upon their fleet, Dionysius, with 10,000 chosen enemy's men, attacked their camp. The Syracusans having quickly fleet, and made themselves masters of the two forts that commanded the forces entrance of the great harbour, entered with their fleet, and de- their stroved and burnt a great number of the enemy's gallies. The camp. Carthaginians, who were defending their entrenchments against Dionylius, seeing the flames of their ships, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Many of them, without orders, ran down to the shore; which occasioning a general disorder, the camp was eafily forced, when the Syracujans made a dreadful

flaughter of the enemy. Dionysius encamping at night near the enemy, with a design to renew the fight early next morning, Imileo fent a private embaffy to him, offering 300 talents if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. Dionysus answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow Imilco, with all the citizens of Imilco, Carthage, to depart in the night, upon his paying 300 talents. with the This being agreed to, Imilco privately fent him the promifed Carthagifum, and then fet fail with his Carthaginians on board 40 gallies. nians only, Their embarkation did not escape the vigilance of the Corinthi- are allowans, who composed part of the Syraculan fleet. Finding Dio- ed to renysius dilatory in giving his orders, they, of their own accord, tire. purfued after the enemy, and funk feveral of their veffels. Diony/ius, in the morning, marched against those who were left behind; but before his arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian fervice had marched home. The rest seeing themselves aban-

with Diony/ius, who took them into his fervice. The Carthaginians being thus entirely defeated in Sicily, all who had abandoned their country thro' dread of fo formidable an enemy, returned to their antient habitations. Diony fius caused the city of Messana to be rebuilt, and peopled it with Messana 1000 Locrians, 3000 Medimneans, and 600 Messenians, who had rebuilt. been banished from Peloponnesus by the Lacedæmonians. He afterwards removed the Messenians to another settlement, not to

doned, betook themselves to flight; but being closely pursued, were either cut in pieces or taken prisoners. Only the Iberi-

ans kept together in a body, and fent an herald to capitulate

give offence to the Spartans.

The repeopling of Messana offending the Rhegians against Dionysius, they gave protection to all who either were expelled by him, or were voluntary exiles; and fent Heloris with an army to befiege Messana. The inhabitants being assisted by the mercenaries of Dionysius, easily routed the besiegers, and obliged them to abandon the island. The year following Dionysius de-

Dionyfius defeats Mago.

Attacks Rhegium. feated Mago, who had been left behind by Imilco, and had formed a small army by joining the Carthaginian garrisons from different parts of the island. A few days after this victory, Dionystus made an attempt upon Rhegium with 100 gallies, Having approached the walls unperceived, he fet fire to the gates; and while the inhabitants were bufy in extinguishing the flames, several of his troops scaled the ramparts, and had almost taken the place. But the governor ordering the citizens to give over quenching the flames, and to oppose the enemy, the Syracusans were soon repulsed; and after ravaging the territory of Rhegium, returned to Sicily.

The year after, Mago arrived in the island with an army of 80,000 men, compleatly armed, with the design of hazarding a battle with Dionysius. Tho' feveral of the Sicilian cities at first declared for him, yet the Agyreans, a powerful people, opposing him, and being joined by Dionysius with 20,000 men, he was foon reduced to fuch straits, as to be forced to conclude a peace, by which he gave up Taurominium, a Carthaginian colony, to the tyrant; who driving from thence the antient proprietors, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. Mago, as foon as the treaty was figned, returned to Carthage,

leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves.

Diony fius paffes again into Italy.

Dionysius being now under no apprehension of the Carthaginians, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of Rhegium, with a design to bring under his power all the Greek cities in Italy. He accordingly passed over thither with an army of 20,000 foot and 1000 horse, besides 120 gallies well manned. Having wasted the territories of Rhegium, he invested the city. Italians, who were well apprifed of the designs of Dionysius, fent 60 gallies to the relief of the place, which were attacked by 50 vessels of the enemy. During the engagement, a storm arifing, both parties were driven to the shore; by which means Dionysius lost seven of his ships, and 1500 men, he himself narrowly escaping, and landing at midnight in Messina.

Tho' he returned foon after with his army to Syracuse, yet he did not lay aside his designs upon Italy, but concluded a treaty with the Lucanians against the Greek cities. The Lucanians, agreeable to the terms of the treaty, ravaged the country of the Thurians; and attacking the confederate Greeks, The gene-killed above 10,000 of them on the spot. Those who escaped rous beha- this slaughter, fled to a hill near the sea-side, and discovering a squadron of ships, which they conjectured were Rhegian gallies fent to their affiffance, they threw themselves into the sea and swam towards them. This fleet proved to be the Syracufan squadron commanded by Leptines, who, however, generously received them that fwam to his ships, and prevailed upon the Lucanians to accept for each man, being 1000 in all, a mina, and suffer them to return, unmolested, into their own country. Leptines himself paid the 1000 minas for their ransom; which generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the Greeks,

viour of Leptines.

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but highly displeased Dionysius, who discharged him, and gave the command of the fleet to Thearides, his other brother.

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The year following Dionyfius made another descent upon Dionyfius Italy, and landed in Locris with an army of 20,000 foot and transports 3000 horse, being attended by a fleet of 40 gallies and 300 a formidatransports laden with provisions and warlike stores. Before ble army he touched on the coast of Italy, he surprized ten ships of Rhe- into Italy. gium at the Lipari islands, the crews of which he left in chains with the inhabitants of Messana. The Italians hearing that he had laid fiege to Caulonia, or Caulum, in Locris, raifed an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse to relieve the place, and marched thither under the command of Heloris, a Syracufan exile, who hated the tyrant. Heloris allowing himself to be furprised by Dionysius, was slain, with a great number of his men, after a most obstinate engagement. Those who escaped, to the number of 10,000, fled to an impregnable hill; but being in great want of water, and being furrounded on all fides by the enemy, they next morning offered to capitulate. They were forced to submit to the terms prescribed by Dionysius, and to furrender at discretion, expecting no mercy from so cruel an enemy. Dionysius, however, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity; and making a treaty with them, discharged them all without ransom. This, Diodorus observes, was the most worthy action he had ever performed almost throughout his whole life. The captives, on their return to their respective cities, highly extolled his clemency, and presented him with crowns of gold.

Dionyfius, by this generous action, having made all the in- He behabitants of the country his friends and allies, turned his arms fieges again upon the city of Rhegium, being highly incenfed against the Rhegium, Rhegians; because, in the beginning of his reign, when he had defired the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, they told his ambaffador, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The besieged being abandoned by their allies, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, fent ambaffadors to treat of a furrender. Dionyfius, diffembling Grants the his refentment, granted them peace on condition they paid him Rhegians ? 300 talents, delivered up their fleet, which confifted of 70 gal-peace. lies, and put 100 hostages into his hands. These terms being agreed to, he drew off his army to Caulonia, which he razed to the ground, giving the territory to the Locrians, and transporting the inhabitants to Syracuse. The following spring he took and razed Hipponium, a city of the Brutians, giving its territory also to the Locrians, and sending the inhabitants to Syracuse. As he now wanted a pretence to break with the Rhegians, he put off the transporting of his troops from Italy from day to day, and at length drawing them altogether at Rhegium, he defired the Rhegians to furnish them with provisions, promiling to defray the charges they should be at as soon as he got to Syracuse. If they refused this demand, he thought he would have a pretence for committing hostilities; and if they

complied

condition to make a defence. The Rhegians, not suspecting

his defign, supplied him for some days very plentifully; but he

still alleging many frivolous excuses for delaying his departure,

the utmost vigour. Dionysius, in one of the sallies, was so

nevertheless continued the siege with the utmost fury, yet almost

all his efforts were baffled by the bravery of the befieged; for

that for eleven months he had made very little progress in his

attacks. The befieged, indeed, were then reduced to the ut-

most extremity by famine, so that a bushel of wheat was fold

for 151. 125. 6d. After they had confumed all their beafts of

burthen, they supported themselves with boiled skins and lea-

ther; which also failing, they daily went out to feed like brutes

on the grass that grew under the walls. Being at length, thro'

famine, obliged to furrender at discretion, Dionysius entered

the city, when he was struck with horror, finding every where

dangerously wounded, that his life was despaired of.

they at length faw into his defign, and forbore fending him He again any more provisions. Dionysius pretending to be highly affront invests the ed at this, sent them back their hostages, and immediately becity. The attack and defence was carried on with

The great distress of the Rhe-gians.

The cruelty of Dionysius.

heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and those who survived, rather skeletons than men. Having collected about 6000 prisoners, he sent them to Syracuse, where such as were not able to redeem themselves with a mina, or 31. 25. 6d. were sold for slaves. Dionysius chiefly vented his rage against the brave governor of the place, named Philo. He caused his son to be thrown headlong into the sea; and the next day he caused Philo to be loaded with chains, and having fastened him to the top of one of his highest engines, sent one of his guards to tell him, that his fon had been drowned the day before. Then the son, replied Philo, is by one day happier than the father. He was afterwards whipt thro' the city, and underwent innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier proclaimed, that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner for having stirred up the people of Rhegium to war. But Philo, with undaunted courage, cried out, that he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant. His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he fuffered, even raised compassion in the breasts of the tyrant's foldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have refcued him, had not Dionysius ordered him to be thrown into the sea. His death was lamented by all the Greeks, and became the subject

Dionyfius addicted to poetry.

Dionysius, in the intervals of leisure, loved to unbend his mind with the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially of poetry; piquing himself upon the excellence of his genius, and the elegance of his performance. He sent for poets far and near, and by their flattering panegyrics, became so conceited of his poetical abilities, that he was more pleased to hear his verses commended than his victories and conquests. Philoxenus, an excellent poet, was the only one who attempted to unde-

of many elegant and affecting elegies.

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ceive him; but narrowly escaped paying dear for his fincerity. Being one day pressed to give his opinion of some verses that Dionysius had read to him, he delivered his sentiments with great fincerity and freedom. Dionyfius ascribing the liberty he had taken Philoxenus to envy, fent him immediately to the quarries to work as a fent to the flave; however, at the earnest intreaties of all the tyrant's quarries, friends, he was next day fet at liberty, and restored to favour. for censur-Dionysius on this occasion made a noble entertainment, inviting ing his to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began poetry. to be merry, the prince did not fail again to extol his own poems; and finging some of them, which he thought the most excellent, he asked him what he thought of those? Philoxenus, incapable of dissembling, made no answer to Dionysius; but turned to the guards, and with a ferious but humourous look, defired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry Dionysius took Dionysius in good part; faying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for reconciled his freedom. One Antipho, however, foon after, imprudently to him. carried a jest too far; for which he paid very dear. The prince asking which was the best kind of brass, Antipho answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. These were two Athenians, celebrated by their countrymen for having lost their lives in an attempt to put an end to the tyranny of Pisistratus's fons.

Dionysius, fancying himself the best poet of his age, sent his Dionysius brother Thearides to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry disputes and the chariot-races. When Thearides arrived at Olympia, the the prize riches and number of his chariots, and the extraordinary mag- of poetry nificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and filver, at the attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their Olympic ears were no less charmed at first, when the songs of Dionysius games. began to be read, he having chosen, for that purpose, persons of fweet and harmonious voices. But at length, when the affembly began to attend to the fense and composition, they all burst out into a loud laugh, and hiffed the fingers off the stage; and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. His chariots were also unsuccessful, being either driven out of the course, or dashed in pieces against one another. Dionystus sent He falls his poems a second time to Olympia, where they were treated into adeep with the fame contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melanchomelancholy, and a kind of madness. He exclaimed like a ly. phrenetic, that every one envied him, and that both his friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness he put many of his friends to death, and banished others. Among the latter were Leptines his brother, and Philistius, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. He, however, foon recalled them, and reinstated them in their former places of power and authority.

To remove his inelancholy, he again had recourse to arms, Forms a and formed a design of driving the Carthaginians quite out of design of Sicily. To supply himself with money for so expensive an un-plunder-dertaking, he resolved to plunder the temple of Delphi in ing the Vol. III.

Delphi.

temple of Greece; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, who were at war with the Epirots, in hopes of having an opportunity of seizing some places in Epirus. He sent his new allies 2000 men, and a great quantity of arms; but a rupture foon after happening between him and them, on account of his building the city of Liffus in the island of Pharos, which belonged to them, he laid aside his design of plundering Delphi, and purfued another project of the same kind. Under pretence the temple of clearing the seas of pyrates, he fitted out 60 gallies, and made a descent in Hetruria, where he plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above 1000 talents in money, and raifing 500 more by the fale of the spoils. Aristotle, Polyanus, and Ælian, call the temple he plundered Leucothea; and the two first say that he employed 100 gallies in the expedition *.

of Agylla in Hetruria.

Plunders

A new war beand the Carthagimians.

Having with this money raifed a numerous army, he now wanted nothing but a plaufible pretence to break with the Cartween him thaginians; for which he was not long at a loss. Observing that the Carthaginian subjects in Sicily were inclined to a revolt, he entered into an alliance with them, in confequence of which his troops were admitted into their cities: The Carthaginians, alarmed by these proceedings, strengthened themselves, by alliances with their neighbours, and fent a powerful army into Sicily, under the command of Mago, and another into Italy. The Sicilian army, foon after its arrival, was defeated by Dionysius, Mago, with 10,000 of his troops, being killed in the action, and 5000 taken prisoners. Those who remained retreated to a neighbouring hill; but were quickly obliged to capitulate. The only terms they could obtain were, that they should evacuate Sicily, and defray all the expences of the war. They pretended to accept of these terms; but as they durst not, they faid, deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily, without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce till an express should return from Carthage. During this interval, Mago, the fon of their late general, who was appointed to fucceed his father, raifed and disciplined new troops, and improved fo well the short time allowed him, that at the return of the express from Carthage, he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above 14,000 Syracusans on the spot, and among the rest Leptines, the brother of Dionysius, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. Dionysius, with the remains of his army, fled to Syracuse, where he expected to be foon befieged. The Carthaginian general, however, used his victory with great moderation, and offered him terms of peace, which he readily embraced. A treaty was accordingly concluded, on the following conditions; namely, That both parties should keep what they had at the beginning of the war, fave only that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians

A peace concluded.

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^{*} Arift. œcon. l. ii. Polyæn. strat. l. v. Ælian. var. hist. l. i.

the city and territory of Selinus, and part of the territory of Agrigentum, and besides pay 1000 talents to defray the expences

Dionysius comforted himself for the losses he had sustained in Dionysius Sicily, by a victory of a very different kind. He had caused a victor in tragedy, written by himself, to be acted at Athens for the prize poetry at of poetry, and was proclaimed victor; which was, without Athens, doubt, a great honour, as the Athenians were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no-ways biaffed in favour of the tyrant, who had, on all occasions, affisted the Lacedamonians. Dionysius received the news of his victory with such transports of joy as are not to be expressed. He amply rewarded the perfon that brought him the agreeable tidings, caused costly facrifices to be offered to the gods, and believing himself arrived at the highest pitch of glory, set no bounds to his generosity. He made magnificent feafts and banquets, which lasted several days; and on this occasion drinking to excess, a fault he feldom or never was guilty of, he was feized with violent pains, which were attended with uneafy and restless nights. Having His death therefore asked his physicians to give him something to procure fleep, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified his fenses, and laid him in a sleep out of which he never awoke.

A few months before his death, hearing that the Carthaginians were reduced to great diffress by a plague, he, without any declaration of war, fell upon their territories in Sicily, took Selinus, Entella, and Eryx, and laid fiege to Lilybæum; the garrison of which, however, baffled all his efforts. After his departure from thence, the Carthaginians surprized 30 of his best gallies, which he had left in the harbour of Eryx; and a truce

was foon after agreed upon by both parties.

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Dionystus reigned in Syracuse 38 years, and was, without and chadoubt, a prince of great abilities, both in his political and mi-racter. litary capacity. His abilities, however, could not atone for his many vices, which rendered him the object of the public His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice spared not the most facred persons or places; and his cruelty, when awakened by fuspicion or jealousy, was most barbarous. He gloried in his open and professed impiety, whereof the antients relate many inftances. To supply himself with money, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and stript the image of a golden robe which Hiero had prefented to the god, faying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in the fummer, and too cold in the winter; therefore he supplied its place with a cloak of wool. He ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius to be taken off, saying, it was very inconfistent for the son to have a beard when the father had none. He robbed several other statues of the gods of the golden ornaments, and fold all these spoils in the marketplace by auction. The very next day, however, pretending to be forry for having plundered the temples, he ordered all those who had any thing belonging to the immortal gods to restore it

to the temples within a limited time; but did not himself re-

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His great ness.

How unhappy he lived in the midst of this grandeur, is eviwreiched- dent from his continual anxiety and suspicion. He never harangued the people but from the top of a tower; and not daring to trust his friends and nearest relations, he committed the guard of his person to slaves and foreigners, scarce ever venturing out of his palace, tho' furrounded by thefe. His barber boalting, in a merry humour, that he had often held a razor to the king's throat; Dionysius, who heard of the jest, ordered him to be put to death. From that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office; and when they were grown up, he did not care to trust them with razors or scissars, but only allowed them nut-shells, till his apprehensions reduced him to do that office himself. He never went into the apartment of his wives before they were fearched with the utmost care; and his bed was furrounded with a deep and broad trench, over which was a draw bridge. His rest was nevertheless interrupted by the least noise he heard either in the streets or his palace. Neither his fon nor his brother were admitted to his presence without being searched by his guards. How embittered his life was, may be conjectured from the short trial Damocles made of his happiness. This courtier enlarging continually on the great happiness of Dionysius, the tyrant, one day, offered him a short taste of it; which was accepted by him. He was accordingly placed on a bed of gold covered with carpets of an inestimable value. The table was spread with dainties of all forts; and the most beautiful slaves in pompous habits waited on him, and watched the least fignal to serve Damocles, transported with joy, said, that if he could always live in that manner, he should be the happiest of mortals. He had scarce spoke, when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld a naked sword hanging from the cieling by a fingle horse-hair, with its point directly over his head. At this fight he was immediately taken with a cold fweat. Every thing feemed to disappear except the sword. He could think of nothing else; and the danger he was threatned with throwing him into agonies of death, he defired permission to retire.

His good qualities.

As justice should be done to the most wicked, we ought not to omit mentioning the good qualities of Dionysius. haved always with great kindness and respect to his two wives, Doris and Aristomache, who were both married to him the same day; the first being a Locrian and the latter a Syracusan. treated Dion, the brother of Aristomache, with great confidence, and bore with mildness the freedoms he used. When he was one day ridiculing the government of Gelon, and faid, in allufion to his name in Greek, that he had been the laughing-stock of Sicily, all the courtiers highly applauded the low pun. But Dion faid to him, You reign, and have been trusted for Gelon's Sake; but on your account no man will ever be trusted after you. When his fifter Thefta reproached him with his tyranny, and declared,

declared, that she would rather be called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the sister of *Dionysius* the tyrant, he commended her for the affection she shewed to her husband. He also behaved to the *Syracusans*, on many occasions, in an obliging manner, and condescended to converse with the meanest citizens, and even workmen, with familiarity.

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Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris the Locrian, Dionysius and four by Aristomache the fifter of Dion, who took upon him the to speak to the tyrant on his death-bed in favour of his ne- Younger. The physicians, however, favouring Dionysius the son Bef Chr. of Doris, who, as eldest son, had been brought up for the throne, dispatched the father by a strong dose, before he had time to alter his resolution. Dionysius, surnamed the Younger, accordingly ascended the throne in a peaceable manner. A few days after, having affembled the people, he promifed to govern them with great mildness, and begged they would continue to him their respect and good-will. As Dionysius was of an inactive and slothful disposition, the Syracusans judged that they would be exposed to fewer calamities by submitting to his government, than if they attempted to expell him; they therefore, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, suffered him to take quiet posfession of the throne. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averse from all violence and cruelty, hat a taste for arts and sciences, and took great delight in converting with learned men. His father, however, endeavoured to stifle in him every noble and elevated fentiment, by a mean and obscure education: but upon his accession to the throne, Dion, the brother of Aristomache, endeavoured to inspire him with thoughts suitable to the high station he was placed in. Plato, the famous philosopher, having, on the invitation of Dionysius the Elder, arrived at Syracuse, Dion, who was then young, contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with him, and so improved by his lessons, that Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him, "That he had never met with a young man on " whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had " embraced his principles with fo much ardour (c),"

Dionysius having been kept under great restraint by his father, He abanabandoned himself, in the beginning of his reign, to all manner dons himself low diversions and shameful pleasures. He began his reign self to dewith giving an entertainment, which continued for three months bauchery. together, his palace all that time being crowded with debauchees, and resounding with nothing but low bussionry, obscene jests, lewd songs, &c. As the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, Dian thought that the best way to instruct him, would be to introduce to him persons of good sense, vir-

(c) The tyrant taking offence at the freedom of Plato, ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there fold

as a flave for five minas, or about 15 l. 10 s. Some philosophers of the same sect redeemed him, and fent him back to Greece.

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tue and learning. With this view he often talked to him of Plato, and enlarged on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowlege, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. His discourses being well timed, the young prince was inflamed with a defire of feeing that celebrated philosopher, and wrote to him in the most obliging for Piato manner, inviting him to his court. All the Pythagorean philosophers of Sicily and Italy joining their entreaties with those of the prince, and Dion never ceasing to importune him with repeated letters, he at length confented to return into Sicily, and to attend the young prince. The other courtiers, who were for the most part young thoughtless debauchees united against Plato as their common enemy. Tho' they were not able to prevent Plato's voyage, they raised a strong battery to render his counsels ineffectual, by persuading Dionysius to recall the historian Philistus from banishment, who, tho' a man of fuch extraordinary parts and learning as to be honoured by Tully with the title of Thucydides the second, was nevertheless a zealous affertor of tyranny.

His great that philosopher,

Dionysius no sooner heard that Plato was landed, than he ofrespect for fered a solemn sacrifice to the gods for having sent him a man of fo great merit and wisdom. Plato found the king in the most happy disposition imaginable, and inflamed with an eager defire of profiting by his precepts. The philosopher adapting himself with wonderful address to his humour, gained his confidence and affection, and in a very short time wrought a furprizing change in his mind. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, feemed also to have lost all relish for frivolous amusements, and applied themselves to the study of philosophy. as the only means to preferment.

who is envied by the courtiers.

Philistus and his party beginning at length to suspect, from fome expressions dropt by Dionysius, that Plato might induce him to refign the tyranny, used all possible means to ruin the credit of the philosopher. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato; and at length, by their sly infinuations, raised in the mind of Dionysius some suspicion of Dion, as the he wanted to persuade him to a voluntary refignation of the crown, that he might place it upon the head of his nephew the fon of Aristomache. At last, producing a feigned letter written, as they alleged, by Dion to the Carthaginians, and containing feveral articles of treason, they inflamed the king against him to such a degree, that he banished him from Sicily. The whole city of Syracuse declared loudly against the unjust and arbitrary proceedings of the king, who, to appeale the public clamours, the consequences of which he dreaded, allowed Dion's relations two vessels to carry him into Peloponnesus, whither he had retired, with his riches and numerous retinue, for at home he had lived with the splendor of a prince. As foon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato to remove

into the citadel in appearance to do him more honour; but in reality to affure himself of his person. Out of a soolish jea-

His friend Dion banished.

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loufy, he offered him all his treasures, provided he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion. A war soon after breaking out, Dionysius gave Plato liberty to return home, and at his de-Plato parture would have loaded him with prefents; which were re-leaves Sia fused by the philosopher, who only begged that he would re-city. call Dion. Dionysius promised to restore him the following fpring; but did not keep his word. He fent him only the revenues of his estate; and in a letter he wrote to Plato, defired him to excuse his breach of promise, and to impute it to the Dion, during his banishment, visited most of the cities of Greece, and was every where received with extraordinary marks of distinction. The Lacedamonians, tho' at that very time they were affifted with powerful supplies by Dionysius, made him free of their city; and at Athens, where he chose to fix his residence, all the inhabitants strove as it were to outdo each other in giving him instances of their esteem and affection. The tyrant's jealoufy being thereby alarmed, he put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treasury.

Dionysius having finished the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been transmitted to us, was again inflamed with a defire of feeing and hearing Plato. He defired all the philosophers to solicit his return, fent many of his friends He reon board two gallies to conduct him to Syracuse, and wrote let- turns to ters to him with his own hand, affuring him, that if he would Syracuse. return, Dion should be immediately restored. Plato, from his defire to ferve Dion, accordingly fet out for Sicily the third time, being then in the 70th year of his age. Dionysius received him with inexpressible joy, appointed him the best apartment in his palace, and fuffered him to have free access to him at all hours without being fearched: a favour not granted to his best friends. Plato being very pressing in favour of Is disgrac-Dion, foon difgusted the tyrant, who all on a sudden ordered ed by Diohim to remove from his apartment in the palace, to another mysus, where his guards were quartered. These had long hated Plato, because he had advised Dionysius to dismiss them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. Dionysius restrained their fury, forbidding them, on pain of death, to moleft his guest; and Archytas the philosopher, who was prætor of Tarentum, remonstrating to the tyrant against his breach of and refaith, he was awaked to a sense of shame, and at length gave turns to

Upon his departure, Dionysius threw off all restraint, and abandoned himself to the most shameful vices. He ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. He also gave Dion's wise Arete, who was his half sister, in marriage to Timocrates, one of his friends and flatterers. Dion, from this moment, resolved to revenge all the Dion rewrongs done to him, and to attack the tyrant with open force. solves to Plato, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, expell the did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolutyrant.

Plato leave to return to Greece.

tion; but the rest of his friends encouraging him, and many of the chief citizens of Syracuse continually importuning him to come and rescue them from slavery, he determined to under-take the delivery of his country. He accordingly began to raife foreign troops privately by proper agents, appointing the island of Zacynthus for the place of rendezvous. Tho' many persons of distinction, who were at the head of affairs in Sicily, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted; yet of the exiles, who were above 1000 dispersed up and down Sicily and Greece, only 25 joined him; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The foreign troops, who were almost all veterans, being assembled at Zacynthus, to the number of 800, Dion acquainted them with his defign; and feeing them confounded a little at the boldness of his undertaking, he told them, that he led them as officers, to put them at the head of the Sicilians, who were ready to receive them with open arms. Dion accordingly failed to Sicily with this small force on board two ships against Dionysius, who had under his command 400 gallies, 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with treasures and magazines of provisions sufficient to maintain them.

He arrives in Sicily.

Is joined by great numbers of Sicilia

The Syracusans declare him and his brother generals.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage, in which he narrowly escaped shipwreck, he landed at Minoa near Agrigentum, where he was kindly received by Synalus, or as Diodorus calls him, Paralus, his particular friend, and governor of the city, which was then subject to the Carthaginians. Dion hearing that Dionysius, some days before his arrival, had sailed with 80 gallies for Italy, immediately fet out for Syracuse, and on his march prevailed on the Agrigentines, Geleans, Camarineans, and many others, to join him; fo that he quickly had an army of 20,000 men. When he arrived at the Syracusan territories, he was joined by great multitudes of unarmed Syracusans, to the best of whom he distributed 5000 stand of arms that he had brought with him. Very many of the citizens flocking to his camp, he acquainted them with his defign, and defired them to name a general, who should be entrusted with the wiele conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that Dion and his brother Megagles should be generals, and invested them with absolute power and command. Dion, without delay, marched to the city, where he was received with the greatest acclamations of joy; the citizens, wherever he passed, throwing all forts of flowers upon him, and addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Having encamped in the forum with his troops, which amounted to above 50,000 men, he fell upon Epipolæ, and took it by storm, setting at liberty the citizens who were prisoners in the fort. He then threw an entrenchment round the citadel, whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled.

Dionysius, who in the mean time was at Caulonia in Italy, receiving intelligence of what passed in Syracuse, hastened thither, and entered the citadel by sea, seven days after the arrival

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of Dion. Finding his affairs in a very desperate condition, to gain time, he sent ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans, offering to restore the democracy, provided they would confer on him certain honours in the republican state. Having spun out the Dionysius. conferences granted him on this occasion for several days, and attacks observing the Syracusan guards very negligent, he suddenly at- the Syratacked the wall with which they had enclosed the citadel. Tho' cufans unthe Syracusans were at first thrown into disorder, yet they af- der Dion. terwards fought with great resolution, and Dion distinguished himself above all the rest. His shield being pierced thro' in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right-arm with a javelin, and fainting away thro' the extremity of pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands; when the Syracufans making a desperate effort, rescued him, and put the enemy to flight.

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Dionysius, after this defeat, again proposed terms of peace; but the only answer Dion returned was this, Let Dionysius first abdicate the tyranny, and then we shall hear him. The tyrant, tho' highly provoked at this answer, dissembled his referement, and fent other amballadors to Dion, with a letter written in a most artful manner, and wonderfully calculated to render him suspected by the Syracusans. This letter had the effect he defired; for Dion having read it in the public affembly, the citizens began to be jealous of his too great power. Herachdes Ingratifoon, after arriving with 20 ships and 1500 mercenaries, en-tude of creased the disturbances in Syracuse. He was an excellent offi- the S.racer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly cusans tocommanded; but was at the same time very ambitious. He wards sided, in appearance, with Dion, but was secretly his enemy; Dion. and by his open and infinuating behaviour, foon ingratiated himself with the people, who were not a little disgusted at the auftere gravity of Dion. Of their own accord they called an affembly, and appointed Heraclides commander in chief of the fleet; but Dion haftening to the affembly, and complaining of the affront offered to him, his remonstrances were of such weight with them, that they deprived Heraclides of the office which they had just then honoured him with. Dion afterwards, having gently reprimanded him privately, fummoned a new affembly, and in the presence of the multitude appointed him admiral. Dion hoped by this means to get the better of his rival's ill-will; and Heraclides, indeed, expressed a great many obligations to him; but at the fame time influenced the people underhand against him, and found fault with his whole conduct, aiming still at the supreme authority for himself. Having foon after gained a complete victory over Philistus, the tyrant's admiral, who in despair had killed himself, he by that action greatly raised his reputation among the Syracusans.

Dionysius was so disheartned with the death of Philistus and the defeat of his squadron, that he sent ambassadors to Dion, offering to furrender the citadel, with all the troops there in

Dionyfins flies to Italy.

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garrison, and money to pay them for five months, on condition of being allowed to retire to Italy, and to enjoy the revenue of certain lands near Syracuse. Dion advised the Syracus fans to accept the terms; but they disdainfully refused to heark. en to them. Dionysius then leaving the citadel in the hands of his eldest son, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undifcovered in Italy with his treasures and most valuable effects. Heraclides being greatly blamed for suffering him to escape,

in order to regain the favour of the people, proposed a new division of lands; which motion was warmly opposed by Dion, By thus pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he regained his popularity, and prevailed on the people to make a new division of lands, to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, and to appoint new generals, himself among the rest. The people not being able to prevail with the foreign troops to abandon Dion, affembled in a tumultuous and threatning manner; upon which those brave men placed Dion in their centre, and began to march out of the city, without offering violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer. The citizens ascribing their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them; which forced Dion, after he had in vain endeavoured to appeale them, to order his men to face about, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude. They obeyed his orders; and raifing a great shout, and making a noise with their arms, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disordered flight. Dion then marching out of the city unmolested, proceeded with his troops towards the country of the Leontines; but the Syracufans being treated by their countrymen as cowards for having suffered them to escape, again pursued after them, and overtaking them as they were passing a river, they immediately charged them; but were repulsed with considerable loss. The Leontines not only received Dion with great marks of diffinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them

In the mean time, the tyrant's troops in the citadel being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, sent deputies to the city to treat of a capitulation. During the conferences, Nypfius, a general attached to Dionysius, arrived with a numerous squadron of ships, and a great many transports laden with provisions. Nypsius landed-his men and stores in the port of Arethuja, and joined the garrison in the citadel, whom he perfuaded to lay afide all thoughts of furrendering. The Syracu-Jans, upon notice of his arrival, manned as many gallies as they had at hand; and attacking the enemy's ships, funk some The Syra- of them, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. Upon cusans fur- this victory, giving themselves up to feasting and revelling, prized by Nypsius took that opportunity of affaulting the entrenchment the garri-round the citadel; and having forced it, without any opposifon of the tion, all the garrison, consisting of 10,000 well disciplined

They also expostulated with the Syracusans

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troops, entered the city, and made such dreadful havock as can hardly be expressed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houses were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel.

The Syracufans, tho' they were well apprized that Dion was Dion rethe only person who could administer to them any relief in their called. desperate situation, yet had not courage enough to name him; so much were they ashamed of their ingratitude to their protector. The danger encreasing every moment, and the enemy preparing to fet fire to the city, one at length cried out, Let us fend for Dion. The motion was approved by the whole multitude, and deputies were immediately dispatched to Leontini; who throwing themselves at Dion's feet, with many tears entreated his affiftance. Having again, at Dion's defire, reprefented the miserable state of their city before his officers assembled in a council of war, he himself rose up to address them; but instead of speaking, burst into tears, and could not for some time utter a single word. At length, having recovered himself, he made a most pathetic speech to his troops; which had fuch an effect upon them, that with one voice they entreated him to lead them that moment against the enemy. In the mean time, some of the Syracusans conjecturing that the enemy would not attempt a fecond fally, advised their fellow citizens to think no more of Dion, but to defend themselves by their own valour. They fo far prevailed, that new deputies were dispatched to stop his march; but his friends at the same time entreated him, by some private messengers, to advance with his troops;

fally from the citadel, and caused such dreadful havock in all The dequarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies, with plorable which every place was strewed, one would have believed that condition not a single citizen had been lest alive. After they had mur- of Syradered all the inhabitants they could light on, they set fire to the cuse, houses; so that many who had escaped the sword, perished miserably in the slames.

which the opposite faction being informed of, they seized the

gates with a defign to dispute his entrance. Nypsus, in the

mean time, hearing of the approach of Dion, made another

Dion arriving during this confusion, immediately dispatched his light armed troops against the enemy, and afterwards marched across the city with his heavy armed infantry; being every where welcomed with the loud acclamations of the people, who now seemed to be in more pain for his safety than their own. His troops having marched with great difficulty which is thro' blood and clouds of smoke, and over dead bodies and burn-relieved

ing beams, arrived at length at the breach of the entrench- by Dion.
ments, where the enemy had posted themselves. They attacked them suriously, and at length drove them from their posts with great slaughter. The city being thus delivered, Dion's men, instead of refreshing themselves after so great a satigue, pent all that night in extinguishing the sire; which they com-

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passed, not without great difficulty. The next day Heraclides. and his uncle Theodotus, put themselves into Dion's hands, and begged him to pardon the injuries they had done him. Dian. hoping to conquer their stubborn and restless dispositions by kind usage, generously pardoned them. Heraclides seeming to be affected with his kindness, proposed in the general affembly that Dion should be elected generalissimo; but the ungrateful populace opposing this motion, Heraclides was allowed still to command in chief at fea.

Thecitadel furrenders.

The Syraculans now applying themselves under the direction of Dion folely to the fiege of the citadel, foon obliged the garrifon to capitulate. Dion allowed Apollocrates, the tyrant's fon. to retire to his father in Italy, with five gallies, and all his friends and relations. At his departure, the whole city crowded to the shore to solemnize the happy day on which, after so many years fervitude, they could again stile themselves a free people. Dion, upon entering the citadel at the head of his troops, was met at the gate by his fifter Aristomache, leading his fon, and by his wife Arete, whom Dion tenderly embraced. Having fent Arete with her fon home to his house, he soon followed her thither, leaving the Syracufans in possession of the citadel as a pledge of their liberty. Dion after this rewarded, with a munificence truly royal, all those who had contributed to his fuccess according to their rank and merit, dismissed his guards, and tho' at the height of glory, lived like a private

The city being now in profound tranquillity, Dian proposed to establish in it a form of government composed of the Spartan and Cretan, and to vest the supreme authority in a council, the members of which were to be chosen by the people Heraclides and nobility. Heraclides warmly opposing this design, and enmurdered deavouring, in a feditious manner, to ftir up the people against by Dion's Dion, he was at length prevailed upon to confent to his death. He was accordingly affaffinated in his own house by Dion's friends; Dion publickly owning that he had been put to death by his order, and representing to the people, that it was impossible for the city to be free from commotions and seditions, while Heraclides lived. Dion, however, never after enjoyed an happy hour, but lived in continual anguish and forrow, reproaching himself for having embrued his hands in the blood of a fellow citizen. Not long after his fon, for fome unknown disappointment, threw himself from the top of an house, and died of the fall. Dion, foon after, was cut off himself by the treachery of Calippus, an Athenian, with whom he had lodged when at Athens, Calippus having attended Dion into Sicily after the tyrant was expelled, began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse. As he was well apprised that he could not accomplish his design while Dion lived, he threw off all regard for the facred ties of friendship and hospitality, and determined to get rid of him. Dion, tho' warned by his friends of his wicked purpose, scorned to take any precautions

cautions for his own fafety; fo that he was foon after furprised Dion basein his house by Calippus and some Zacynthian soldiers, who mur-ly assaffidered him, and carried his wife and fifter to the public prison. nated.

After the death of Dion, Calippus, with the affiftance of the Calippus Zacynthian troops, made himself master of Syracuse, and prac-makes tised there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants who went himself before him. The traitor, however, foon met with the punish- master of ment he deserved; for having marched with his forces against Syracuse. Catana, Syracuse revolted. He not being able to recover the city, marched to Messana; but he was repulsed from thence by the inhabitants, who in a fally cut off most of the Zacynthian troops that were concerned in the murder of Dion. Every city in Sicily refufing to admit fuch an execrable monster, he retired to Rhegium, where some time after he was slain by Leptines and His death. Polyperchon, with the fame dagger with which he had murdered

Aristomache and Arete, upon the downfal of Calippus, were Dion's fet at liberty, and at first kindly entertained by Icetas of Syra-wife and cuse, one of Dion's friends. Afterwards, however, at the folli-fifter put citation of Dion's enemies, he put them on board a veffel, under to death. pretence of fending them to Peloponnesus; but ordered the commander of the ship to put them to death in the passage, and throw them into the fea: which inhuman orders were ac-

Callippus held the fovereign power in Syracuse about ten months, New and was expelled by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, who commokept possession of the city for two years. Dionysius, in the tions in mean time, taking advantage of the factions and divisions in Syracuse. Syracuse, assembled some foreign troops, and having defeated Bef. Chr. Nypsius, the governor of the city, reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His past missortunes served only to inflame his tyrannical temper, and to render him more favage and brutal than ever. The Syracusans, not able to brook so cruel a

fervitude, had recourse to Icetas, then tyrant of Leontini, and created him general of all their forces. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, fending a great fleet to Sicily, in hopes of making an entire conquest of the island, the Syracusans thought it expedient to ask the affistance of the Corinthians, from whom The Syrathey were descended, and who, of all the Greek nations, were cusans ask the most professed enemies to tyranny. Icetas, who privately the affifdefigned to seize Syracuse for himself, seemed to approve these tance of measures; but at the same time was contriving how he could the Covinprevent the Corinthians from fending any forces into the island thians. which, according to a treaty he had fecretly concluded with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulsion of Dionysius, to be divided between him and them. The Corinthians readily grant-Timoleon

ed succours to the Syracufans, and sent them to Sicily under the sent by conduct of Timoleon, who was to be commander in chief.

Timoleon was sprung from one of the most illustrious families Sicily. in Corintb, and had figualized himself in the defence of his coun-

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try against the pretensions both of foreign and domestic tyrants. Not being able to distuade his elder brother Timophanes from a design he had formed of seizing the sovereignty, he caused him to be put to death in his presence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth; but highly blamed by others, who exclaimed, that he would draw the vengeance of the gods upon himself and his country. His mother refusing to see him, he was fruck with fuch horror at the action, that he refolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abstaining from all nourishment. His friends having, with the utmost difficulty, disfluaded him from this fatal resolution, he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude; and actually wandered about in solitary and desart places near twenty years. Returning then to Corinth, he still lived private and retired; but was now forced, against his own inclination, to take the command of the forces to be fent to Sicily. Diodorus, in his account of this fact, varies a little from Plutarch, whom we have followed; and fays, that Timoleon had just killed his brother, when the

Syracusan deputies arrived at Corinth.

Icetas hoping to deter the Corinthians from intermedling in the affairs of Sicily, fent to acquaint them, that the Carthaginians were waiting to intercept their squadron, and that he had been even obliged to call them to his aid and employ them against the tyrant; so that he now hoped, without putting them to any trouble, to be able to restore Syracuse to its antient liberty. Timoleon being convinced that Icetas acted treacherously, only hastened the embarkation of his troops, who were in all but 1000 men. On his arrival at Italy with ten gallies, he was informed that Icetas had defeated the tyrant, and was belieging him in the citadel; but that he had also given orders to the Carthaginians to destroy his squadron as soon as it appeared on the coast of Sicily. Proceeding nevertheless to Rhegium, he there found ambaliadors from Icetas, who acquainted him, that he should be kindly received at Syracuse, provided he dismissed his troops; and otherwise, the Syracusans, who were jealous of soreign forces, would not admit him into their city. Twenty Carthaginian gallies at the same time arriving in the port of Rher gium to oppose his passage to Sicily, Timoleon demanded a conference with the Sicilian ambassadors and Carthaginian officers, in presence of the people of Rhegium. The Rhegians being fecretly in his interest, prevailed with the Carthaginians to agree to the conferences, which were held in the city, and were carried on for several hours with great seeming warmth. Timoleon, in the mean time, having fent away nine of his gallies, at length slipped out of the assembly and went off himself; the Rhegians amusing the deputies and commanders till he had got

He lands at Tauron minium,

a great way out to fea.

Timoleon landed with his troops at Taurominium; which lectas was no fooner informed of, than he allowed the Carthaginian fleet, which confifted of 150 gallies, to take possession of

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Syracuse, and dispatched an express to Mago, desiring him to advance with the Carthaginian army to the gates of the city. In the mean time Timoleon left Taurominium, and advancing to and de-Adranum, defeated a Carthaginian detachment four times his feats number, and commanded by Icetas. On this fuccess, not only Icetas. Adranum, but several other cities, opened their gates to Timolean, and joined him with all their forces. Timoleon, with these reinforcements, advanced to Syracuse, which he found in a most deplorable fituation, Icetas being mafter of the city, the Carthaginians of the port, and Dionysius of the citadel. rant finding it impossible to hold out, entered into a treaty with Dionysus Timoleon, and being allowed by him to retire unmolested, de- surrenders livered up to him the citadel; and besides not only all his war-himself to like stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his Timoleon. palace, with 70,000 complete fuits of armour, and 2000 regu- Bef. Chr. lar troops, which he incorporated among his Corinthians. Dionysius then came to the camp of Timoleon as a private man and a suppliant, after he had been near twelve years lord of one of the most wealthy kingdoms then known. Timoleon fent him Lives in a with one galley to Corinth, whither he arrived fafe, and was at mean &first greatly pitied by the Corinthians; but his manner of life tion at foon changed their compassion into contempt. He passed whole Corintb. days in perfumers shops, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them on the rules of music and the harmony of airs. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at Corinth. king of Macedon, meeting him one day in the streets of Corinth, asked him, how he came to lose so powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father? Dionysius answered, that his father, indeed, had left him a rich kingdom; but not the fortune which had preferved both him and his kingdom *.

After the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas laid siege to the citadel, Icetas bewhich was defended only by 400 Corinthians lest there by Tisieges the
moleon, who had gone with his army to Catana. As Timoleon, Corinthiin spite of all opposition, conveyed provisions into the place, ans in the
lectas and Mago lest part of their army in Syracuse, and marchcitadel.
ed with the rest against Timoleon, resolving either to drive him
from Catana, or block him up in that city. They were scarce
gone, when Leon, who commanded in the citadel, sallied out
against those who were lest to continue the siege, killed a great
many of them, put the rest to slight, and having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called Acradina, fortished it, and
joined it to the citadel. This bad news soon brought back
Mago and Icetas; but their attempts to recover Acradina were

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Timoleon, soon after, receiving a reinforcement of 2000 foot Messana and 200 horse from Corinth, marched against Messana, and reduced having reduced that city, advanced to Syracuse. He sent several by Timoleon,

^{*} Cic. Tusc. quæst, 1. iii. Val. max. 1. vi. Demet. Phaler. de eloc. emissaries

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emissaries into the enemy's camp, who artfully infinuated to the Syracusans and Greeks serving under Icetas and Mago, that it was shameful for them to fight against Timoleon, whose only defign was to restore them to their antient liberty. The difcourses of the emissaries reaching the ears of Mago, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, he gave out that his forces were going to betray him; and on that pretence weighed anchor, without hearkening to the entreaties and remonstrances of Icetas, and returned to Carthage.

who also takes Syracufe,

which is

re-peo-

pled by

thians.

The next day Timoleon appeared before the city, and affaulted it in three different quarters with fuch vigour, that he foon made himself master of the place. Immediately after he caused a proclamation to be made, inviting all the citizens to come the day after with necessary tools, and demolish, with their own hands, the citadel and other caftles, which he called the nests of tyrants.

The Syraculans looking upon that day as the first of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they foon demolished, together with the forts and the tyrants palaces, breaking open also their tombs, and destroying every monument of tyranny. On the spot where the citadel had stood, Timoleon caused public edifices to be erected for the administration of justice. He found the city in a most miserable condition, almost wholly desolate; infomuch that the horses grazed on the grass that grew in the very market-place. The Corinthians, at the defire of Timoleon, fent heralds to all the facred games and public affemblies of Greece, inviting all the Syracufan and Sicilian refugees to repair to their native country, and the Corin- to take possession anew of their lands and estates. They at the fame time fent couriers to Afia and the neighbouring islands, whither many fugitives had retired, offering to convey them from Corinth to their own country at the expence of the public.

Great numbers of refugees accordingly affembled at Corinth, and being joined by other Greeks, embarked for Syracuse, being in all above 10,000. Many other people also from Italy and different parts of Sicily reforting thither, Timoleon distributed the lands among them gratis, but fold the houses; and with the money arising from the fale, established a fund for the sup-

port of the poor and needy.

Timoleon delivers the other cities of their tyrants.

Timoleon having thus raised Syracuse in a manner from the dust, undertook the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities of Sicily. He compelled Icetas, tyrant of Leontini, to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, demolish Sicili from his forts, and refign his fovereignty. Leptines tyrant of Engyum and Apollonia, also surrendered to Timoleon, who sent him, with feveral other tyrants, to Corinth; and afterwards possessing himfelf of Entella, put to death all those who adhered to the Carthaginians. The Greek cities now every where submitting to him, he restored them to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, and made an alliance with many of the cities of the Sicani and Siculi, who folicited his friendship. Timoleon having ed to

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fet the whole island at liberty, returned to Syracuse, where in conjunction with two legislators sent from Corinth, he instituted such laws as were most proper for the democracy. Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called, the amphipolus of

Jupiter Olympius. Timoleon having thus reformed the government of Syracuse, Makes resolved to expel, if possible, the Carthaginians from Sicily. He war upon fent a strong detachment into the countries subject to them, the Carwith orders to plunder the territories of those who refused to thaginito renounce their alliance. By this means he got a vast sum ans. of money, which served to pay his foldiers their arrears, and make the necessary preparations for the ensuing war. Carthaginians, to support their interest in Sicily, sent over an army thither; which with the troops in the island, amounted to 70,000 men, and a fleet of 200 gallies and 1000 transports. Upon their landing at Lilybæum, Timoleon immediately advanced against them, tho' his army consisted only of 12,000 men. Part of his troops thinking the enterprize too hazardous, began to mutiny, and 1000 mercenaries refuling to accompany him, returned to Syracuse. The other troops, however, declaring their readiness to follow him, he proceeded to the river Cremissis; and 10,000 of the enemy having passed the river, he attacked that body, which he eafily routed. The whole army The Carthen croffing the river, a general engagement enfued, in which thaginians the Carthaginians attempted to surround the Greeks; but a fu-defeated rious form of hail, thunder and lightning arising, and beating by him. in their faces, they were foon put into diforder, and fled with precipitation to the river, where many of them were drowned, and others trampled under foot; while the Greeks pursued, and cut very many of them to pieces. Upwards of 12,000 of the Carthaginians were flain, and 15,000 taken prisoners. All their baggage and provision, with 200 chariots, 1000 coats of mail, and 10,000 shields, fell into the hands of the Greeks. The spoil, which was exceeding rich, Timoleon divided among his foldiers, and retained nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. Returning soon after to Syracuse, he was received by the magistrates and people with the greatest demonitrations of joy; and not long after he banished the 1000

mercenaries who had deferted him.

The Carthaginians, upon the news of the defeat of their Peace troops, were feized with fuch terror, that they immediately concluded fent ambassadors to Sicily to entreat a peace. As several new with tyrants had again started up, and began to form a powerful althem. liance against Timoleon, he granted a peace to the Carthaginians, on condition that all the Greek cities should be set free; that the Lycus, or Halycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians might, if they pleased, remove with their

effects to Syracuse, and that Carthage should not give any affistance to the tyrants against the Syracusans.

Vol. III. G After

All the Sicilian tyrants put to death.

Timoleon

After this peace was concluded, Timoleon marched against the tyrants. He defeated Icetas, and put him and his fon to The tyrant's wife and daughter being also taken, were taken and put to death by the Syracufans, to revenge the murder of Dion's wife and fifter, whom Icetas had caused to be thrown into the fea. All the other tyrants of Sicily met with the like fate, being first overcome by Timoleon, and then put to death by those whom they tyranically oppressed. Timpleon having restored tranquillity to the island, granted shares to 40,000 new planters in the territories of Syracuse, reviewed and amended the laws of Diocles, and having repeopled also several other cities, he refigned his authority to live in retirement, having fent for his wife and children from Corinth. Before he died, he was afflictrefigns his ed with the loss of his fight; in which condition the Syracufans authority. gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent vifits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to falute their benefactor and deliverer. He enjoyed his retirement only His death. two years, and after his death was honoured as a god. The Syraculans laid out 625 l. on his funeral, and made a decree. that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated, with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that whenever the people of Syracuse should be engaged in a war with the barbarians, they should fend to Corinth for a general*. About twenty years after the death of Timoleon, the Sy-

New trouracuse.

The mean him. of Agathocles.

bles in Sy- racusans began again to be involved in the same calamities from which that great man had delivered them. A new tyrant. named Agathocles, started up among them, who exceeded in cruelty, and in all other vices, all those who had gone before him. According to Diodorus, he was born at Thermæ, a city extraction in Sicily subject to the Carthaginians. His mother, while she was with child of him, being troubled with strange dreams, confulted the oracle of Delphi about the child she was big with. The oracle declaring that the child would bring dreadful calamities on the Carthaginians and all Sicily, the father, terrified with this prediction, exposed the child as soon as it was born. The infant continuing alive feveral days, the mother took an opportunity of carrying it off; and calling it Agathocles, entrusted it to her brother Heraclides. His father feeing him when he was feven years of age, and being greatly taken with his beauty, (for he is faid to have been one of the handsomest men of his age) his mother ventured to unfold the truth of the matter; at which the father was greatly overjoyed. He took him home; and removing foon after to Syracuse, bred him up to his own business of a potter. After Timoleon had defeated the Carthaginians on the banks of the Cremissus, Agathocles and his father joined him, and obtained the freedom of Syracuse. Agathocles, when he grew up, was recommended by his beauty to a rich and lewd nobleman of Syracuse named Demas; who being soon

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^{*} Diod. 1. xvi. Plut, in Timol.

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after created general of the Agrigentines, gave his favourite the command of 1000 men. When he had before ferved as a common foldier, he was remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military revolutions, and for the great strength of his body; wearing in the usual exercises such heavy armour, as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he had obtained a command, he diftinguished himself on all occasions above the other officers. Demas dying, and leaving his whole estate to his wife, Agathocles married her; and by that means became at once the most wealthy citizen in Syracuse. Soon after, being driven from Syracufe, with many others, by Sofif- He is extratus, who had usurped the supreme authority, he retired to pelled Italy, where he had acquired a great reputation in a war be-from Svtween the Crotanians and Bruttians. He was kindly entertain- racuse. ed at Crotona; but forgetting the favours shewn him, he attempted to make himself lord of the city, and was, on that account, obliged to fly to Tarentum, from whence he was foon after expelled, after having been convicted there of the like practices. After this, as no city would receive him, he put himself at the head of a band of robbers and exiles, and plundered the country. Sofistratus, in the mean time, croffing over into Italy, and laying fiege to Rhegium, Agathocles fell unexpectedly upon him, and obliged him to retire to his ships with loss. Soon after, Sofistratus, with 600 other citizens, were expelled from Syracuse by the popular faction; but having recourse to the Carthaginians, he threatned to return by force. The Syracusans recalling Agathocles, appointed him commander A athocles in chief of their forces. Agathocles defeated the united forces made geof Soliftratus and the Carthaginians in several actions, in one neral of of which he received feven wounds; but the Syracufans the Syraperceiving that he aimed at the fovereign power, conferred the cusans, command on one Acestorides, sent to them from Corinth. Acestorides was no fooner vested with this power, but he formed a design of dispatching Agathocles. He, however, made his escape but is in disguise, and assembled a considerable army with the design obliged to of attacking the city; which so terrified the Syracusans, that fly from they entered into a treaty with him, and upon his difbanding the city. his forces, recalled him home. Altho' upon his return, he fwore, in the most folemn manner, to do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy, yet he again purfued his ambitious defigns; and by courting the populace, and pretending to protect them against the nobles, he so far prevailed as to be created commander in chief of the forces to be fent against the Is again city of Erbita, which had revolted from Syracuse. Agathocles appointed having affembled his troops near Syracuse, advised them to be-general of gin with attacking their domestic enemies, meaning the 600 their fenators, and all their friends, whom he accused of tyranny. army. The troops accordingly entering the city, fell upon all those He massathey met with, and murdered them without distinction of rank, cres all fex or age; plundering their houses, and committing all forts the nobles of cruelties. Tho' in a few hours 4000 and upwards were and chief G 2

killed, citizens.

killed, vet Agathocles was not fatisfied, but encouraged his men to purfue the bloody maffacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, ravish, murder, and commit what enormities they pleased for two whole days and nights. The third day he summoned an affembly of the few who had outlived the general flaughter, and pretending that what he had done was absolutely neceffary for faving the state, and that it was his intention foon to retire to a private life; the whole multitude, who had not any of the citizens left whom they knew fit to govern, cried out with one voice, and proclaimed him king. The troops having no hopes of impunity but in vefting him with the fupreme power, were among the first who bestowed on him the title of king.

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Is proclaimed king. Cancels all debts. and divides the lands equally.

Agathocles being thus raised to the throne, published a law for making void all debts, and for dividing the lands equally among This unjust law gained him the affection of the common people, and weakned the opposite party; so that the few nobles who remained, were upon a level with the meanest of the people. Agathocles having thus established his authority, treated his subjects with great moderation and humanity; allowing every one to come freely into his prefence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which when in his power he never failed to redrefs. Having at length procured the affection of his fubjects by publishing several wholesome laws, he began to attack the neighbouring states; and having subdued them, carried his arms into the very heart of the island; which in the space of two years, he brought entirely under subjection; except a few cities that were held by the Carthaginians, who fent troops into Sicily to oppose the progress of the tyrant. Amilcar, one of their generals, attacked him near Himera, and defeated him, with the loss of 7000 men. Agathocles retreated with the remains of his army, first to Gela, and afterwards to Syracuse: whither he was pursued by the enemy, who laid close fiege to the city.

Reduces the greatest part of Sicily.

The Carbesiege Syracuse.

Tho' the tyrant was now abandoned by all his allies, who thaginians had long detefted his enormous crimes, he did not, however, despair of his affairs; but even formed the bold design of transferring the war into Africa, and besieging Carthage. He communicated his defign to no person whatever; but chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens, fetting those flaves also at liberty, who were able to bear arms, and incorporating them among his troops. He gave free permission to all persons who were not willing to go thro' the fatigues of a fiege, to leave Syracuse. According to Justin, 1600 of the principal citizens accepted of this liberty; but were scarce got out of the city, when they were cut off by parties fent out for that purpose. By seizing their estates, he supplied himself with money for his expedition; and having got all things in readiness, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuje, with men and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege, and embarked with his forces on board 60 gallies, waiting for

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an opportunity to escape from the Carthaginian fleet, which blocked up the harbour. A fleet of victualing ships appearing for the relief of the belieged, the Carthaginians drew off to attack them; which opportunity he immediately seized to get out to fea. The Carthaginians leaving the transports, pursued after Agathocles him; but could not overtake him till fix days afterwards, lands with when he was difembarking his troops on the coast of Africa, at with an a place called the Quarries. They instantly attacked him; army in but being spent with rowing, were repulsed by his fleet, with Africa.

Agathocles having thus landed his troops in the heart of the enemy's country, acquainted them with his defign, and reprefented to them, that the enemy were enervated by eafe and luxury; that their towns were defenceless; and that they were hated by the natives of their country, who would quickly declare for them. Having thus encouraged his foldiers, he affembled them a fecond time; and appearing among them in his royal robes, he told them, that when they were lately purfued by the enemy, he had vowed to Ceres and Proferpine, the tutelar goddesses of Sicily, to burn his fleet in their harbour, if they should deliver his men from the enemy. "Aid me, therefore, He burns "O fellow foldiers, faid he, to discharge this vow;" and hav- his ships. ing uttered these words, he took a torch in his hand, and set fire to his own ships. All the officers, the chief of whom were gained over by him, imitated his example, and were chearfully followed by the foldiers, who did not allow themselves time for reflection, but testified their joy by loud acclamations. This conduct of Agathocles, howfoever wild and extravagant in appearance, was founded on good reasons, and was highly approved of by Scipio, as we learn from Polybius. He had not one good port in Africa where he could station his ships; it was not fafe for him to divide his small army; it would be imprudent to leave his gallies for the Carthaginians; and the burning of his fleet rendered his troops desperate, so that their only hopes was in victory.

That his troops might have no time for reflection, he im- He takes mediately led them against a place called the Great City, in several the territories of Carthage. They took the place by florm, and places in enriched themselves with the plunder, which was entirely aban- Africa. doned to them. They next advanced to Tunis, which they also made themselves masters of, and plundered. The foldiers were for garrifoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune; but Agathocles caused them both to be razed, and encamped in the open fields.

Mean while, the Carthaginians feeing a victorious army ad- The Carvancing to their capital, were in the utmost consternation. Con-thaginans cluding that their troops in Sicily were entirely cut off, and in the their fleet destroyed, they proposed at first to sue for peace; greatest but afterwards recovering from their pannic, and hearing of confernathe state of affairs in Sicily, they hastily assembled an army tion. G 3

of 40,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 200 armed chariots, the command of which they gave to Hanno and Bomilcar, tho' an enmity had long subsisted between their families. Agathocles. whose army consisted only of 14,000 men, continued to advance towards Carthage, ravaging the country in his march, and burning many fine caftles and villages. As he approached to the city, he at last perceived the enemy on an eminence drawn up in battle array. As his troops were not a little damped at their formidable appearance, he let out feveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These flying about among the foldiers, fo raifed their spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy; not doubting but by the affiftance of Minerva, to whom that bird was facred, they should Agathocles gain a compleat victory. Agathocles willingly feconded their ardour; and putting himself at their head, charged and routed the Carthaginians after a most obstinate engagement. Two hundred Greeks were flain in this battle, and 1000, or according to some, 6000 Carthaginians. Justin, in his account of the action, says, that the Carthaginian army consisted only of 30,000, and that 3000 Carthaginians and 2000 Sicilians were flain. Agathocles owed his victory chiefly to the treachery of Bomilcar, who upon hearing that Hanno was killed, retired with the part of the army under his command, with the defign of feizing that opportunity to enflave his country. The Carthaginians, now driven to the greatest despair, sacri-

ficed several hundred human victims to their gods, and fent exwho order press orders to Amilcar to return to the relief of his country, their army Amilcar, before he raised the siege, published among his troops, that Agathocles and his army were cut off, and fummoned the to return Syracufans to furrender; shewing the iron beaks of the gallies from Sicity.

gains a

victory

over the

Carthaginians,

of Agathocles that had been fent from Africa. This news threw the Syracusans into the greatest consternation; but the commanders not trusting to the enemy's report, resolved to stand an affault, and drove out above 8000 of the citizens, who feemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. Soon after, a galley with 30 oars arriving from Africa, brought the agreeable news of the victory gained by Agathocles; which restored life The fiege and resolution to the inhabitants. Amilear being repulsed in an attempt to fform the city, raifed the fiege, and fent 5000 of his troops to Africa, not thinking it needful to go thither with his whole army, as he was in hopes that Agathocles would foon be obliged to return to Sicily.

Great progress of Agathocles in Africa.

Agathocles, in the mean time, finding no enemy to oppose him, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Several cities likewife, some out of fear, and others from avertion to the Carthaginians, declaring for him, his army was greatly reinforced by the Africans, which encouraged him to march against the maritime cities. Accordingly, leaving a good body of troops in his fortified camp at Tunis, he advanced against the new city, which he took by storm; but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He next befreged Adru-

of Syracuse

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metum; but while he was employed before this place, the Carthaginians forced his camp before Tunis, and likewise besieged his troops in the city. Having, by a stratagem, prevailed on them to abandon the fiege of Tunis with precipitation, he made himself master of Adrumetum; and afterwards, in a very short time, reduced above 200 cities and towns, partly by force and partly by composition. He not only made himself master of almost the whole territory of Carthage, but also advanced into Lybia Superior, and defeated Elymas the king, who had violated

an engagement he had entered into with him. Amilear, in the mean time, having reduced many cities that The Syrahad again declared for Syracuse, the following year made an cusans de-The Syracufans feat the attempt to furprize that city in the night. having timely notice of his defign, made a fally, unexpectedly, Carthagifrom Epipolæ; and while the barbarians were quarrelling among nians, and themselves in the narrow passes, totally routed them, tho' they take were 120,000 men strong. Amilear being taken prisoner by the Amilear Syracusans, they led him in chains thro' all the streets of the prisoner. city; and after venting their rage against him by all forts of torments, struck off his head, and fent it to Agathocles; who advanced to the enemy's camp, and shewed it to the Cartha-

ginians; which struck a general pannic among their troops.

Agathocles, foon after, was in great danger from a mutiny that happened in his army; but having quieted the fedition, he again attacked and routed the Carthaginians. He afterwards purfued an army which they fent against the Numidians, who had revolted from them. Tho' he was greatly haraffed both by the Carthaginians and Numidians, yet in the end he defeated the enemy, tho' he lost the greatest part of his own baggage. Intending next to befiege Carthage, he invited all the princes of Africa to join him, and particularly fent ambaffadors to Ophellas prince of the Cyreneans, who had been one of Alexander's captains, and was ambitious of extending his dominions, offering him the fovereignty of Africa if he would affift him with his troops against Carthage. Ophellas, taken with the bait, im- The mediately raised great levies of Greeks and Africans, and set out prince of to join him at the head of 20,000 men, besides women and the Cyrechildren. After a march of two months thro' barren and fandy neans joins defarts, where many of his followers were bit to death by fer- Agathopents, and perished thro' famine, he joined Agathocles; who cles, and no fooner had him in his power, than by the blackest perfidy is murderhe caused him to be murdered. By fair words and large pro- ed by him. miles he prevailed with his army to ferve under him; but fent the women, and those who were unfit to bear arms, to Syra-Agathocles now feeing himself at the head of a numerous army, affumed the title of king of Africa, and laid fiege to

During these transactions in Africa, the city of Agrigentum, and most of the other cities in Sicily, had taken arms, and entered into an affociation in defence of their liberties. As Xenodechus, the general of the Agrigentines, who were at the head

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Sicily.

Sets fail again for Africa.

Is defeated.

Deserts his army

His cruelties in Sicily.

of the alliance, had gained great advantages over those who were for supporting tyranny, Agathocles resolved to trust his affairs Agathocles in Africa to the direction of his fon Archagathus, and to return returns to to Sicily. He accordingly embarked with 2000 men on board fome open vessels with 50 oars a-piece, and landing in Sicily, very foon reduced those cities that had regained their liberty; but could not make himself master of the principal cities belonging to the Carthaginians. Having fettled his affairs in Sicily, he returned to Africa, where he found the face of things quite changed by his absence. His troops had been defeated, and were ready to revolt for want of provisions. Agathocles, as the only expedient for relieving his troops, attacked the enemy's camp; but being repulsed with the loss of 3000 men, all the Africans in his army deferted. He therefore refolved to abandon Africa; but as he could not transport his army for want of ships, he determined to slip away privately, taking along with him a few of his friends, and his younger fon Heraclides. Archagathus, however, being apprifed of his design, discovered it to the army; who immediately running to arms, feized on Agathocles, and committed him to custody. As they were now without a head, they were the following night feized with a pannic, on the news that the enemy was advancing to attack them; in which confusion Agathocles stole away with a fmall attendance, and put to fea in a fmall veffel, leaving his in Africa. children to the wild fury of the disappointed foldiers, who immediately putting his two fons to death, chose new leaders, and concluded a peace with the Carthaginians. It was agreed, that the Greeks should deliver up all the places thay held in Africa, receiving for them 300 talents; that such of them as were willing to ferve under the Carthaginians, should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay; that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation.

Agathocles, upon his landing in Sicily, affembled part of his forces and attacked the Egestines. Having taken the town by storm, he put the whole inhabitants to death, without distinction of fex or age. When news was brought him of the death of his children in Africa, he ordered his brother Antandrus to put all those Syracusans to death who were any ways related to fuch as had attended him in the Carthaginian expedition. His orders were executed with the utmost inhumanity; all those who were any ways related to the African army, from the great grandfather to the fucking child, being barbarously murdered. This inhuman cruelty rendering him univerfally detefted, great numbers flocked to Dinocrates, who had been banished by the tyrant, and in a fhort time reduced him to fuch straits, that he was obliged to purchase a peace at a very dear rate, by restoring to them all the cities they had formerly possessed in Sicily. He even offered to Dinocrates to restore the democracy, provided two strong holds were left in his hands for the security of his person. Dinocrates, who himself aspired at the sovereign power,

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and then commanded an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, rejected the proposal of Agathocles; who thereupon attacked his camp, and gained a complete victory, tho' he had only 5000 foot and 800 horse. The remains of the routed army capitulated on condition of faving their lives; but they were no fooner difarmed, than the tyrant caused them all to be put to the fword, Dinocrates, whose character resembled his own, he received into his friendship; and ever after entrusted him with his most weighty affairs. Agathocles, within two years after, Reduces brought the whole island, except that part subject to the Car- almost the thaginians, under subjection. He then passed over into Italy, whole where he subdued the Bruttii; and from thence sailing to the island of Lipari islands, he obliged the inhabitants to pay him 100 talents Sicily. of gold. Not contented with this fum, which was all they had, he stripped the temples of their facred treasures, and loading eleven ships with the spoils, set sail for Syracuse. A storm arifing, all his vellels were calt away, except one galley, in which he himself escaped. Soon after he was poisoned by one He is poi-Manon, whom he had unnaturally abused. The tyrant, after foned by his meals, always picked his teeth with a quill; which Manon Manon, having dipped in poilon, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body being afterwards tortured with most racking pains, in the heighth of them he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt, while he was still alive; a worthy end of so execrable a monster. He died in the 28th year of his reign, and the 95th of his age *.

Not long after the death of Agathocles, the Mamertini seized Messana on Messana, and by degrees possessed themselves of a consider-seized by They are faid to have been originally Cam- the Maable part of Sicily. panians, and to have assumed the name of Mamertini, that is, mertini, invincible warriors, from Mars, or as they pronounce it, Mamers, the god of war. They served in Sicily under Agathacles; and being disbanded at his death, they retired to Messana, with the defign to return into their own country. Being admitted into the city, they foon after fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put all the men to the fword, and married their wives and daughters. About the same time a Roman legion having settled in Rhegium, after murdering the Rhegians, who had called them in to their affiltance, fent fuccours to the Mamertini, which enabled them to extend their conquests to the mid-

dle of the island. After the death of Agathocles, Syracuse underwent many re- The dis-]. Manon, who had poisoned him, usurped the su-tracted preme authority; but being driven out by Hycetas, he had re- state of course to the Carthaginians. Hycetas having routed the joint Syracuse. forces of Manon and the Carthaginians, assumed the sovereign power in Syracuse; but contented himself with the title of

Prætor.

^{*} Diod. l. xx. Justin, l. xxii. Orosius, l. vii. Ælian. var. hist. l. ii. Polyb. l. xv.

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In the 9th year of his command, having marched against the Agrigentines, who had revolted, during his absence one Tanion possessed himself of the sovereign power. Tanion being opposed by Sofistrates, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. The Carthagi. nians taking advantage of these disorders, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracule, and invested the capital itself with a powerful fleet, and an army of 50,000 men.

Pyrrhus invited into Sicily.

with a

army.

powerful

The public danger reconciled the two competitors, who folicited the affiftance of Pyrrbus king of Epirus, the fon in-law of Agathocles. Pyrrhus, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the Romans, willingly complied with the request of the Sicilians. Upon his arrival at Syracuse, Tanion and Sosistrates immediately put him in possession of the city, the fleet, and public treasure; and all the cities on the coast followed the ex-Hearrives ample of Syracuse. Having an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, with a fleet of 200 sail, he soon stript the Carthaginians of all their acquisitions in the island, except Eryx and Lilybæum: the former of which at length he took by affault, being himfelf the first man who mounted the walls. He also defeated the Mamertini in a pitched battle, and shut them up within the walls of Messana. The Carthaginians suing to him for a peace, he answered, that the only means to obtain what they defired, was to abandon Sicily.

Makes his fon king of Sicily.

So confident was he of being mafter of the whole island, that he gave the title of king of Sicily to his fon by the daughter of Tho' the Mamertines were not yet reduced, and the Carthaginians were in possession of Lilybaum, he was nevertheless so imprudent as to resolve upon an expedition to Africa, contrary to the warmest remonstrances of the Sicilians. Pyrrhus being in want of feamen, obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with marines, and even forced into the fervice persons of rank who had any experience in maritime The cities in vain complained of this violence; and the king, offended with their opposition to his new scheme, began to treat them in a very arbitrary manner, which foon drew upon himself the hatred of the whole nation. His suspicion of the Sicilians rendered him still more infolent and arbitrary. After many tyrannical acts, he at length feized the most powerful and illustrious citizens of each city, and charging them with treasonable practices, either put them to death, or banished them the island. The Sicilians at length conceived such an aversion against him, that some cities entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, his The Carthaginians hearing of this change, avowed enemies. fent a new army into Sicily, and cruifed round the island with a mighty fleet, to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape.

Pyrrhus foon after being folicited by the Samnites, Tarentines, Bruttians, and Lucanians, to return to their affiftance against the Romans, embraced this opportunity of honoura-

He difobliges the affairs. Sicilians.

bly quitting Sicily. He accordingly embarked with his troops; Abandons but being met at sea by the Carthaginians, they funk 70 of his the island. gallies, and dispersed or took the rest; so that he saved him- His sleet felf in the ports of Italy with only 12 veffels, the poor remains destroyed of a fleet of 200 fail. The Mamertines fent a body of 18,000 by the men to Italy to harrafs him after his landing; and these troops Cartha. seizing the passes on the road to Tarentum, several desperate ginians. skirmishes happened betwixt them and the Epirots. Pyrrhus. after receiving a wound in the head, killed a Mamertine of extraordinary fize, who challenged him to fingle combat; which terrifying the Mamertines, and obliging them to retire, he con-

tinued his march to Tarentum.

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The Syracusan troops, upon the departure of Pyrrhus, chose Hiero ap-Hiero for their commander, who was the natural fon of Hie- pointed rocles by a flave. His father, who was one of the descendants general of of Gelon, the first king of Syracuse, caused him to be exposed the Syrafoon after his birth in a forest, where a swarm of bees is said cusans. to have nourished him some days with their honey. The foothfayers being confulted on this prodigy, declared, that the boy would one day mount the throne of his ancestors, and reftore his family to its antient splendor; on which the father owned him, and caused him to be brought up in a manner suitable to his birth. When he came to man's estate, he distinguished himself by his courage and prudence, and by his address in all military exercises. Having made his first campaigns under Pyrrhus, he so improved in the art of war under the direction of fo great a mafter, that he was looked upon as the best commander in the army when he was but 25 years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour, gained him more honour than his military exploits. He was exceeding handsome, of a robust constitution, and extraordinary strength; and seemed to have been born for virtue. and to be governed by no other passion but the love of glory.

The Syracusans, after the departure of Pyrrhus, falling into He is unigreat diforders, Hiero, and his collegue Artemidorus, endea-verfally voured to re-establish good order in the capital. Hiero, by the beloved arts of infinuation and address, without shedding of blood, or by them. burting one fingle citizen, calmed the minds of the people, re-

conciled the factions, and so gained the hearts of all, that the Syracufans, tho' highly diffatisfied with the troops for affuming the right of chufing their own general, yet unanimously con-

firmed him in the command, investing him with all civil and military power during the interregnum.

Hiero, to prevent any diffurbances in the city during the absence of the army, which had usually happened, married the daughter of Leptines, a nobleman of great interest and authority among the people, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city when he took the field. The mercenary troops having often, by their ungovernable and feditious temper, caused great disorders in the state, he resolved utterly to extirpate them, as the only means to fecure the tranquillity of

The fedi- his country. He led them, with the other Syracusan troops, tious mer- against the Mamertines; and in an engagement which ensued, he exposed them alone to the enemy; but instead of supportcut off by ing them, withdrew with the Syracufans, so that they were all cut in pieces.

defeats the Mamertines.

Having thus purged his army of those mutineers, he revived Herevives the military discipline among the Syracusans, took other mer. the mili- cenaries more tractable into his service, and by degrees ren. tary disci-dered his army formidable both to the Carthaginians and Ma. pline, and mertines. The latter having invaded the territories of Syracuse, Hiero marched out against them, and entirely defeated them near Mylæ, now Milazzo, on the north point of the island, Cios, their general, being taken prisoner, and seeing his son's horse in the Syracusan camp, conjectured he was slain, and thereupon laid violent hands on himself. The Mamertines, by his death, being destitute of a head, Hiero invaded their territories, and possessed himself of the cities of Myla, Amasela, Alasa, and Abacanum, and then returned loaded with glory He is una- and booty to Syracuse, where he was unanimously declared king, all the allies foon after acknowleging him as fuch. This happened feven years after he had been invested with the command of the army *.

moully declared king of Syracufe.

Some time after his accession to the throne, he again defeated the Mamertines, and reduced them to such straits, that they begged a conference, and agreed to put Messana into his hands, on condition that he would maintain the inhabitants in the poffession of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. While Hiero was advancing to take possession of the city, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, treacherously prevented him, by amufing him with friendly congratulations, till fome troops, which he had kept concealed in the islands of Lipari, had reached Messana. The Mamertines feeing themselves supported with a new reinforcement, deliberated in a general affembly on the measures they should take. Some were for accepting the protection Carthage offered them, others for furrendering to Hiero; but the greatest part were for calling the Romans to their affiftance.

The Mamertines Romans.

Before they fought the last battle with Hiero, they had implored the protection of the Romans; and the people, at the call in the infligation of the confuls, had promifed to comply with their request. The senate, however, considering that the Sicilians were only endeavouring to recover a city which the Mamertines had taken by the blackest treachery, thought it altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors. But when news was brought to Rome that the Carthaginians had entered Messana, and were in possession of the citadel, the affair was again debated in the fenate. The conscript fathers, however, still refused to make any decree

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concerning it; but the people, inflamed by the discourses of the prætors, made a law for granting affishance to the Mamertines, and commanded Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, to Claudius attempt the deliverance of Messana. The Mamertines, partly sent to by fraud and partly by open force, drove out the Carthaginians Messana. The Carthaginians, when they had first crucified their general for his cowardice and ill conduct, made haste to draw together all their forces to retake Messana; and soon besieged the place by sea and land.

Hiero king of Syracuse had already made the necessary prepa-Hiero and rations to besiege Messana; but hearing that it was defended by the Carthe Romans, and on that account thinking himself too weak for thaginians the enterprize, he offered to enter into an alliance with the jointly becarthaginians; who being determined to venture all rather than siege Messaffer the Romans to get any footing in Sicily, readily hearkned sana. to his proposal. A treaty was accordingly concluded between them for driving out the Romans, Messana was to be delivered up to Hiero, and some places subject to Syracuse were to be put into the hands of the Carthaginians. In consequence of this treaty, Hiero came with his army before Messana, and encamped on one side of the city, while the Carthaginians blocked up the other.

Claudius, a legionary tribune, who commanded the Romans in the absence of the consul, refusing to quit Messana when summoned by the Carthaginian general, he ordered all the Italians who served in his army to be massacred. Soon after, the consul Appius Claudius arriving at Rhegium with a powerful army, sent deputies to Hiero, conjuring him by his former friendship to the Romans not to persist in the siege of Messana. Some time before, Hiero had not only supplied the Roman army before Rhegium with provisions, but had also sent some troops thither, who affisted in reducing the place, which had been formerly seized upon by a revolted legion. As he judged that the Mamertines deserved equally to be extirpated with the Rhegians, he answered, that the people of Rome could not, with equity, take them under their protection, and that he was resolved to prosecute his design.

The conful having received this answer, passed the Straits in an adventurous manner by night, and was received into Messana. Finding the place closely pressed on every side, he sent offers of accommodation to both camps, desiring only that the Mamertines might remain unmolested. His proposal being rejected, he drew his forces out of the city, and offered battle to Hiero; who readily accepted it. The sight was long and Hiero de-obstinate; but at last the Romans obtained the victory. Hiero seated by thinking the Carthaginians had betrayed him, and suffered the the Romans to enter the island on purpose to destroy him; and bemans, sides, being in great want of provisions, decamped hastily in the night, and returned to Syracuse. After his departure, Appius

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thaginians.

attacked the Carthaginian camp; but was repulfed with conat first re- fiderable loss. The Carthaginians, however, quitting their pulsed by trenches, and pursuing him, were in their turn defeated by the legions, and driven back to their camp. Appins afterwards made feveral incursions into the territories of Syracuse, while the Carthaginians, according to Polybius, thought proper to quit the fiege, and to withdraw into the neighbouring cities. The conful being obliged to return to Rome, Hiero and the Garthagi. nians again took the field, and reduced several cities that had declared for the enemy.

Both confuls fent to Sicily.

The Romans resolving to support the war in Sicily with vigour, fent both confuls thither the following fpring with 16,000 legionary troops, and 1200 horse, besides the forces of their The confuls landed their forces in Sicily, without meet. ing with the least opposition from the Carthaginian fleet; and at their first arrival, many cities, both of the Carthaginians and Syracusans, immediately submitted to them. Others they obliged by force to furrender; fo that in a few months they reduced no fewer than 67 places, among which were Taurominium

and Catana, two cities of great importance. A general dread and confernation having spread thro' all

the island, and the confuls advancing with all their forces to beliege Syracuse, at that time one of the greatest and strongest cities in the world, Hiero began to reflect, that if he continued his alliance with the Carthaginians, it would draw ruin upon him, as the iffue of the war, in all probability, would be determined in favour of the Romans. He fent ambassadors, therefore, to the confuls, with proposals for a treaty. The Hiero con- offer was embraced with pleasure by the Romans, chiefly for the cludes an fake of fecuring provisions to their army. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the following terms: that the Romans should receive Hiero into the number of their friends and allies, and protect his dominions from all hostilities whatsoever; that Hiero, on the other hand, should deliver up the prisoners he had taken without ranfom, and pay the republic 100, or according to Eutropius, 200 talents of filver. This agreement was

Bef. Ch. 261.

alliance

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Romans.

His happy reign.

Hiero lived *.

Hiero, from henceforth, faw no hostilities in his dominions, nor had any other thare in the prefent war but that of fending from time to time supplies of provisions to his allies the Romans, who gratefully acknowleged his generofity, and protected his dominions from the infults of the Carthaginians. He lived upwards of 50 years after his accession to the throne; and while the whole country round him was desolated by the cruel wars which the two most powerful republics in the world made upon

at first only a truce for 15 years; but the conditions were so

faithfully performed on both fides, that it lasted as long as

^{*} Polyb. I. i. Justin, I. xxiii. Zonar. I. viii. Eutrop. hist. Rom. Lii. each

each other, he and his people enjoyed the sweets of a profound

peace and tranquillity.

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Tho' Hiero cultivated with the greatest fincerity the friendhip of the Romans, yet, after the conclusion of the first Punic war, when the Carthaginians, who had been forced wholly to abandon Sicily, were engaged in a most dangerous war at home against their own mercenaries, he kindly affisted that republic in its greatest extremity. During the interval of peace between He studies the first and second Punic war, which was about 25 years, the wel-Hiero's fole application was to make his subjects happy. Be- fare of his fore his reign, the state had been divided into two factions, the people. one of the citizens, the other of the foldiers; which occasioned numberless calamities to the state. Hiero, however, by his prudent and impartial conduct, so rooted out all seeds of animosity, that during a reign of 50 years, no revolt or sedition ever arose, or the least commotion either in the army or the city. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which He enhe looked upon as the certain means to diffuse abundance among courages his people. He did not think it unworthy of the fovereignty agriculto fludy that art; and even composed a book on that subject, ture. of which the loss is greatly to be regreted. As the chief riches of the country confifted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to the king, Hiero made fuch wife and equitable regulations on this head, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were observed not only in his reign, but in all fucceeding times.

In the fecond Punic war, Hiero gave fignal proofs of his at- His contachment to the Romans. As foon as he heard that Hannibal stant athad entered Italy, he failed with his fleet to Messana, and af- tachment fured Tiberius Sempronius, the conful, that old as he was, he to the would, if the Romans thought it necessary, cross over into Italy Romans. at the head of his troops to their affistance. He supplied the confuls legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence; but did not leave Sicily, as Sempronius declared there would be no

need of his personal affistance.

Hiero's fincere affection for the Romans appeared more conspicuous, after they had been defeated a third time by Hannibal, and were abandoned by many of their allies. He fent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Oftia; and the ambassadors who came with the present, being introduced to the senate, told the conscript fathers, "That Hiero, as their faithful ally, " had fent them a victory of massy gold, weighing about 300 pounds; which he hoped they would receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of his vows for their prosperity: that "he had also sent 300,000 modii of wheat, and 200,000 modii of barley; and if the Romans wanted more, he would cause "what quantity they pleased to be transported to such places as they should appoint: that as he knew they employed no strangers in their armies, except light armed troops, he " had therefore sent only 1000 archers and slingers." Hiero, at the same time, advised the Romans to make a diversion in

Africa, which would prevent the Carthaginians from fending fuccours to Hannibal. The Romans, touched with the affection good king Hiero shewed them, thanked him for his presents and advice, and fent him an obliging letter. All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were fent to the confuls. A reinforcement of 25 quinqueremes was also sent to T. Otacilius, who commanded the army in Sicily: and, pursuant to Hiero's advice, he was empowered to carry the war into Africa if he thought proper *.

Hiero prudently judged, that it was necessary to hazard every thing to put a stop to the present superiority of the Carthagi. nians, as the fall of Rome would foon be followed with the ruin of Syracuse. Valerius Maximus commends the noble and polite libe. rality of Hiero, who did not offer the Romans 300 pounds weight of gold in specie, as being well acquainted with their delicacy in that point; but fent it under the form of a victory, which they could not refuse on account of the good omen it seemed

to bring along with it.

His generofity to the Rhodians.

His generofity did not confine itself folely to the Romans. He fent 100 talents to the Rhodians, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He moreover caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown on the head of the Rhodians; as if, fays Polybius, Hiero, after making the people magnificent prefents, believed himself indebted to them.

Theocritus, indeed, in one of his pastorals, entitled Hiero, feems to reproach the king as if he had not acknowleded, in an handsome manner, the verses made in his commendation. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice on the poet than the prince.

His pub-

Tho' Hiero feemed entirely employed in maintaining the lic works. peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, he did not, however, neglect matters relating to war. To him the Syracusans were indebted for those amazing warlike engines which they made use of when besieged by the Romans. He caused palaces, temples, arfenals, and many other public buildings to be erected in Syracuse under the direction of Archimedes, which were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. An infinite number of ships were also built by his orders for the exportation of corn, in which the greatest riches of the island consisted. The won- We are told of a galley built by him, which was one of the wonders of the age. This ship, which was built under the digally built rection of Archimedes, had twenty benches of oars, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. It contained three spacious apartments, the floors of one of which were inlaid, and reprefented in various colours the stories of Homer's Iliad.

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ings, windows, and all other parts, were embellished with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermost apartment there was a foacious gymnafium, or place of exercise; and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds disposed in beautiful order, which were refreshed with water conveyed to them thro' pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead. But the finest of the apartments was that of Venus; the floors of which were inlaid with agats and other precious stones, the inside was lined with Cypress wood, and the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing-veffel made of one fingle stone of various colours, and containing 250 quarts. It was supplied with water from a great reservoir at the head of the ship, which held 100,000 quarts. On all sides, the thip was adorned with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimensions, each of which was constantly guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. Round these towers were parapets, whence stones might be discharged against the enemy's vessels when they approached; and to the fide of the veffel was fastened an engine, made by Archimedes, which threw a stone of 300 weight, and an arrow 18 feet long, to the distance of 125 feet. Tho' the hold of this vessel was exceeding deep, a fingle man might nevertheless soon clear it of water with a machine invented by Archimedes. Hiero rewarded an Athenian poet with 6000 bushels of wheat for some verses he had composed on this magnificent vessel. He:afterwards made a present of the vessel to Ptolemy king of Egypt; His preand as there was at that time a great famine in Egypt, he fent lents to along with it a fleet of transports with 300,000 quarters of Ptolemy corn, 10,000 great earthen jars of falt fish, 20,000 quintals of king of falted flesh, and an immense quantity of other provisions *.

After the battle of Cannæ, when the Romans, who had been totally defeated, lost their Italian allies, the Carthaginians landed a great many troops in Sicily, and made a dreadful havock in the territories of Syracuse. Nothing, however, could shake the king's constancy. His greatest concern was to see some, even of his own family, favour the Carthaginians. His son Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, despising his father's wholesome advice, and looking upon the Romans as already subdued by Hannibal, openly declared for the Carthagimans. He had already armed the multitude, and stirred up the allies of Syracuse to join him; but his measures were broken by an unexpected death, which happened fo feafonably, that his father was suspected to have been privy to it. Hiero himfelf died foon after, in the 90th year of his age, and 54th of his His death. reign, infinitely regreted by his subjects, and no less by the

* Athenœus, l. v.

Romans, who loft in him a most constant friend.

Vol. III.

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The good old king, who had more at heart the happiness of his people than the aggrandizing of his family, had formed a defign, some time before his death, of abolishing monarchy, and restoring the Syracusans to their antient liberty. His only heirs were his grandson Hieronymus, the son of Gelon, and two daughters, Demarata and Heraclea; the former married to Andranodorus, and the latter to Zoipus, two of the greatest lords of the kingdom. Hieronymus was not 15 years of age; and Heraclea being married to a husband of republican principles, feldom went to court, and was at no pains to diffuade her father from his intention. But Demarata and her husband being both very ambitious, she never ceased to importune the king not to deprive his grandfon of a crown that was due to him by right of inheritance. The old man of 90, not being able to hold out against the caresses, tears, and entreaties of a daughter, at last made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandson. To prevent, as far as possible, the evils he apprehended, he appointed him 15 guardians, who were to form his council; earnestly desiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to teach the young prince to abstain from pomp and oftentation, and to instill into his mind the fame principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

Hieronymus fucceeds him.

His vices and cruelty.

The king's will being read immediately after his death in a general affembly, was liked but by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in feveral parts of the affembly, to shew their approbation by shouts. None, however, had courage enough to protest against it; and therefore the affembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. Andranodorus thinking the young prince fecurely feated on the throne, because he saw no opposition, foon began to take fuch measures as plainly discovered his ambitious views. Under pretence that the young prince was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands, he removed all the other guardians, and by this means in a manner usurped the supreme power, Hieronymus being entirely under his direction. The new king feemed to take pleasure in increasing the forrow of the people for the loss of Hiero. Inflead of allowing them free access to him at all times, and applying himself to redress their grievances, he never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added fevere jefts to his denials. He reaflumed the purple, and diadem, and never appeared in public, but in a chariot drawn by white horses, and surrounded by a troop of guards. His guardians were with great difficulty fuffered to approach him; and giving himself up to all manner of debauchery, he had no contidents but the ministers of his pleasures. His cruelty was no ways inferior even to that of Agathocles, and seemed to have extinguished in him all sense of humanity. Both people and nobles being univerfally alarmed at his proceedings, some of his guardians

guardians even laid violent hands on themselves to avoid seeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew

from their country.

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Only three men of diffinction continued at court; namely, Factions Hiero's two fons-in-law, and Thraso, surnamed Charchus. The at court latter, tho' a true courtier, and one who readily complied with in favour all the inclinations of the prince, was at the same time a cun- of the Roning statesman, and understood better than any other his ma- mans and He was a zealous advocate for the Ro- Carthagister's true interest. mans; but the other two thinking them already con- nians. quered, openly declared for the Carthaginians, and brought the king to favour their opinion. A melancholy accident foon determined him to chuse the worst part. One Solis, a man of a mean condition, who had ferved the king from his infancy, discovered a conspiracy against him; but could name none of the conspirators, except Theodotus, who was put to the torture, in order to make him discover the whole plot. Theodotus, when on the rack, confessed the crime as to himself; but inflead of naming his accomplices, accused all the king's best friends, tho' innocent; and among others Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise. He persisted to the last breath in accusing the innocent; and his accomplices depended so much on his fecrecy, that none of them left the city, or absconded, during the whole time he was kept in prison and racked. His deposition being believed, all the interest Thraso had at court could not fave his life.

Upon the death of Thraso, the king openly declared for the The king Carthaginians, and fent ambassadors to their general in Italy. proposes Hannibal received them with great demonstrations of kindness, an alliand fent an embassy to Hieronymus. Claudius Pulcher, the Ro- ance with man prætor in Sicily, took umbrage at the arrival of the Car- the Carthaginian ambassadors, and immediately sent deputies to Syra- thaginicuse, to renew the alliance made with king Hiero. Before their ans. arrival, however, the Carthaginians had given Hieronymus fuch high notions of Hannibal's victories, that he had refolved to fend an embassy to Carthage. When the Roman deputies were He readmitted to an audience, they began their speech with explain- ceives the ing the motives of their deputation. Hieronymus, who was na- Roman turally given to raillery, interrupted them, and faid, " I will ambaffa-"ask you but one question; who were conquerors at Cannæ, dors with you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprizing things contempt. " of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particu-"lars of it." The Romans, tho' piqued at this severe reproach, only made him this reply, That when he would please to be serious, they would desire another audience. At their next audience, which happened a few days after, they addressed him with a haughty air, and advited him not to change fides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of his conduct. To this the king replied, with an infulting air, "Yes, "indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship that the Ro-

" mans, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought

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" their fleet in fight of Syracuse. Did they design to make "themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them?" The ambaffadors endeavoured to affure him, that it was with a fincere defign to affift him; but he, with an air of raillery, only replied, "Since then you could tack about, give me " leave, in my turn, to take advantage of the wind. It is now fet for Carthage, and thither I shall fail." The deputies then withdrew; and from this time Rome looked upon the king of Syracuse as her enemy.

Enters sbage.

Hieronymus, foon after, concluded a treaty with the Carthainto an al- ginians on the following conditions: that the Carthaginians should affift Hieronymus with a fleet and land army; and that, with Car- after they had, with their joint forces, driven the Romans out of the island, it should be divided equally betwixt him and the Carthaginians. Two of the Carthaginian deputies, who were Syracusans by descent, tho' born at Carthage, represented to the king how prejudicial the fecond article might prove to him; and afleging that his right to all Sicily was indisputable, they prevailed on him to fend a fecond embaffy to Carthage. His ambaffadors now urged his right to the whole island, and proposed only an alliance for mutual affistance; to which the Carthaginians confented. Half Sicily, at this time, was in the hands of the Romans, the Carthaginian part of the island having been furrendered to them upon the conclusion of the first Punic war; therefore they were in a condition to be dreaded by the Syraculans. Hieronymus, however, when again defined to enter into an alliance with them, returned this unpolite and provoking answer, " Let the Romans restore all the gold, prefents, and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and " consent that the river Himera be the common boundary be-"tween us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them."

The Roman prætor, finding the king inflexible, began hoftlities in the territory of Syracuse; and Hieronymus, assembling about 15,000 men, marched to Leontium, where he fixed his head quarters, fending a detachment from thence of 2000 men gainst the to dislodge some Roman garrisons. Mean while, the conspirators, whose names Theodotus had concealed, even in the midt of torments, took an opportunity of murdering him in the streets of Leontium. The army, which was encamped without the walls, hearing of his death, cried out, that the affaffins ought all to be facrificed to his manes; but the fweet name of liberty, with which the conspirators filled the city and camp foon appealed their refentment.

> The king was no fooner dead, but Softs and Theodotus, two of the conspirators, hastened to Syracuse, to prevent the attempts of Andranodorus, and the others of the king's faction. nodorus, however, having notice of what had happened before their arrival, feized on the citadel and the island of Ortygia

> and filled them with troops. Some writers are of opinion, that Claudius, the Roman prætor, was not entirely unconcerned in the plot against the king. But however that be, he did not

The Ro. mans begin hoftilities a-Syracu-1.25. Hieronymus murdered. Bef. Ch.

208.

fail to give the senate immediate advice of all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for the security of his province.

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The two conspirators entering the quarter of the city called Fresh dif-Tyche about fun-fet, shewed the people the king's diadem and turbances bloody robes; which drawing great crowds of the inhabitants in Syra. round them, they invited the citizens to meet in Acradina, cufe. which was, as it were, the heart of the city, to take proper measures for the recovery of their liberty. The whole city declaring for the conspirators, lights were seen in all parts; and the citizens arming themselves with the greatest dispatch, took post in all the avenues leading to the citadel. Andranodorus attempted to possess himself of the public granaries; but the foldiers, whom he employed on this occasion, revolted from

him, and delivered them to the magistrates of the city.

Next morning all the inhabitants of Syracuse crowded into Acradina, where the fenate was affembled for the first time fince Hiero's death. Polyænus, an illustrious citizen, addressed the people with great freedom and moderation, and advised them not to involve themselves in civil discord with too great precipitation, but to defire Andranodorus to refign the citadel to the public magistrates. Deputies were accordingly sent to him, with whom he entered into a conference; and reflecting on the hazard and difficulty of his undertaking, he feemed inclined to agree to their demand. His wife Demarata, however, taking him aside, and repeating a saying of Dionysius the tyrant, That no man ought to quit a throne, till he is dragged from it by the heels, advised him to demand time to consider, and in the mean while to endeavour to gain the troops at Leontium, by promifing them half the king's treasures. Andranodorus, thinking it Andranoimpracticable to put this counsel in execution, judged it most dorus subprudent to fubmit; and accordingly next morning threw open mits to the the gates of Ortygia, and repairing to the market-place of senate. Acradina, where the people were affembled, mounted the tribunal of harangues. After excusing his delay from the apprehensions he had been under, of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, he declared that he was come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the senate. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion; and the rest of the day was spent in feasting and returning thanks to the gods for so happy a change.

On the morrow, the chief magistrates for governing the state were elected by the people. They chose Andranodorus, with the chief conspirators, two of whom, Sosipater and Dinomanes, had seized on the military chest at Leontium, and caused it to be removed to Syracuse, where treasurers were appointed to take The Syracusans, as a care of all the effects of the late king. fign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, caused the wall to be beat down between Acradina and Ortygia, which was

the retreat of their kings.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two agents of Hannibal, whom Hieronymus had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured

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The Carthagin an ambassadors beg leave to depart. A plot them,

at first to conceal the king's death; but finding that impossible, and being abandoned by the troops, they came to Syracuse, Observing that the Syracusans no longer favoured them, they begged leave to return to Italy, and to be escorted thither, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans. The magistrates being too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure, they found means to form a party against the fenate of Syracuse and against Rome, stirring up the soldiers to rebel. lion, by telling them, that the fenate defigned to deliver up the formed by state to the Romans, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition. Andranodorus was not a stranger to the private cabals which they held at their lodgings, being continually fpirited up by his ambitious wife to re-establish monarchy, and place himself on the throne.

but dif-

Having confulted with Themistus, who had married the late king's fifter, he was encouraged by him to form a defign for usurping the supreme power, Themistus readily promising him his affiftance. Their plot was foon after discovered by the covered to imprudence of Themistus, who trusted the secret to one of his the senate. intimates named Aristo. He discovering the conspiracy to the chief magistrates or prætors, they privately passed sentence of death upon Andranodorus and Themistus, upon his deposition alone, and ordered some of the guards to fall upon them at the door of the fenate-house. They were accordingly slain as they were entering the fenate; which ftruck the other fenators with great consternation. The prætors, however, introducing Aristo into the assembly, he made a full discovery of the defigns of the conspirators. He told them, that the Iberian and African mercenaries were to have been the instruments of the intended resolution, and to have been employed in affassinating the chief citizens of Syracuse, whose estates they were to have for their reward.

Sentence of death paffed on all the royal family.

The populace, in the mean time, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatned to revenge the violence offered them. Sopater, however, by order of the fenate, haranguing the multitude, and opening up to them the defigns of the conspirators, he fo inflamed their minds, that they cried out, that none of the royal family ought to be suffered to live. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multitude, ordered it to be put in execution. Demarata and Harmonia being flain, the executioners went afterwards to the house of Heraclea, the wife of Zoipus, who was absent on an embassy at the court of Egypt. During his abode there, Heraclea spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses her daughters, and had not the least concern in the conspiracy. She represented her innocence to the executioners, and entreated to be banished to her husband; but her entreaties making no impression on them, they first stabled her in the fight of her. daughters, and then dispatched them, al-

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ready stained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were scarce dead, when an order came from the people to suspend the execution. When they understood that the innocent princesses were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmost rage and sury against the magistrates, who had been so ready to put that cruel sentence in execution, without allowing them time to resect on the injustice of it. Compassion for the unfortunate Heraclea, had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; so that the two ambassadors of spicydes Hannibal, who were originally Syracusans, prevailed so much and Hipwith the unsteady populace, that instead of leaving Sicily, they pocrates were chosen prætors at the next election, in the room of Andra-elected nodorus and Themislus.

All these disturbances were fomented by Hannibal, who thereby expected both to fecure his conquests in Italy, and give Carthage an opportunity of recovering her antient dominions in Sicily, which were now in possession of the Romans, and divided by them into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. As the Carthaginians would probably fend hither a numerous army from Africa, the Romans now ordered Marcellus to transport the army he commanded at Nola into Sicily, and affift the two prætors, Appius Claudius and Cornelius Lentulus, The greatest part of the Syracusan prætors were still in-The Syraclined to keep up a good understanding with Rome, and sent cusans dedeputies to Claudius to renew the antient treaties between the firous of two republics. Claudius came to no conclusion with them, but an allireferred the whole matter to the conful Marcellus; who, upon ance with his arrival, having heard their proposals, and finding them ad- the Rovantageous to his republic, dispatched an embassy to Syracuse mans, to confirm the treaty.

The Roman ambassadors found the state of affairs much altered; for the emissaries of Hannibal having industriously spread a report, that a Carthaginian sleet appeared off cape Pachynum, gave new considence to the enemies of Rome. Besides, Hippo- but precrates and Epicydes, among their other artifices to create an vented by aversion of the Romans, infinuated by means of the mercena- Epicydes ries and Roman deserters, that Syracuse was to be delivered up and Hipto the Romans, and that the design was carrying on by the præ-pocrates, tors, who had sold themselves to Rome. Some ships of Otacilius drawing near to Syracuse, confirmed these suspicions; and the populace, at the instigation of Hippocrates and Epicydes, ran to

arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the Romans.

In this confusion, the wisest among the prætors thought proper to summon an assembly of the people. Hot debates arose; but the minds of the assembly were at last somewhat composed, by a speech made to them by Apollonides, one of the principal senators, who having warmly exhorted them to union among themselves, advised them to declare for the Romans. The people, greatly moved by his discourse, ordered that a certain number of military officers should be joined in commission with the prætors, and the chief men in the senate to deliberate

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on his proposal. The council determining that Syracuse had no

just reason to break with Rome, it was declared, that the treaty

of peace concluded with the Romans should be continued, and

an embaffy fent to Marcellus to renew it. The conful, how-

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ever, would not accept of the alliance, unless Leontium, and the other cities that had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty. A few days after, the Leontines being haraffed by their neighbours, folicited aid of the Syracusans; who thinking this a favourable opportunity to free their city of a turbulent, unruly multitude, willingly granted their request, and fent Hippocrates thither at the head of the mercenaries and Roman deferters, to the number of 4000 men. Hippocrates earneftly defiring to embroil matters between Rome and Syracuse, was not content to defend the Leontines against their enemies; but made incursions into the Roman province, and laid waste the lands belonging to Rome. Appius Claudius, not being able gin hostito bear the infults of Hippocrates, posted his troops in different gainst the places on the frontiers of his province, with orders to oppose the Syracusan prætor, and to repell force by force. This was what Hippocrates wanted; and accordingly pretending that the Romans were come to attack him, he fell upon one of the detachments of Appius, and cut the whole body to pieces. Marcellus, upon advice of these proceedings, represented to the Syracufans, that if they expected peace with Rome, they must expell Hippocrates and Epicydes. The Syracufans shewed great readiness to comply with the conful's request, and ordered Epicydes to be seized; but he fled to his collegue at Leontium, and they both together used their utmost endeavours to embroil the Leontines with the Syracusans. This city had formerly been an independant state, and was now inclined to throw off the yoke of the Syracufans. The discourses of Epicydes being relished by the Leontines, they declared him and Hippocrates their generals; and when the Syracusans sent and complained of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and demanded that

and are elected generals of the Leontines.

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Romans,

The Syracusans ofter to takes Leoniium.

ance with the Romans. The Syracusans now defired Marcellus to attack the Leontines, and even offered to affift him, on condition, that when the city was reduced, it should again be subject to Syracuse. Marcellus, before he was joined by the Syracufans, took Leontium cellus, who by storm; but Hippocrates and Epicydes saved themselves in the citadel. From thence they withdrew the night following, and retired to Herbessus, near the Syracusan territories. Hearing that 8000 Syracusans were marching to join Marcellus, they sent fome men of their faction to them, who pretended that they had escaped from the general flaughter at Leontium; which city the Romans had burnt to the ground, after putting all the inhabitants to death. Marcellus had, indeed, caused 2000 Roman deferters, found in the place, to be beheaded; but had treated

Epicydes and Hippocrates should be expelled Sicily, they received

only this proud answer, That the republic of Leontium had

not impowered that of Syracuse to comprehend her in their alli-

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both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his usual clemency. However, the false report made such an impression upon the Syracusan troops, that their officers could not prevail on them to march any farther. Soon after, discovering the cheat put upon them, they resolved to be revenged, and began their march to Herbessus, whither Hippocrates and Epicydes had retired. These two chiefs of the Carthaginian party, took the desperate resolution of leaving their asylum, and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It happened, luckily for them, that a body of Cretans, who were greatly attached to the Carthaginians, were marching at the head of the Syracujan army. These Cretans had formerly served under the Romans; but being taken prisoners at the battle of Thrasymemus, had been kindly treated by Hannibal, and fent home with-Hippocrates and Epicydes addressing themselves to Hippocrathem as suppliants, with olive-branches, the Cretans imme- tes and diately took them under their protection; and when the gene- Epicydes rals ordered the two prisoners to be put in irons, they unani- received moufly refused to obey their commands.

Hippocrates and Epicydes being now fafe, invented a strata-Syracufan gem, worthy of Hannibal himself, to promote the Carthaginian army. interest. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to Marcellus, in the following terms: Sosis and Diomenes to the conful Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the Leontines to the fivord, especially the mercenaries. Our republic will never be at rest while we have any of these foreigners among us. Turn then your arms towards Megara,, and deliver Syracuse from the mercenaries we command. This letter being defignedly intercepted, and read to the foldiers, they immediately ran to arms, and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not faved themselves by slight to Syracuse, whither the calumny followed. For Hippocrates and Epicydes having corrupted one of the foldiers who had been shut up in Leontium, fent him away to Syracuse, where, as an eye-witness, he gave a large account of the pretended cruelties of Marcellus. Having confirmed his relation with an oath before the fenate, the greatest part of the Syraculans were so filled with jealousy, that they caused the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded against the Romans as an enemy whose avarice and cruelty could spare nothing.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, in the mean time, having made themselves masters of the army, so incensed them against their generals, that they even wanted to fall upon the sew Syracusan troops that served among them; but the two Carthaginians resecting that the massacre of those innocent men would have exasperated the Syracusans, stopped the sury of the mercenaries. They soon after arrived before Syracuse, and prevailed on one of the officers of the guards to open the gates; declaring, that their only design was to defend the city against the Romans. Some part of the army was already entered, when the Syracusans

San

They en- fan prætors haftening to the gate, commanded it to be flut. ter Siracule by furprize.

but the foldiers without, and the populace within, conspiring together, the few Syracusan troops that were then under arms. could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and possessing themselves of the quarter called Tyche. They soon after forced Acradina, and maffacred all the prætors that were there, except Sosis, who escaped in the tumult, and took fanctuary in the Roman camp. Thus the two partizans of Carthage became masters of Syracuse, where they ruled in as arbitrary and despotic manner, as any of the former tyrants, Forefeeing that Marcellus would foon lay fiege to the city, they neglected nothing that was necessary to put it in a posture of defence, and prevailed on the blind multitude to elect them as the only prætors, thereby confirming the fovereignty they had usurped. Marcellus, soon after, invested Syracuse; but the prætor Appius still endeavoured to bring about an accommodation. in which he was unfuccefsful; the Syracufans having feized one of his gallies, which was escorting the embassadors. The conful, however, fent a fecond embassy to the city from his camp. The Syracufan prætors, not caring to admit the Romans into the city, came out to meet them with a numerous attendance. The Romans declared, that if the Syracusans would fuffer their magistrates, who had taken shelter in the Roman camp, to return and live at home quietly; if they delivered up into the confuls hands the authors of the late flaughter, and restored the city to its antient liberty, Marcellus would make no use of arms; but if they did not comply with these just demands, they should be obliged to treat them as enemies. To this Hippocrates haughtily replied, that if they intended to befiege Syracuse, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between that city and Leontium; and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them.

Syracufe.

Marcellus

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Are de-

prætors,

clared

Archimedes defends Syracufe with his machines.

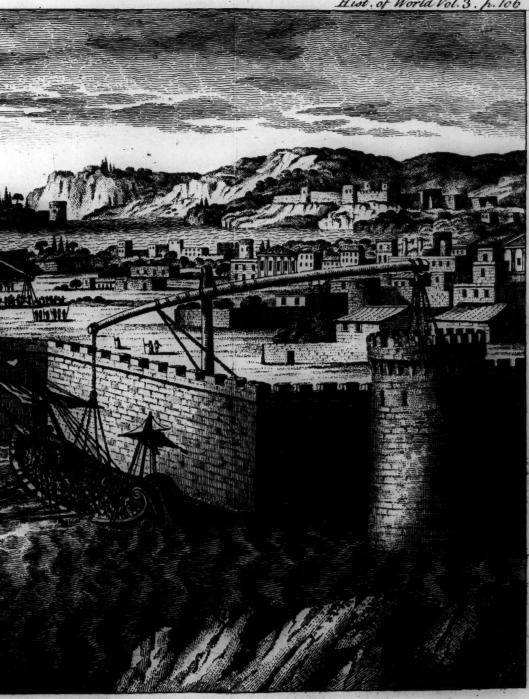
Marcellus, therefore, determined to befiege the place by fea and land; and hoping to gain it by storm, ordered a general affault. The city being 22 miles in compass, Marcellus was in hopes of finding some weak place in so vast a compass of walls, and caused machines of various forts to be raised round furprizing it; but, to his great furprize, he found all places equally defended by the admirable art of a fingle man. This was the celebrated Archimedes, who, at the request of king Hiero, to whom he was related, had framed fuch engines of war, as quite disconcerted the measures of the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes, finding how useful both the machines and the contriver might prove at fo critical a conjuncture, prevailed on that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing that the city held out near three years against the utmost efforts of a consular army. The Roman fleet confisted of 60 quinqueremes, besides a far greater number of other ships. In order to drive the besieged from their ramparts, Marcellus invented a very formidable machine, which was called Sambuça, from its refemblance to a mufical instrument shut; piring arms, and foon were fanc-Car-arbi-Fore-st the had præ-tion, eized The his at-ould man lup re-no de-To be-fer-heir

fea was of of ind de-the to iite pi-ver eat he ter om ne.



Corvus for Crane f of archimedes according to Polybius &

Hist of World Vol. 3 . p. 106



bis & Plutarch for Seizing & lifting Ships out of Water.

inference in the second of the

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instrument of that name. It was built on eight gallies of different lengths, which were fastened together sideways, and made but one large body, rowed only by the oars of the two outermost gallies. The machine was raifed on this float higher than the highest towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front and on each fide. As this machine was advancing flowly towards the walls, when the general attack was given, Archimedes discharged from one of his engines a vast stone weighing, according to Plutarch, 1250 pounds (A), then a second, and immediately after a third; and all of them falling upon the sambuca, not only broke its supports, but parted the gallies; so that it tumbled down with a dreadful noise. At the same time several other machines, which could not be perceived by the Romans, played inceffantly upon their ships, and overwhelmed them with showers of stones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron; fo that Marcellus was forced, with all possible haste, to retire, ordering the land forces The Roalso to retreat; for their ranks were broken, and they were mans thrown into the utmost confusion by the stones and darts, which obliged to flew with such noise and rapidity, that they struck the Romans retire with with terror, and dashed all to pieces before them *. The Romans, loss. not daunted with this unexpected misfortune, next day, before fun-rife, brought up their fleet close under the walls, hoping that the enemy could not then annoy them. Archimedes, however, having prepared engines adapted to all distances, now overwhelmed them with a new shower of darts and stones, which falling perpendicularly on their heads, obliged them to retire with the utmost precipitation. As they advanced to sea, a new shower of darts overtook them, while stones of an immense weight either disabled or broke in pieces most of their gallies. What most haraffed the Romans in the attack by sea, was a fort of crow with iron claws, fastened to a very long chain, which was let down with a kind of lever. By this machine, which took hold of the gallies in different manners, the befieged fometimes drew them on shore, and dashed them to pieces against the rocks which projected under the walls. At other times they lifted the ships quite up into the air, and after whirling them about with incredible rapidity, let them fall into the fea, where they funk, with all that was in them.

* Liv. 1. xxiv. Polyb. Plut. in Marcel.

(A) Some, not without reason, question this account of *Plutarch*, and adhere to *Polybius*, who reduces the stones thrown by the engines of *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. This again seems too small for the effect as-

cribed to them. Some, therefore, inferring from various passages of Suidas, Pollux, and Festus, that the talent of Sicily was near ten pounds, have concluded the stones to be about 100 weight each, that is, ten talents.

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The Romans ffruck with terror.

In the second attack, the land-forces suffered no less than the fleet. When the whole army was formed, the last files, as well as the first, were overwhelmed with showers of darts and flints, against which they could not possibly defend themselves. Their mantelets and covered galleries were broke to pieces: and if any brave foldier ventured to draw near to the wall. iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which taking hold of his cloaths, or some part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and dashed out his brains with the fall. one fingle man repulfed two Roman armies by mere dint of genius, without having any occasion to make use of the sword. The Romans were so terrified, if that they only spied a small cord, or piece of wood, above the walls, they immediately fled, crying, that Archimedes was going to discharge some terrible engine upon them.

The fiege turned into a

Hamilco arrives at a powerful fleet

Hiptocrates defeated by

Marcellus and Claudius feeing their troops thus disheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, turned the fiege into a blockade, Marcellus, in the mean time, marchblockade, ing off with two thirds of the army, to reduce those cities that had revolted from the Romans. Elorum and Herbessus submitting without opposition, were kindly treated by the conqueror; but Megara having stood a siege, was taken and razed to the ground. After the conful had reduced a great many cities without opposition, Hamilco entered the port of Heraclea Sicily with with a numerous fleet fent from Carthage, and landed 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, and 12 elephants. Soon after his arrival, he retook Agrigentum from the Romans, with several other cities and army. lately reduced by Marcellus, which filled the Syracufan garrifon with great hopes, and an eager defire to join him. Hippocrates accordingly, in the night, broke through the Roman lines with 10,000 foot and 500 horse, and advanced to Acrilla, a small town to the fouth of Syracuse. Marcellus, in the mean time, was returning with his army to Syracuse, and as he approached Acrillae, perceived the enemy busy in fortifying their camp. While they were not expecting an enemy, he fell upon them before they had time to draw up, and cut 8000 of them in pieces. Hippocrates with the cavalry, and a small body of infantiy, es-Marcellus. caped to Acræ, within 24 miles of Syracuse; Marcellus advancing to the capital, kept it more closely blocked up than ever.

The two contending republics being refolved to make their utmost efforts in Sicily, both the Carthaginians and Romans in the island received reinforcements. Bomilear arrived at Syracuse with a fleet of 50 fail; and about the same time a Roman legion landed at Panormus; and foon after, by marching along the coast, joined the main army. Bomilear, upon hearing that the Roman fleet, which was more powerful than his, was advancing to attack him, fet fail directly for Carthage. Hamilto being joined by Hippocrates, advanced to the Roman camp bevolt to the fore Syracuse; but not being able to draw Marcellus to a battle, Carthagi- he marched through the country, and drew feveral cities off from the Romans. Murgantia betrayed the Roman garrison into

Several mians.

his hands; and feveral other cities also revolted to him, after

having massacred the Roman garrisons.

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The inhabitants of Enna also intended to act in the same Pinarius manner; but being prevented by the vigilance of Pinarius the massacres governor, who kept part of the garrison in arms night and the inhaday, they affembled in a tumultuous manner, and demanded bitants of of him the keys of their city. He refused their request, and de- Enna. fired to know the opinion of an affembly of the people; which was accordingly fummoned to meet on the morrow. Pinarius, in the mean time, haranguing the garrison in the citadel, informed them of the design of the Ennenses, and advised them, in order to fecure their own lives, to put all the citizens to death without quarter, upon a fignal given by him. He repaired to the affembly; and the people infifting peremptorily upon the delivery of the keys, and beginning to offer violence, he started up, and giving the fignal, immediately fell upon the unarmed multitude. The floor and feats of the theatre were in an inflant covered with blood; and as many were stifled in endeayouring to escape, as fell by the sword. The slaughter in the ffreets was no less dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every where in heaps. None were spared; and the city was treated as if it had been taken by affault, and given up to the foldiers to be plundered. The Romans excused their conduct on this occasion by faying, but how justly, may be questioned, that they had only been before-hand with those who designed to treat them in the same manner. As the city of Enna was consecrated to Ceres and her daughter Proferpine, the Sicilians were highly offended at the massacre of the Ennenses, and their revolts became daily more frequent.

Marcellus, foon after putting his army into winter-quarters at Leon, about two miles to the north of Syracuse, sent Appius Claudius to Rome, that he might stand a candidate for the confulship. Upon the election of the confuls, Q. Fabius Maximus, and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, were chosen, and Marcellus was appointed proconsul in Sicily. The following spring Marcellus was at a loss how to act, some of his officers advising him to attack Hamilco in Agrigentum, and others, to return to his trenches before Syracuse. The proconful foreseeing that it would be impossible for him to take the city either by force, while it was defended by Archimedes, or by famine, while the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, supplied it with provisions, thought that his best expedient would be to attempt to make himself master of the place by some fecret intelligence. He disclosed his scheme to the Syraculans A plot who had taken refuge in his camp, and impowered them to formed in offer their countrymen their lives and liberties if they furrender- Syracufe ed to the Romans. A trusty slave was sent into Syracuse as a de- in savour ferter, and acquitted himself so well, that he prevailed on up- of the Rowards of 80 persons of distinction to engage in the plot: but mans. before it could take effect, the names of the conspirators were The condiscovered to Epicydes, who caused them to be put to death. **fpirators**

Marcellus put to death.

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Marcellus began now to despair of gaining the city, when an unforeseen accident revived his hopes. He seized one Damip. pus, a Lacedamonian, who had been fent by Epicydes to demand fuccours of Philip king of Macedon; and Epicydes being extremely defirous of ranfoming the prisoner, conferences were agreed to for that purpose, and held at a place called Portus Trogilorum near Syracuse. As the deputies went to and fro, one of the Roman foldiers narrowly confidered the wall, and computing the number of stones, which he observed were all of an equal breadth, he concluded that the wall might be scaled with ladders of a moderate fize. Marcellus being informed of this discovery, examined the place himself, and began to meditate how he might surprise the centinels of the besieged, when a deferter came and told him, that the Syracufans were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of Diana, which lasted three days, and that Epicydes, who wanted other provifions, defigned to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and foldiers. Upon this advice, Marcellus refolved to give a general affault in one of the nights during the feftival, upon age- and to make his attack when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. mans advancing filently to the foot of the wall, and applying their ladders, made themselves masters of a tower near the Portus Trogilorum, without being even discovered, a whole detachment of 1000 chosen men having in this manner entered the city. Several other detachments scaling the walls in different parts, and a body of men beating down one of the gates at Hexapulum, the Romans entered in great numbers, and made themselves masters of the quarter called Epipolæ, which was in a manner a fifth city, being encompassed with the same common wall as the other four quarters. The Romans, during the night, made a dreadful noise with their trumpets, in order to strike terror into the enemy.

Epipolæ taken.

Marcellus

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And Tyche.

Marcellus tries gentle methods with the inhabitants.

Tho' the found was not heard all over the vast city, it reached far enough to alarm all Tyche, and throw that quarter into the utmost consternation. Marcellus waiting till day-break, then broke down the stately entrance with fix gates called Hexapulum, and entered Tyche with his army in battalia. Epicydes, who was quartered in the farthest part of the island Ortygia, on hearing that the enemy had feized on Epipolæ and Tyche, croffed Acradina at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a delign to drive the Romans from their posts: but when he saw, to his great surprise, all Epipolæ full of legionaries, he retired, after a flight skirmish, into Acradina, to allay the peoples fears, and prevent a tumult. Marcellus, confidering from an eminence, the beauty and extent of this great and stately metropolis, which was now likely to be reduced by him, is faid to have shed tears from his compassion of the miseries of the inhabitants. Being naturally inclined to use gentle methods, he entreated the Syracusan noblemen of his party to solicite their countrymen to furrender of their own accord, to prevent the facking of the city. The Syracusans, however, would hearken to no proposals, tho' the Romans were already masters of a con-

fiderable part of the city.

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Acradina being guarded by the Roman deserters, Marcellus turned his arms against the citadel of Epipolæ, called Euryalum, which stood on an eminence at some distance from the sea. Having encamped between Neapolis and Tyche, he allowed his foldiers to plunder these two cities; but he enjoined them, under pain of death, not to kill or any ways abuse the inhabitants, and even posted guards in all the avenues, to see that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with so much order or less cruelty. The booty was immense; but it only raifed their expectations of a greater when Acradina and Ortygia should be taken. Soon after, the governor of Euryalum capitulated, being allowed to march out with all his men, and join Epicydes. Marcellus now turned all his efforts against Acradina; but while he was blocking up this quarter, Hamilco The Carand Hippocrates advanced with the Carthaginian army, and at-thaginians tacked the Romans both in the city and in their camp at the attack the fame time. Tho' Epicydes, with the garrison and Carthaginian Romans fleet both co-operated with Hamilco, yet this attack proved very both in unsuccessful, the Carthaginians being obliged to retire with their confiderable lofs. Marcellus afterwards blocking up the city camp and more closely than ever, the Syracusans were reduced to the ut- in the most distress for want of provisions; and to complete their city. miseries, a plague broke out among them. The camps of Hamiles and Crispinus, the collegue of Marcellus, were first infected with the diffemper, which next spread to the army of Marcellus, and foon after began to rage in Acradina; fo that within A plague and without the city, nothing was feen but persons dead or breaks out dying. Night and day nothing was heard but groans of dying in Syramen, and the heaps of dead bodies continually prefented mourn- cufe. ful objects to the living, who expected every moment the fame The diftemper did not rage fo much in the Roman armies as among the Carthaginians, who were almost wholly fwept off, Hamilco and Hippocrates being among the number of the dead. The Sicilian allies retired to two strong towns near Syracuse, and there waited a new reinforcement from Car-thage, whither Bomilcar had sailed. Thus was Marcellus delivered from a numerous army, which for some time had beneged him as closely as he did the Syracusans. The Carthagimans, with great dispatch, fitted out 130 gallies and 700 transports, which they fent under the command of Bomilear to Si-Bomilear The news of his arrival raised the courage of the besieg- arrives at ed, and greatly disheartned the Romans: but Bomilear being Sicily with prevented for feveral days, by contrary winds, from doubling a powercape Pachynum, Marcellus, in the mean time caused his fleet to ful fleet. be got ready, with a defign to engage that of the Carthaginians, tho' far superior in number to his. Epicydes, in the mean time, fearing left the Carthaginians should be surprized by the Romans, went to the fleet, and urged Bomilear to risk an engage-

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He returns to Africa without attempting to re-

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ment. The Carthaginian admiral, tho' his fleet was greatly fuperior to that of the enemy, was nevertheless very backward to agree to a battle. Epicydes, however, prevailed with him to advance within fight of the Roman fleet; but instead of en. gaging, he all of a fudden stood for the main, and steered to. wards Tarentum, fending orders to the transports at Heraclea to return to Africa. Epycides being thus disappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and fled to Agrigentum.

The Syracufans were no fooner informed of his departure, and lieve the of the retreat of the Carthaginian fleet, than they, with the Sig. befieged. lians in the camp, unanimously agreed to surrender on the fol-The Syra-lowing terms; namely, that all the dominions of the kings of cusans pro-Syracuse should be delivered up to the Romans; and that Rome pose to ca- should suffer the Syracusans to enjoy their estates and liberties, and to live according to their own laws. The commanders left by Epicydes opposing this treaty, the magistrates caused them to be assaffinated; and then assembling the people in the marketplace, represented to them that they now had it in their powerto avert the calamities that threatned them, by having recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, who offered them advanvantageous terms. Their discourse was received with univerfal applause; and new magistrates being immediately elected, some of them were sent as deputies to Marcellus, who gave them a kind reception, and was willing to comply with their request. The chief difficulty was to preserve tranquillity and union in the city. As great part of the garrison consisted of Roman deserters, these looked upon all conferences about a furturbances render, as fo many fentences of death against themselves. Not being able to prevent the citizens from hearkning to the proposals of Marcellus, they applied themselves to the mercenaries, and perfuaded them, that the Romans would give them no quar-The mercenaries being inspired with the same fear, joined the deferters, and both taking up arms, ran to the houses of the new prætors, whom they massacred, and then dispersing themselves on all sides, put to the sword all they met without They appointed fix officers as their leaders; but the tumult being appealed, the mercenaries were made fenfible that they had been imposed upon by the deserters. deputies returning at the fame time from the camp of Marcellus, affured them that the Romans had not decreed any punishment against the foreign troops.

Marcellus into the city by a Spanilo 200.

Marcellus, foon after, gaining over one of the fix new leadadmitted ers, named Mericus, a Spaniard, who did not approve of the violent measures taken by his collegues, this officer put the Romans in possession of one of the gates of Acradina, that stood near the fountain of Arethusa. At the same time Marcellus caused a false attack to be made upon Acradina, to draw to that Bef. Chr. part all the forces that were in the island, and give some transports an opportunity of throwing forces into the island after the enemy's troops were withdrawn. The fuccess answering

his defire, and his troops, without any opposition, making themselves masters of the island and part of Acradina, he caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of Syracuse, which were much magnified by same.

Notwithstanding the infidelity of the Syracusans, and the high provocation they had given to the Romans, Marcellus would not now use all the rights of a conqueror, but gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. Being unwilling to His clessed the blood even of traitors, he gave orders that the Roman mency to deserters should be suffered to escape. He then called a council, made a speech to the Syracusans, and having granted them quered, their lives, and ordered his quæstor to take possession of the king's treasures for the use of the republic, he gave up the rest of the booty to his troops, without reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

As foon as the trumpets founded, the Roman foldiers dispersed themselves all over Acradina and Ortygia, and nothing escaped their avarice. They even exceeded their orders, and adding crus elty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the fword, and amongst others the great Archimedes. During the facking of Acradina, he Archiwas flut up in his closet, and so intent upon a demonstration of medes kilgeometry, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of led by a the people, drew off his attention. While he was thus employed, Roman a foldier rushing into his room, commanded him to follow foldier. him to Marcellus; and he refusing till he had finished his demonstration, the foldier, in a rage, slew him. Others relate, that feeing a foldier with a drawn fword at his throat, he begged him to hold his hand one moment, that he might not leave his problem unfinished; but that the soldier, unmoved at his request, killed him immediately. Others again relate, that as he was carrying a box to Marcellus, which contained mathematical instruments, with some of which the eye might measure the magnitude of the fun's body, the foldiers met him, and believing there was gold in the box, flew him. Marcellus was exceedingly concerned for his death; but not being able to repair that misfortune, he made a diligent fearch after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewised caused his funeral to be performed with great pomp and folemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory among the great men who had diftinguished themselves in Syracuse*.

This great mathematician, as most of the antients tell us, An acwas no less considerable for his noble extraction than sublime count of genius. According to Plutarch, his great genius made him be Archilooked upon as something more than a mortal. He excelled, medes, he says, all those who had gone before him; and it was hardly credible that any in suture ages should ever rival him. He took

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^{*} Liv. 1. xxv. Plut. in Marcell.

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delight in no pleasure of life but in that of study; and not to interrupt his studies, he often denied himself the necessaries of life. Senfible only of the pleafures of the mind, he fo neglected his person, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public baths, to make him preferve a decency fuitable to his rank; and even then he employed himself for the most part in drawing mathematical figures on the walls of the stoves with the water in which he bathed. King Hiero had fufficient influence with him to make him put his fublime speculations in practice, tho' the prejudices of that time made the ignorant look upon it as too low an employment for a great genius. Archimedes, when he was one day explaining to the king the wonderful effect of the motive powers, told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to fland upon. The king defired him to give a proof of fo bold an affertion, by removing some great weight with a small force. Archimedes complied with the king's request; and having caused one of the heaviest gallies in the port to be drawn ashore by a great number of men, he built his machine; and then fitting down at a proper distance from the galley, drew the veffel to him without trouble, or exerting his force in the leaft, tho' she had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. The king, fully convinced of the wonderful talents of this great man, prevailed on him to defeend to mechanics, and to build those wonderful machines which we have already mentioned. Besides the warlike machines, amongst his master-pieces was reckoned a sphere of glass, the circles of which represented the periodical and synodical motions of the stars and planets. Cicero himself could not help doing justice to the inventor of fo fine a work; faying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world, in which Archimedes had so happily imitated the wife hand of the divine architect, as the effect of a superior genius. Some have imagined, that Archimedes fet fire to the Roman fleet by means of a burning-glass; but the honour of this invention is ascribed by others to *Proclus*, who set fire to the ships of Vitalian at the siege of Constantinople, in the 500th year of the Christian Æra. It is a great misfortune that neither he, nor any after him, have given an account of the manner of building his machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, were placed a cylinder and a sphere, shewing the proportion between them, which he first found out. In less than 140 years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done his country, that they did not even know he had been buried at Syracuse. Cicero, while he was quætor in Sicily, was led by his curiofity to make a fearch after the tomb of Archimedes; but the Syracufans affured him, there was no fuch monument among them. He pitied their ignorance; and continuing his enquiry, at last observed, without one of the gates

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of the city, a pillar almost covered with brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Causing the place to be immediately cleared, the inscription

appeared still legible *.

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Marcellus, after plundering Syracuse, and stripping it of all Engyum its valuable monuments, which were sent to Rome, advanced to taken by the city of Engyum, which strongly savoured the Carthaginian Marcellus. interest. Nicias, one of their citizens, who had openly espoused the party of the Romans, was obliged to counterseit madness, and by that means escaped to Marcellus, who a few days after took the city by assault. Nicias then interceding for his townsmen, Marcellus not only spared them, but would not even

fuffer his foldiers to plunder the place.

After the reduction of Syracuse, most of the Sicilian cities, which had fided with the Carthaginians, voluntarily submitted to Marcellus; and those who had surrendered before the taking of Syracule, were maintained in pollession of their antient privileges. Sicily, nevertheless, was not entirely settled in peace. Epicydes and Hanno still held Agrigentum; and Mutines kept the Mutines field at the head of a body of Numidians. This officer, who maintains had been formed by Hannibal, and fent by him to Sicily, foon the Carmade himself dreaded thro' the whole island, by the many ad-thaginian vantages he gained over the cities in alliance with Rome. He interest in feemed to be in all places where the interest of his republic re- Sicily. quired his presence. Epicydes and Hanno, encouraged by the fuccessful expeditions of Mutines, ventured to take the field, and formed a camp at the river Himera. Marcellus, advancing with his army, encamped within four miles of the Carthaginian troops. Mutines wanting an opportunity to fignalize himfelf, passed the Himera, and falling on the advanced guards of the Romans, spread an alarm thro' the whole camp. The next day Marcellus marched out of his lines, and attacked the camp of Mutines; but was repulsed with great loss. Mutines soon after Epicydes being obliged to go to Heraclea, to suppress a revolt among some and Han-Numidian cavalry, Epicydes and Hanno, out of jealoufy of his no dereputation, ventured an engagement during his absence, the' feated by contrary to his advice, and were entirely defeated. Marcellus Marcellus. having killed many thousands of the enemy, and taken eight elephants, returned victorious to Syracuse, and soon after set out from thence to Rome, after having delivered up his army and the government of Sicily to Marcus Cornelius Cethegus.

Soon after his departure, 8000 Carthaginian foot, and 3000 New Numidian horse, landing in the island, the Carthaginians began forces to recover their power in several parts. Murgantia, Hybla, from Carand Macella, with many other places of less note, went over to thage arthem. Mutines, at the head of his Numidians, destroyed the rive in country with fire and sword, even in sight of the Roman army, Sicily. which, on the other hand, began to be filled with discontent.

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Cic. Tufc. quaft, I. i. & v. Galen. I. iii. Tzetzes, I. xxxv.

Marcus having, with great difficulty, composed the seditious fpirits, the following spring gained many advantages over the Carthaginians. He forced all the revolted cities to return to their obedience, and particularly Murgantia, which with its territory was bestowed by the senate on the Spaniards, as a reward for their zeal in the fervice of the republic.

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The Sicilians complain of Marcellus,

The total reduction of Sicily was referred for Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who was chosen consul with Marcellus. When the two confuls, according to custom, drew lots for their provinces, Sicily fell to Marcellus; upon which the Sicilians who were present, dressed themselves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the senators, and protested that it would be better for Sicily to perish in the flames of mount Ætna, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by Cornelius Cethegus, who sent them to Rome with a defign to form an accusation against Marcellus. By the letters which he wrote to the fenate, representing the bad state of Sicily, he had prevented Marcellus from enjoying a triumph. Marcellus, who was not a stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, declared, that if his collegue was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it.

who is

Before either of the confuls fet out for their respective procleared by vinces, the Sicilians were heard in the fenate, and Marcellus the fenate. cleared. His proceedings in Sicily were declared regular, the pillage of Syracuse approved of, and his regulations ratified. It was also decreed, that Rome, for the future, should consult the interest of Syracuse. When the decree was passed, the Sicilians were brought into the fenate to hear it; and Marcellus coming in after them, took his feat as conful. The Sicilians then, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, and begged him to pardon the attempts which the prefent fense of their misery had induced them to make against his honour. He received them very graciously, promised them his protection, and obtained of the senate, that the Syracusans should be reinstated in their antient liberties, and treated as allies of Rome. Hence proceeded the gratitude of the Syracufans to Marcellus and his posterity. They enacted a decree, ordaining, that whenever any of his family fet foot in Sicily, the people should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with facrifices. From thenceforth the Sicilians became clients of the illustrious family of the Marcelli.

Mutines delivers up Agrigentum to the Romans.

Lævinus, on his arrival in Sicily, found the whole island reduced by the prætor, except Agrigentum and its territory. After fettling the government of Syracuse and its dependancies, he turned his arms against Agrigentum, which was defended by a numerous garrison under the command of Hanno, whose imprudent conduct was of the utmost service to the enemy. The Carthaginian general, from envy of the merit of Mutines, had deprived him of his commission, and put his own son in his room. His having no command did not at all leffen the credit

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of Mutines among the foldiers, especially the Numidians, who were more attached to him than ever; fo that all the odium of his removal fell on the general. Mutines, on the other hand, resolved, at all events, to be revenged on Hanno for the affront put upon him; and accordingly entered into a private correspondence with the consul, advising him to bring his army before Agrigentum. When the Romans approached the city, Mutines placed himself at the head of the Numidians, and having seized one of the gates, put the Romans in possession of it. The legionaries then mixing with the Numidians, cut the Carthaginian guard in pieces, and advanced in order of battle into the center of the city. Hanno, not having perfect information of what had happened, haftened to the market-place; but perceiving the Romans mixed with the Numidians, he turned short, and made the best of his way out of the city, and embarked with Epicydes, and a small number of officers, on board a vessel that was ready to fail. Lævinus having posted guards in all the avenues and passages, the rest of the army were all cut to pieces. The chiefs of the Agrigentines were first beaten with sods, and then beheaded. The common people were fold as flaves to the best bidder; and the spoils of the pillaged city were put to fale, the money being returned to the public treafury. After the taking of Agrigentum, and flight of Hanno and Epicydes, most of the Sicilian cities submitted to the Romans of their own accord, and others were betrayed or taken by force. Lavinus having now no enemy to contend with, fettled peace All Sicily

throughout the whole island, making it all but one province. reduced This fruitful country, the cultivation of which had been long to a Rointerrupted by wars, produced corn 100 fold; hence from this man protime it became the granary of Rome.

All Sicily being now become a Roman province, it was not Bef. Ch.

All Sicily being now become a Roman province, it was not Bef. Ch. treated as the other countries which Rome subdued afterwards, 198. upon which a certain tribute was imposed; but was suffered but dito enjoy its antient privileges, and retain all its former rights. stinguish-Had not Sicily supplied the Romans with provisions for their ar- ed above mies, and afforded a secure retreat to their sleets, they could other pronot have so easily reduced the formidable power of Carthage. vinces. Hence Scipio Africanus, after having destroyed Carthage, thought himself obliged to adorn the Sicilian cities with some of the richest African spoils, that the Sicilians might have some monuments among them of those victories to which they had greatly

Besides Syracuse, there were several other free cities in Sicily; The varinamely, Leontium, Agrigentum, Gela, Messana, Himera, Catana, ous for-Etna, Apollonia, Selinus, Taurominium, Agyris, and Centuripe. tune of These underwent the same vicissitudes as Syracuse, being somethe other times governed by their own laws, and at others enslaved by free cities their domestic tyrants, till the conquest of the island by the of Sicily.

^{*} Liv. 1. xxvi. Zonar. 1. ix. Cic. in Ver.

Remans. Phalaris tyrant of Agrigentum, was noted for his cruelty. He usurped the sovereignty of that city in the 2d year of the 52d Olympiad, and maintained it for 16 years. We have still remaining some letters of Abaris to this tyrant, and his answer; tho' some ascribe them to Lucian. Perillus the Athenian, to statter the cruelty of Phalaris, made the samous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the first that suffered in it for having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The Agrigentines, at length unable to bear his tyrany, made a general insurrection, seized on the tyrant, and put him to death; some say by shutting him up in his beloved bull*. The most material transactions relating to the other cities of Sicily, we have delivered in the history of Syracuse, with which their respective histories are interwoven.



BOOK IX.

The CARTHAGINIAN History.

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CHAP. I.

A description of the CARTHAGINIAN territory in Africa.

SUCH has been the infelicity of this republic, that tho' it long contended with Rome for the empire of the world, we have but very short and imperfect memoirs of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us; and those accounts of the Carthaginian affairs that are yet extant, cannot be entirely depended upon. For having been handed down to us by authors who entertained wrong sentiments of this people, we may justly suppose that these writers suppressed or disguised many facts that might frequently have given us juster ideas of them. We shall, however, exhibit to our readers the most remarkable passages in the Greek and Roman writers bearing any relation to the Carthaginian state.

Carthage, when founded. Carthage, according to Velleius, was founded 65 years before Rome; Justin says 72 years. Livy places its foundation 20 years

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^{*} Lucian dial. iii. de Poet. Euseb. chron. Cic. Offic. 1. ii.

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migher than these; and Solinus exceeds him 27 years*. According to Timæus, Carthage and Rome were both sounded 38 years before the first Olympiad. Fosephus, from Menander the Ephesian and the Tyrian annals, says, that it preceded the Roman æra 140 years †. Which of these accounts is in the right, it is impossible to determine. According to Petavius, who has been very particular on this subject, Dido began to build Carthage 137 years before the soundation of Rome, if we reckon with Varro, that Rome was built in the third year of the sixth Olympiad; but if with archbishop Usher we prefer the account of Fabius Pictor, the most antient of the Roman historians, who places the building of Rome sive years later, Carthage preceded Rome 142 years ‡.

All authors agree, that Carthage was founded by the Phæ-The Carnicians or Canaanites. The poet Nonnus assures us, that Cad-thagians mus made a very successful expedition into these parts. Euse-descentius and Procopius are positive, that the Canaanites, who sted dants of from Johua, retired hither. According to Philistus of Syra-the Phænicuse, who lived 350 years before Christ, the first traces of Carcians, thage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Phænicians, 30, or according to some, 50 years before the destruction of Troy &. In confirmation of this opinion, Virgil seems to hint, that Dido was rather the finisher than the sounder of this city, by telling us, that before her time, the ground on which it stood was occupied by people who dwelt in cottages \|.\]. What renders the account of Philistus not a little probable is, that the Greeks always called Carthage Charchedon; for which no reason so proper can be assigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground, was known by that

It is the concurrent voice of antiquity, that Elisa, or Dido, Elisa the fifter of Pygmalion king of Tyre, in the 7th year of his reign, founder fled from Tyre with her brother Barca, and fixed her residence or enlargat Carthage, either founding or much enlarging this noble city. er of Car-If she did not lay the foundations of it, the wealth of her hust thage. band Sichæus, and the Tyrians who accompanied her, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place; to wall it round; to build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, and to introduce a form of government which seemed, in Aristotle's opinion, by his expatiating so largely upon it, to have been one of the most persect that had ever been known in the world \(\Pi\).

How

^{*} Vell. Pat. hift. Rom. 1. i Justin, 1. xviii. Liv. 1. li. Epit Solin. c. 29. † Cont. Appion. Dion Halicarn. 1. i. † Petav. ration. temp. 1. ii. xiii. Bochart de col. Phæn. § Non. in Dion 1. xiii. Euseb. Chron. 1. i. Procop bell. vand. 1. ii. Appian. in Lybic. Joseph. Scal. animad. in Euseb. || Virg. Æn. i. Ruæi not. in Æn. iv. ¶-Arist. de rep. 1. ii.

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not agreed. Solinus tells us, that its true name was Carthada, which in the Carthaginian language fignifies the new city. Salmassus, Schindler, Bochart, and others who follow him, deduce it from two oriental words, Charta Hadatta, which are of the fame import. According to Dr. Hyde, the name was derived either from Chadre Hanacha, that is, the chamber or place of rest; or from Chard Haneca, the new city; because Plautus, in his Panulus, intimates, that it was called by the natives Chaedreanech*. However, according to Servius, the Carthaginians themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, faid, that it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation. This town, by Cedrenus, is called Chartica, or Chartaea; that is, Charta Aca, or Aco; the city of Aco, a celebrated fea-port of Phænice near Tyre, in the territory of the tribe of Asher, tho' possessed by the Phænicians. In support of the authority of Servius and Cedrenus, it may be observed, that the Tyrians and Canaanites frequently prefixed the word Kiriath, Cariath, or Charta, that is, city, to the proper names of towns. Farther, the true name of this city among the antient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themfelves, was Cartaco, as is evident from the Columna rostrata of Duilius +.

The Carthaginians were called by the Greeks fometimes Libyans, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes Phanicians, from their mother country. The Romans also stiled them Pani, or Phanicians, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them or their city, Punic, or Panic,

that is, Phænician.

According to Stephanus and Eustathius, this city was antiently named in Punic Caccabe, from an horse's head which was found by the Tyrians while they were digging for the foundations of Byrsa, or the citadel. This was looked upon as a happy omen portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. On account of this event, the Carthaginians had frequently, upon the reverses of their coins, either an horse's head, or the half of the body of an horse, or an horse entire, with Victory upon him t.

Description of

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf upon a peninsula 360 stadia, or about 40 miles in circumference, the isthmus joining Cartha e. this peninfula to the continent being near three miles in breadth. On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land half a stadium broad, which was strongly fortified on all fides by rocks and a fingle wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress, or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrsa, having o

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^{*} Scind. Pentaglot. Hyde in not. ad Peritfol. + Petr. Ciacon. in Column. rostr. ap Græv. Thesaur. 1. iv. p. 1810. 1 Virg. Æn. i. Justin, I. xviii.

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ing on the top of it a temple facred to Æsculapius, to which the ascent was by 60 steps. On the south side, towards the continent, the city was furrounded with a triple wall 30 cubits high, exclusive of the parpets. It was flanked with towers at equal distances, each interval being 80 fathoms. Every tower had its foundation funk 30 feet deep, and was four stories high. In the lower stories were stalls large enough to hold 300 elephants, with their fodder, &c. In the fecond stories, which were on a level with the ground, were stables for 4000 horses, and lofts for their food. There was likewife room enough in the walls to lodge 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. On the western fide of the city were two harbours, which were so disposed as to have a communication with each other, and had one common entrance 70 feet broad, and shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vast number of places of refreshment. The second, or inner port, was defigned chiefly for ships of war, and was lined all round, as well as an island called Cothon in the middle of it, with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather 220 galleys. On these keys were built magazines or store-houses, wherein were lodged all necessary naval stores. Upon the island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour. he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, tho' no one there could fee what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour.

The city consisted of three parts, Byrfa, Megara or Magaria, and Cothon. Byrsa, according to Servius, was near three miles in circumference; but Eutropius makes it somewhat less. It was not precifely in the middle of the city, but inclined to the fouth, or isthmus, as is observed by Appian. The word Byrsa is only a Greek corruption of the true Punic Busra, or Botfra, that is, a fortress or citadel, as has been demonstrated by Scaliger, Bochart, and others versed in the oriental lan-guages*. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, surrounded by the Magaria, which in the Phænician tongue imports houses or towns. Strabo calls the small island in the fecond harbour Cothon; but Appian applies this name likewife to the harbour itself. The word Cothon, which probably was pronounced by the Carthaginians Kathum, or Kathom, fignifies a

port not formed by nature, but the effect of labour and art. The number of inhabitants which this city contained at the Thenumbeginning of the third Punic war, was 700,000. The forces ber of its they could bring into the field, as well as their power by fea, inhabi-

when they had a mind to exert themselves in an extraordinary tants. manner, was very formidable. Their riches were likewise immense, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the

final destruction of the city after it had been throughly plun-

Scal, in not, ad Fest, Bochart de col. Phæn, Salmas, in Solim. dered.

When the place was believed wholly exhausted and confumed, he carried off near a million and a half fterling, According to Livy, the city was 23 miles in extent; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful city in the The dominion of the fea, which it enjoyed for 600 years almost without interruption, together with the genius of its people for commerce, aggrandized it in a most amazing manner,

Present

Dr. Shaw, who was himself upon the spot, has observed, remains of that the greatest part of Carthage was built upon three hills, Caribage. fomewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which Rome was erected. All the remains of this once famous city, according to this traveller, are the area of a spacious room with several fmaller ones at a little distance from it, and the common fewers and cifterns, which time hath not in the least injured or impaired.

Strabo observes, that the Carthaginians possessed 300 cities in Africa before the beginning of the third Punic war; which may eafily be believed, if we consider that the dominions of this state, about that time, extended from the western confines of tent of the Cyrenaica, to the pillars of Hercules, or straits of Gibraltar, a Carthagi- tract of land extending, according to the observations of Dr. mian terri- Shaw, 1420 miles in length. When its power was at its greatest height, the best part of Spain and of Sicily, and all the islands of the Mediterranean to the west of Sicily, were subject to it.

We shall now give our readers an account of the proper territory of this state. The description of the other dominions which the Carthaginians, at certain intervals, possessed, falls under the histories of those respective countries. These acquisitions were sometimes of a larger and sometimes of a narrower extent, according as the republic met with fuccess or

According to Mela and Ptolemy, Africa Propria contained all

misfortune in the management of its affairs.

Africa Propria.

the countries fituated between the river Ampfaga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which Pliny tells us were inhabited by 26 different nations. This, however, includes Numidia and the Regio Syrtica, which were countries distinct from the proper territory of Carthage. Its proper limits, according to other authors*, feem to have been the river Tusca on the west, the Mediterranean on the north, the defarts of Lybia interior and the frontiers of the Garamantes on the fouth, and the Mediterranean with the lesser Syrtis on the east. It was divided into two provinces, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium; and these two, according to Dr. Shaw's account, nearly correspond with the present kingdom of Tunis, which extends from the 33d deg. 30 min. to the 37th deg. 12 min. of north latitude, and is above

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^{*} Plin. l. v. Herod. l. iv. Cellar. geog. antiq. l. iv. Shaw's geogr. descrip. of the kingdom of Tunis.

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Zeugitana extended from Tusca, on the borders of Numidia, Zeugitana. as far as Adrumetum. The summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis, including the fruitful country about Keff and Baijah, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginiensium of Strabo, and the Africa

Propria of Solinus and Pliny.

One of its most considerable cities next to Carthage was Utica, Utica. which Aristotle says, from the authority of Phænician historians, was built 287 years before Carthage. Other authors, such as Velleius, Justin, Mela, and Stephanus, agree in the opinion of its being more antient than Carthage. It was seated on the western promontory of the bay of Carthage, from which, according to the itinerary, it was 27 Roman miles distant. After Carthage was razed by the Romans, it had a grant made to it of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was

for a confiderable time the metropolis of Africa.

On the east of Carthage stood Tunes, or Tuneta, the Tunis of Tunes. the moderns. This town was undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and others. It was seated near the mouth of the river Catada,

15 Roman miles from Carthage; and was fortified both by nature and art, and furrounded with a wall. The city is now the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situated upon a rising ground along the western banks of a lake of the same name. Some time since it was noted for its corfairs; but of late the inhabitants have applied wholly to trade, and are now become the most civilized and polite people in Rarham.

About 24 miles fouth-east of Tunis stood Maxula, or Mazula, Maxula, on the east side of the Catada, now the Miliana, being the same, according to Dr. Shaw, with the present Mo-raisah.

Carpis, or Carpi, was another city of this district; and ac-Carpis. cording to our learned traveller, occupied the same spot on which Gurbos, or Hammam Gurbos, now stands.

Misua, or Nisua, a town taken notice of by Pliny and Pto-Misua. lemy, stood between Carpis and Clypea. The ruins of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of Seedy Doud, about five leagues north-east from the promontory of Hercules.

Aquilaria, mentioned by Cæsar, and said by him to stand in Aquilaria. the neighbourhood of two promontories, is said by Shaw to have stood not far from the cape of Mercury, called by the Moors the Ras-adder, and by the Franks cape Bon. Many fragments of antiquity are still extant here; but amongst them nothing remarkable.

Clypea was fituated upon the small promontory Taphitis, five Clypea. leagues south-east of the promontory of Mercury, and got its name from its figure, which resembled a shield. A mile distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clubea.

Curubis.

About 21 miles fouth-west and by west of Clypea stood Curu. bis, Curobis, or Curabis. It is supposed to have been antiently

a considerable place, and is at present called Gurba.

Neapolis.

Neapolis, a famous emporium of the Carthaginians, was feated in the fouth-east part of Zeugitana, five leagues to the northeast of Curubis. Thucydides says, that the passage from hence to Sicily was very fhort, being eafily performed in two days and a night. It appears to have been antiently a large city, and among its present ruins are seen a great number of inscriptions upon stones fix feet in length and three in breadth; but they are either fo unfortunately defaced, or fo filled with mortar,

that it is a difficult thing to copy them.

Hippo.

Hippo is the last remarkable city in this province which we shall mention. It stood towards the north-west borders, and was a fort of frontier town on the fide of Numidia. It was fometimes denominated Hippo Diarrbytus, or Zarytus, from the navigable lake on which it was built, and fometimes from the promontory near it; the antients called it Acra, Hippuacra, and Hippagreta. Appian tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repositories for naval stores. The modern name is Biferta, which is a corruption of the Hippo Zarytus of the antients. It is at prefent about a mile in circuit, and is pleafantly fituated upon a canal eight miles to the fouth and by west of cape Blance, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea, Bechart proves its origen to have been Phanician, and derives the name Hippo from the Syriac or Phænician Uppo, a gulf.

The inland towns.

The inland towns of this province, Ulizibima, Medicaara, Tucma, Cerbica, Sasura, Cilma, Vepillium, Vina Valli, Cigisa, and others equally obscure, enumerated by Ptolemy, the itinerary, and Peutinger's table, were never very confiderable, and were for the most part, if not entirely, modern in comparison to the Carthaginian times. There seems to be some traces of the antient appellation of this province in the present name of the city Zowan, or Zagwan, built upon the north-east extremity of a conspicuous mountain of the same name.

Byzacium.

Byzacium, according to Pliny, was inhabited by the Libyphanicians; that is, by a mixture of aborigines or native Africans and Carthaginians. It was about 250 Roman miles in circumference, and of fo great fertility, that the earth made a return of 100 fold. The limits of this province feems impossible to be precifely defined; because the antients have passed over the interior part of it bordering upon Libya, in a very flight manner, and have greatly mistaken the course of the river Triton. It is supposed not to have differed much in extent and situation from the present winter circuit of the Tuniseens.

Its capital was Adrumetum, or Hadrumetum, antiently a city of confiderable note. It was known by various names; fuch as Adryme, Adrymetus, Hadrumetum, Hadrito, and others. Tho' not large, it was very ftrong, and was built upon an hemispherical promontory, two leagues to the fouth-east of the morals

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Adrumetuni.

which divided the province from Zeugitana. Adjacent to the city was a cothon, being either a port or little island in imitation of that of Carthage, so called. According to Sallust and others, it was founded by the Phænicians; and Bochart, with great appearance of truth, derives its name from two Phænician words, importing the land returning 100 fold. It is at prefent but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry sandy nature, and partly incommoded with morasses and saltish plots of ground called shibkahs, which are overslowed in the winter, but dry all the summer.

Leptis Minor, now Lempta, stood on the coast about 18 miles Leptis from Adrumetum, and was of Phænician extraction. The Minor. city paid every day a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute; and all authors agree that the neighbouring country was exceeding fruitful; which has induced Bochart to derive Emporia, its name in Livy and Polybius, from two oriental words

fignifying the fruitful mother.

Betwixt Adrumetum and Leptis Minor stood Ruspina, which Ruspina, is supposed to be the present village of Sahaleel, about a mile from the sea.

Agar, a town taken notice of by Hirtius, was a few miles to Agar.

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Thapfus, a maritime town of this province, was feated, ac-Thapfus. cording to Dido, upon a fort of ifthmus betwixt the fea and the lake. Peutinger's table makes it eight miles fouth from Leptis. It is at prefent called Demass; and there is still remaining in its neighbourhood a great part of the cothon built in frames. It consists of small pebbles and mortar, which are so well cemented and knit together, that a solid rock could not be more hard and durable.

Turris Hannibalis was a fort or country feat belonging to Turris Hannibal, not far from Thapfus, according to Livy. Hanniba-

Thena, or Thena, a town on the coast of the sesser Syrtis, is list. known at this time among the Tuniseens by the name of Thai-Thena. nee. It was near two miles in circuit; and there is neither fountain or rivulet in the neighbouring country, which is dry and barren.

Uzita, a town of some note near Leptis Minor, is mentioned Uzita. by Hirtius, Ptolemy, and Dio. Bochart derives the name from Zaith, or Zail, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and according to Hirtius, the neighbourhood of this city was

famous for its production of olives.

Thala, a city of great extent, taken notice of by Sailust, was Thula. furrounded by mountains and defarts; though there were some fountains without the city. By these particulars, it seems to have been the same with the present Ferre-anah, in the southwest part of this province.

Twelve leagues to the fouth-east by east of this place is Gafza, Capsa. the Capsa of the antients, and one of the strong castles of fugurtha. It is built on a rising ground, enclosed almost in every direction with mountains and desarts; and as its name

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in the eastern languages fignifies streightly environed, we may conclude it was founded by the Phænicians. There seems to have been two more cities of this name, one in Numidia, and the other in Libya interior. There are many other towns mentioned in this province; but nothing is now known of them

except their names.

The chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients, besides the lake Hipponitis, and the Palus Sisara joined to it, were the Palus Tritonitis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Libya, which are now known to be different branches of the same lake, the modern name of which is the Shibkah-El-Lowdeah, or lake of marks; so called from a number of trunks of palmtrees placed at proper distances to direct the caravans. This lake extended itself near 20 leagues from east to west, and is interspersed with several dry spots which appear like islands in it. According to Scylax and Herodotus, it served as a boundary to the Libyan nomades or shepherds.

The most famous river in Africa Propria, was the Bagrada, Bagadras, or Bagada, for it went by all these names. Its stream slows in a direction almost from west to east; and at this day it is called the Ne-jerdah. By running thro' a rich and fertile country, it becomes so well saturated with soil, that it appears in colour like the Nile, and seems to have no less the property of making encroachments upon the sea. Bochart thinks the Phænicians pronounced the name Bragda, or Brastha, that is a pond; and produces several authorities that render his opinion very probable.

The Catada of Ptolemy, now the Miliana, is famous for nothing but for having Tunis seated upon the mouth of it.

Among the principal curiofities of this country are to be ranked the *Hammam Leef*, a noted hot bath very much reforted to by the citizens of *Tunis*; the hot bath, with some ruins at the creek of *Gurbos*; the salt lake near *Tobulba*; the *Stagnum Salinarum* of *Hirtius*; the *Jibbel Haddeffa*, an entire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the lake of Marks, the salt of which is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour.

On the African coast were several small islands, which may be looked upon as part of the proper territory of Carthage. The island of Cossian, or Cossian, was, according to Strabo, 150 stadia in circumferrnce, and lay about midway betwixt Clypea and Lilybæum in Sicily. According to Ptolemy, it had a city of the same name. The Tarichiæ of Strabo, were certain small islands, now called the Jowries, lying over against Leptis Minor. Lopadusa, opposite to Thapsus, was six miles long, according to Pliny. Æthusa, or Ægusa, another little island mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, lay a little to the westward of the former. The Insulæ Dracontiæ of Ptolemy were to the north of Hippo. Ægimurus was a small island in the gulph of Carthage, about 30 miles from that capital. Near this island were two rocks, called the Aræ Ægimuri; so named, because on them the Romans and Car-

Lakes.

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African islands.

Carthaginians concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of

their respective dominions.

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The most antient inhabitants of this country were, according to Herodotus, the Auses, situated to the west of the river Triton, whose capital was probably Auza, or Auzate, said by Menander Ephesius to be built by Eth-baal king of Tyre; the Maxyes, a Libyan nation; the Machlyes, another Libyan nation near the lake Tritones; the Zaueces and the Zygantes, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey.



CHAP. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, learning and trade of the CARTHAGINIANS.

THE Carthaginians are univerfally allowed by all the Greek The Carand Roman writers, to be the descendants of the old Ca-thaginians naanites or Phænicians. One of the Punic names, according descended to Plautus, was Chaeddreanech, or Chadreanak, which Bochart of the imagines to allude to their Canaanitish extraction. For Anak Phæniand his family, upon account of their gigantic stature and great cians. valour, being esteemed both by sacred and prosane writers the most famous of the Canaanites, from him part of the nation bordering on the sea-coast near the place of his residence, might probably receive a new denomination. The Phænician colonies in this country, without doubt, early intermixed with the native Africans, and their posterity were called Libophænicians, as is generally supposed; tho' Bochart and some others have imagined that the Libophænicians were a nation distinct both from the Libyans and Carthaginians, and inhabited a different tract.

The first government settled at Carthage, was probably mo- The form narchial; but on the death of Dido, or rather in her life-time, of governit changed into a republic. According to Aristotle, this republic ment at was partly ariffocratical and partly democratical. Polybius fays, Carthage. that monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy all centered in it; and Isocrates makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. Aristotle intimates, that the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Carthaginian republics, were the most perfect and best modeled of any in the world; and that in many respects they agreed, tho' in several respects he gives the preference to the Carthaginian. Its great excellency appeared to him from hence, that notwithstanding the great sway the people bore in Carthage, there had been no instance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diffurbing the public tranquillity, nor any tyrant who had been able to introduce oppression. The principal powers of which the constitution of Carthage was composed,

were the sufferes, the senate, and the people; who while they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon each other. But when, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the ascendant over the senate, prudence was banished their counsels, nothing but cabals and faction took place, and such precipitate steps were taken, as first rendered this formidable state weak and contemptible, and soon after completed its destruction.

The Suffetes.

The fuffetes, who were two in number of equal power and dignity, were the chief magistrates of Carthage. They were annually elected out of the noblest families, and were always fuch persons as most attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents as well as wealth. For this reason, Aristotle prefers the supreme magistrates of Carthage to those of Lace. dæmon, who were perpetual, and had a hereditary right of fuccession. As for the Roman consuls, they had not only a chief hand in the administration of civil, but likewise in conducting of military affairs; whereas from Livy, Polybius, and others*, it would appear that the fuffetes were, generally speaking, confined to the former. Their province was to affemble the fenate, in which they prefided, to propose subjects for deliberation there, and to tell voices. According to some authors, they had the power of life and death, and of punishing all crimes whatfoever. Their concurrence in all points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all, the cities of note in the Carthaginian dominions had their fuffetes as well as the metropolis.

The fenate.

The fenate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their age and experience, as well as most illustrious on account of their birth, their riches, and above all their merit. By whom they were elected, or of what number they confisted, we know not. From Justin we may infer, that their number greatly exceeded that of the senate of Sparta or Rome: for according to this author, 100 were selected from it, and appointed as judges to enquire into the conduct of their generals. In this grand council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, and, in short, to all affairs of consequence, whether foreign or domestic, were debated, and for the most part determined. When the suffetes agreed with the fenate, their joint determinations had the force of laws: but if the fuffetes refused their assent, then the people had the ultimate determination of the affair in question; they being, in all emergencies of this nature, the dernier refort of This, as Aristotle observes, was a flaw in the constitution, which was at last attended with fatal effects. For during the fecond and third Punic wars, the populace at Carthage prevailed over the fenate, whilst the fenatorial authority at

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^{*} Gronov. antiq. Græc. v. i. p. 1504.

Rome was in its full bloom and vigour; which, according to Polybius, was the principal cause of the rise of one and the fall of the other. The office and dignity of senator were perpetual, and none were elected fenators but perfons of the most distinguished merit. According to Livy, there was a council formed of fuch fenators as were the most venerable and eminent for their wisdom, who were called seniores, seniorum principes, or

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What fway the people had at Carthage while the constitution Power of remained in its original form, does not appear. It is likely the peothat they had a vote at the election of magistrates, and in every ple at thing that bore any relation to them. In Aristotle's days, Carthage. the commonwealth feems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too strong a tendency to popular government. However, the senate still kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrolable. About 100 years after, in the time of Hannibal, the constitution was threatened with a total subversion; for little attention was paid to the fenate, and the people arrogated to themselves almost the whole power; so that the most advantageous measures were obstructed by a few ambitious demagogues. From this period the state of Carthage began to decline, and in the course of a few years lost not only its liberty, but its very being.

The centumvirate confifted of 104 persons; and according The cento Aristotle, this tribunal enjoyed a very extensive power, tho tumvirate confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature. Out of this tri- and quinbunal were selected five judges, whose jurisdiction was superior quevito that of the rest. They had the power not only of filling rate. up all vacancies in their own body, but likewise of chusing those persons who composed the tribunal of 100. They were at the head of the tribunal under the fuffetes, and had in a great measure the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. Their office was, in all probability, perpetual till the time of Hannibal; by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. According to Ubbo Emmius, the fuffetes prefided in this council and in the centumvirate, as well as in the fenate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. Selden and Bochart, with great probability, derive their name from the Hebrew word Sophetim, judges or magistrates; which was the title given to the Ifraelitish governors from the time of Joshua till the election of

The civil officers, next to the suffetes, were the prætor, the The civil quæstor, and the censor. The great Hannibal, who was the officers at

⁺ Ubbo Em. ap Gronov. ut * Liv. l. xxx. Justin, l. xi. c. 31. supra. Selden de diis Syris. Bochar. Chan. 1. i. most VOL. III:

most illustrious of the Carthaginians both on account of his noble extraction and glorious atchivements, had the prætorship conferred upon him in the 5th year after the conclusion of the second Punic war; from whence it is evident that this must have been one of the first employments in the state. The person, invested with this high dignity, had a great insuence not only in passing, but also in repealing, of laws; as may be inserred from Hannibal's impeaching the judges while he was in this office. He moreover received the tribute paid by the different nations under the Carthaginian power, and had the direction of every thing relating to the public revenues. A transition from the office of suffetes, after it became annual, to the prætorship, was not uncommon in Carthage; of which there are many instances.

The quæstor was an officer belonging to the bench of judges; who the subordinate to them, had a very considerable degree of power. He likewise collected and managed the public money under the prætor; which induced Livy to give him the name of quæstor. At the expiration of his office, he was sometimes at least, if not of course, admitted into the bench of judges.

We find another civil officer established at Carthage, whose business it was to inspect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is stilled by Cornelius Nepos the præsect of manners, or the censor. Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, tho' the first man in the republic, could not escape the inspection of

this magistrate *.

The Carthaginian laws.

As to the Carthaginian laws, they have long fince been buried in oblivion, and only a few fragments of them remain. 1. There was a law of a very long standing among the Carthaginians, by which they were enjoined to facrifice to Saturn only children nobly born. 2. By another law, Ceres and Proferpine were admitted into the number of the Carthaginian dejties. Magnificent statues were erected in their honour, priests were felected from among the most distinguished families of the city for their service, and facrifices, after the Greek manner, were offered up to them. This was done in order to appeale the anger of these goddesses, whose resentment they feared, because Himilco, the Carthaginian general, had plundered their temples in the suburbs of Acradina. 3. About this time likewise a law was enacted at Carthage, by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the Greek language. This law was occasioned by a Carthaginian traitor, who gave fecret intelligence in Greek to Dionysius, the enemy of his country. However, this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected. For the great Hannibal himself understood this language so well, that he composed in it an history of the actions of Manlius Vulso +. 4. A fort of fumptuary law was made by the Carthaginians, to restrain all

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^{*} Corn. Nep. in Vit. Hannib. † Idem ibid.

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kinds of excesses at marriage. This was occasioned by a defign of *Hanno*, the principal person in the city, who intended to make himself master of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. So great was the influence of *Hanno* in the city, that the senate, upon the discovery of this plot, did not think proper to punish him for it, but contented themselves with passing the law above-mentioned *.

The two following regulations were looked upon as excel- Excellenlencies in the Carthaginian conflitution: 1. They had public cies of the
meals or entertainments, which feem to have been appointed in Carthagiimitation of the same institution at Lacedamon. 2. There was a mian conlaudable custom among them of sending colonies from time to stitution.
time into different parts of their dominions; which not only
contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity, by
drawing off the idle and indigent, but also became a great
means of aggrandizing the state.

Aristotle has taken notice of several desects in their constitu- Its detion; one of which was, that merit and a conspicuous birth, sects. were not sufficient qualifications for a man to fill the first posts, without riches. This, in his opinion, not only excludes oftentimes persons of the most exalted merit from having any share in the government, but opens a door to avarice and all kinds of corruption. The experience of after ages shewed this restlection of his to be well grounded.

He also blames the common practice at Carthage, of allowing the same person to assume to himself several employments; as public affairs are managed with more spirit and expedition, when the different branches of business are lodged in different hands; and the welfare of every state is highly promoted by an equal distribution of places amongst its members.

The Carthaginians being descended from the Tyrians, their Religion religious worship must of course have agreed in all points at of the Carfirst with that of the *Phænicians*, an account of which we have thaginians. formerly given. In process of time, by their intercourse with the Greeks, especially those of Sicily, they came to take a liking to the superstition of that nation, and adopted several of their The Carthaginians likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been in some sort acquainted with the different kinds of superstition established in most nations, with which, doubtless, they tinctured their own. Greek and Roman writers have affixed the names of their own gods to those of the Carthaginians, their accounts and observations on this head have been rendered thereby more imperfect and less valuable. For tho' it appears that the Egyptian, Phænician, Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian deities did in the main agree; yet we are well affured, that each of those nations had not only fome particular modes of worship, but likewife some particular deities peculiar to itself.

deity in

Chronus, the same with the Saturn of the Latins, was adored principal by the Carthaginians in a particular manner*. The facrifices offered up to him, were children of the most distinguished fami-Caribage. lies; and they had a brazen statue or colossus of him, the hands of which were extended in act to receive, and bent down in fuch a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into an hollow, where was a fiery furnace. The folemnities observed at offering up of human victims to this Carthaginian god, answered pretty nearly to those observed by the Canaanites on the like occasion; which is a great prefumption that the Phænician Molock and this deity were the famet. Baal, Bal, or Bel, was the great god of the Carthaginians; and as it is apparent from Scripture that he was delighted with human facrifices, and as he was also the Chronus of the Greeks. we may conclude that the god named Chronus by Diodorus, and faid by him to be the principal deity of the Carthaginians, was nothing else than Baal or Moloch t. This is also conjectured from some traces to be found in the proper names of Carthage. Hannibal, Asdru-bal, Maher-bal, &c. are thought to point out Baal or Bal; as Himilce, Hi-milco, Ha-milcar, Melicus, Malchus, &c. do Moloch or Milchom.

The goddess Cathe Car-

The goddess Cælestis, or Urania, was held in the highest veneration by the Carthaginians. The prophet Feremiah calls lestis wor- her Baaleth Shemaim, the queen of Heaven; that is Juno shiped by Olympia. Megasthenes in Eusebius gives her the name of Beltis, or queen Beltis; Sanchoniatho that of Dione and Baaltis; and thaginians. Helychius that of Belthes. According to this last author, the word was applied both to Juno and Venus; and indeed in the Phænician theology, we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. St. Augustin says, that Carthage was the place where Venus had established her reign; and Virgil informs us, that Juno preferred that spot to all others, even to Samos itself &.

Baal, or Jupiter.

Besides the first Belus already taken notice of, several others of a later date were in great repute amongst the Phænicians, and of course amongst the Carthaginians. Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, had all of them this name. That Jupiter was worshiped by this people under the denomination of Belus, or Baall, appears from Polybius, Menander Ephefius, and Dius. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, for the most part at the head of their treaties. Mars, according to the Chronicon Alexandrinum, compared with Homer and an antient author cited by Eufebius |, was dignified with the title of Belus by the Persians, Assyrians, and probably by the Carthaginians, as he was a favourite divinity in

^{*} Diod. 1. xx. Q. Curt. I. iv. c. 3. + Plut. de Superstit. Sel-† Hift. of Phæn. V. Suid. sub den ut supra. Vosius de idolat. voce Beel. Ifidor. orig. l. viii. § Jer. vii. 18. Eufeb. Chron. & de præp. evang. || Euseb. de præp. Evan. l. ix. Joseph. antiq. l. i.

their state, especially amongst their generals. Bacchus was called Belus by the poet Nannus, and, in all probability, this nation had some knowledge of him *. Apollo, or the Sun, went frequently either by this name fimply, or by others, in which this made one part of the composition. Neptune was also one of the gods of the Carthaginians of the first class. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the Baal of Sidon, called Thalassius, or the sea Baal, taken notice of in a former part of this history. Under what form the Carthaginians worshiped their several deities is no where faid. If they agreed with the Greeks and Romans in this particular, which is very probable, our readers, who defire a full view of this subject, will find it fully treated in Albricus +.

Baalsamen, or as the Hebrews would have written it, Baal Baalsa-Shemaim, that is, the Lord of Heaven, or the Sun, had, ac-men, or cording to St. Augustin, religious honours paid him by the Car- the Sun. thaginians. They probably had no representation of him, because they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory; Damascius calls him El Bolathes, &c. and makes him to

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Besides Ceres and Proserpine, which they worshiped, the Ceres and Carthaginians deified Dido, with her fifter Anna. It appears Proserpine. alfo, that they paid divine honours to Mercury the God of in- Mercury. dustry and commerce, under the name of Asumes or Asoumes §.

Nothing is more celebrated in antient history, than the Ty- Hercules. rian-Hercules, whose worship was brought to Carthage by Dido, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of Africa, as far as Gades or Cadiz, where he had a magnificent temple. The Tyrians and Carthaginians supposed him to preside over gold, filver and all forts of treasures; and the latter never failed for a considerable time, to send to Tyre, the first fruits of their revenues, and the tythe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him, at Tyre, which were celebrated every four years. At Carthage, no doubt the same custom prevailed, as likewise, that of offering, annually, human victims up to him | . Iolaus Iolaus. comes next to Hercules, as being either related to him, or one that introduced some of his relations into the island of Sardinia. Hercules and Iolaus, according to Vossius, had jointly, divine honours paid them in this island, either, because he was Hercules's near relation, or affifted him in destroying the Hydra, by fearing the wound with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from sprouting out in its room. Ovid pretends, that at the intercession of Hercules, Hebe restored him to youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the Carthaginians were long in possession of this

^{*} Nannus in Dionyf. ap. Selden de diis Syr. Bochart. Sir Isaac ‡ Damas in Newt. Chron. + De Deor. imag. Bas. 1570. || Polyb. in vit. Isodor. Plin, nat. hift. lib. xxv. Bochart. excerpt. Legat. Plin. K 3 island,

island, it is supposed they borrowed him from the Sardi; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are informed by Polybius.

Hendrich intimates that the Dea Syria, or Syrian Goddess, Dea Syria.

was a deity of the Carthaginians.

The people of Carthage, likewife addressed themselves to A scula-Æsculapius, whom Servius calls Panigena, because he supposes pius. his mother to have been a Carthaginian. The best authors fuppose him to have been originally, either a Messenian, or an According to Volfius, the Carthaginians received him immediately from the Tyrians, to whom, either the Syra-Macedonians or Egyptians communicated him.

Herebus, another Carthaginian deity, mentioned by Silius and Polybius, feems to have been Pluto or Dis. All we know of him is, that he was invoked as the God of Hell, and reprefented under an human shape, with long loose hair *

Triton the Sea God, was also one of the deities of Carthage, as appears from the treaty concluded betwixt Philip the fon of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians +.

Moblus, a famous augur or foothfayer, after his death became a fort of oracle at Carthage. The Carthaginians erected temples to him, from whence responses were given, as from so many

Rivers, meads, waters, &c. or rather, the supposed genii of and water all these inanimate parts of the creation, were also esteemed as gods, and objects of adoration by the Cartbaginians, as well as most other idolatrous nations §.

Scaliger, probably upon the authority of Leo Africanus, acquaints us, that the old Africans paid a religious homage to fire, which was, perhaps, likewife the custom at Carthage. The air and winds, also shared divine honours, the air being esteemed by the Carthaginians superior to the other elements, having them, as it were, under its government and direction ||.

The Carthaginians sometimes swore by the manes of Dida,

Anna Per- as Silius relates; and Anna her sister, passed for a goddess, un-enna. der the name, according to some, of Anna Perenna. The Romans, Ovid fays (Fast. L. III.) paid her divine honours, as well as the Carthaginians.

According to the same author (Heroid. VII.) Dido in her life-time, conferred divine honours upon her deceased husband Sichæus.

Tellus, or the earth, was worshiped by the Carthaginians, as appears from the treaty of peace with Philip, mentioned by Polybius. Our readers will find a full account of this deity in Voffius.

* Vost. Theol. Gent. Hendreich. lib. ii. + Polyb. lib. vii. † Hendr. Apul. de deo Socrat. & Voss. Sil. Ital. lib. i. # Hendr. Jul. Firm. prof. Rel.

Herebus.

Triton.

Mopsus.

Rivers

fire worshiped by the Carthaginians. Alfo the

air.

Sichœus.

Tellus.

Hamilear, one of their generals, who was defeated and slain Hamilear, by Gelon king of Syracuse, before Himera, was also deisted by them, according to Herodotus, they imagining he had turned a God, because his body could not be found after the engagement*.

It is not unlikely, that the Carthaginians adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods. Nay, we are affured by Silius, that Hannibal, notwithstanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen, at last was adored

by them in his life-time.

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The Carthaginians also ranked among their gods, the two and the brothers Philæni, who in a treaty with the Cyrenians, fraudu-Philæni lently extended the frontiers of the republic of Carthage, and worship-rather than give up their new claim, made an agreement with ed by the Cyrenians, to suffer themselves to be buried alive, in the them. place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. Two altars were afterwards erected to their memory, on that spot, which served as land-marks to the Carthaginian territories, on

that fide, for many ages +.

Some of the Carthaginian divinities, St. Austin says, had the name of Abaddires, and their priests, that of Eucaddires. This class, in all probability, was derived from the stone which Jacob anointed with oil, after it had served him for a pillow, the night he had his vision. From Bethel, the name of this pillar, came the Bætylus of Damascius, which we find called Abaddir by Priscian. This Abaddir is the Phænician Aban-Dir, that is, the spherical stone, exactly answering to the description of the Bætylus given us by Damascius and others. The Canaanites seem first to have worshiped the individual stone itself upon which Jacob had poured oil, and afterwards to have consecrated and worshiped others of that form, which salse worship continued even to the time of St. Austin ‡.

It was a custom among the Carthaginians to carry about with Portable them some small images, representing certain gods, in covered temples in chariots, or, as Eustathius calls them, temples carried by oxen. use among They were a fort of oracle, and their responses were understood them. by the motions impressed upon the vehicle. The tabernacle of Moloch, with which St. Stephen reproaches the Jews, seems to

have been a machine of this kind.

It is remarkable, that in the treaty with *Philip*, so often cited, The Gemention is made of the Dæmon or Genius of Carthage. The nius of Pagans looked upon these dæmons as intelligences, who were Carthage, the ministers of the gods, and had the administration of the world committed to them, and on this account they bestowed

The Cabiri, or Samothracian gods, were also worshiped by the Carthaginians, who, with almost all the other pagan na-

^{*} Herod. lib. vii. + Sallust. Jugurth. Mela, lib. i. Val. Max.

† Priscian gram. Damas. ap. Phot. Hesych.

K 4 tions

tions of antiquity, had a most profound reverence for their mysteries. Bishop Cumberland, the Abbé Banier, and Astorius, have been very full upon this subject; Reland also has published a differtation upon the Cabiri, and concludes that they were the gods of the dead. The Carthaginians also worshiped gods of an inferior order, named Anaces, Anactes, or Dioscuri, and others named Patæci, which were a kind of houshold gods *.

Their barbarous offering crifices.

The most barbarous custom of offering up human facrifices did not expire with the city of Carthage; but continued among custom of the Africans till the proconsulate of Tiberius. This practice had been retained with little or no intermission from the foundahuman fa- tion of the city. For though, to avoid drawing upon themselves the indignation of Darius Hystaspis, they might for a few years fuspend it, or at least pretend to do so, yet it is certain, that in the time of his fuccessor Xerxes they refumed it. Nay, to such a pitch of favage barbarity did they arrive, that mothers made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames, without fo much as a groan. They even, by kiffes and embraces, hushed the cries of their children, before they were laid upon the brazen statue of Saturn abovementioned, imagining the efficacy of the facrifice would have been entirely loft, if any thing, that might have been interpreted as a mark of the least reluctance or regret, had been shewn. They used a drum, or a tabret, among other infruments, to drown the shrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims. In times of pestilence, or other public calamities, the Carthaginians endeavoured to appeafe their offended gods by vast numbers of such oblations. The Carthaginian women, like those of Babylon and Phænicia, publicly prostituted themselves in honour of Venus; but instead of prefenting to the goddess the money earned by their infamous commerce, they applied it to their own use.

Their wotituted themfelves to Venus.

The very learned Selden imagines, that some traces of the men prof Succoth Benoth, mentioned in scripture, may be found in Sicea Venerea, the name of a city in Numidia, not far from the borders of Africa Propria. Sicca, or Succa, fignifies a tabernacle; and at this place was a temple, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bo-The author of the Itinerary fometimes calls it fimply Sicca, and Solinus Venerea.

Their lanfame at first with the Phænician.

The language of the Carthaginians was at first the same with guage the that of the Phænicians, which differed originally very little from the Hebrew. In after ages, however, the Punic deviated in some respects from the Hebrew and Phænician, which is not to be wondered at, confidering how diffant the Carthaginians were from their mother country Phænicia, and the people they were incorporated among. Selden and Scaliger, and after them, Petit and Bochart have treated largely of the analogy between the Phænician and Punic languages.

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Cumberland in append. de Cabir. Vossius. Bochart.

Bochart has produced a collection of Punic words from different authors, and traced them up to the Hebrew or Phænician. All these serve as so many proofs, that the Carthaginian language agreed, in the main, with those eastern tongues. Punic tongue had likewise a tincture of the Chaldee and Syriac, as we learn from Priscian and St. Austin *. M. Maius, profeffor of the Greek and oriental languages in the Ludovician university of Geissen, published a small treatise in the year 1718, in which he shews, that the present language of the Maltese contains a great deal of the old Punic in it. A missionary jesuit, and native of Malta, who very well understood the language of the Maltefe, having resided many years among them, furnished the materials for this treatife, which is very curious, and contains proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time, subject to the Carthaginians, and that the Punic language, notwithstanding the several revolutions in the island, had still continued among some of the inhabitants.

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In support of what has been advanced by Maius, it may be observed that Joannes Quintinus Heduus, an author, who lived in Malta about the middle of the 16th century, was of the same This writer affirmed, that the island of Malta was formerly subject to the Carthaginians; that the Punic tongue was fpoken there in his time; that there were then extant some pillars in the island, which had Punic inscriptions on them; and that the Punic words, to be found in Plautus, Avicenna, and others, were perfectly understood by the Maltese, which he urges as an argument, that the Punic tongue was not even then much corrupted. Upon the whole, it appears, that the antient Punic language must have approached nearer the Hebrew and Phænician than the Arabic, though perhaps it was not remote from the latter of these languages. In the time of Arnobius, the *Punic* language was still spoken in that part of the country bordering upon the Garamantes. More northerly the Latin tongue was used, and besides these two, no less than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. It is certain, that the Carthaginians spoke both the Punic and Libyan.

The Punic letters were anciently the fame with the Phænician, and though they altered confiderably through length of time, yet they always retained a great refemblance to their originals, as appears from a comparison of the characters upon the most

elegant Phænician and Punic coins.

Little can be faid as to the progress of the liberal arts and Little resciences among the Carthaginians; for if Carthage could ever gard paid have boafted of any famous productions of this kind, they are to the liall now lost. Some of their generals were most eminently fa-beral arts mous for military skill, though even in this they seem to have by the been very deficient, till put into a right method by Xantippus Carthagi-

Priscian, lib. v. August. super Joan tract. 15. t. 9.

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the Lacedæmonian; but philosophy, we have reason to apprehend, was always at a low ebb among them.

Customs of the Cartha-ginians.

The following were some of their principal customs. They suffered no private injury offered by any person whatsoever to another to go unpunished. This maxim of equity they received from their first ancestors, and were very strict on all occasions in the observance of it.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but some person convicted of a capital

crime, for which he was foon to fuffer.

If any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black §. They used dogs flesh for food till the time of *Darius Hystaspis*: but upon that prince's conceiving some disgust at this practice, they lest it off, at least for a certain period of time*.

The foldiers were prohibited, under the severest punishment, whilst in the field to taste wine; a laudable instance this of

their temprance and fobriety.

Every foldier, at least every officer, wore a number of rings answering to the number of campaigns he had made; which doubtless was intended to excite a noble spirit of emulation among them, inspire them with a thirst after military glory; and consequently led them on to the greatest atchievements.

Their generals, tho' perfectly innocent, upon any difaster were frequently put to death; which was a most imprudent and

barbarous custom 1.

The populace and the fenators had distinct baths appointed

them &.

It was usual with many of them to have statues or busts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bedchamber, that they might, in some measure, see and converse with them when

absent |.

Their anniversary festivals were observed with great solemnity, particularly the day on which the Tyrians, under the conduct of Dido, began to lay the foundations of Carthage. This, according to Silius, was celebrated yearly, even till the destruction of the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence.

There were no public inns amongst them, and they enter-

tained strangers as friends in their own private houses.

Before any enterprise of importance was taken, and upon all emergencies, they consulted their augurs and vates. According to St. Augustin, these vates were in great repute about those parts long before the destruction of Carthage; since one of them, named Albicerius, was very famous there in his time for the responses he gave. The magistrates, while in office, were obliged to abstain from wine; but that this institution was always ob-

[§] Hendre. ut supra in Cap. de leg. & consuetud. Diod. Sic. Livy. Oros. 1. iv. * Just. 1. xix. † Hendr. ubi supra. Livy. Plato de leg. ‡ Liv. Diod. Sic. Sil. Ital. § Val. Max. 1. ix. | Sil. Ital. ferved,

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served, we cannot affirm. The *Phænicians* are said to have represented their gods as carrying large bags full of money; because gold among them was the emblem of power, and symbol of dominion. The *Carthaginians*, perhaps, represented theirs in the same manner; which, together with the vast quantities of treasure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the most precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ships, might occasion that insatiable

Their minds were entirely fet upon amassing of wealth, be- Character ing mean-spirited, groveling, and fordid to an incredible de- of the Cargree; and to gratify their avarice they stuck at no law, not to thagini-fay infamous arts. This must be understood of the Carthagi- ans. nians in the later periods, and towards the decline of their flate; for it is not to be questioned but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that even to the last they had many persons of generous and heroic sentiments amongst them. The ardour and public spirit the women themselves shewed, just before the last siege of Carthage, as well as during that fiege, fufficiently prove this. We find, indeed, fuch a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. However, as the characters we have of the Carthaginians come handed down to us chiefly from the Romans, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too great a regard to them. The Romans were at pains to destroy not only the Punic archives, but almost every thing the Punic writers had produced, that had any appearance of literature or true history.

Polybius complains, that both Philinus the Carthaginian, and Fabius Pictor the Roman historian, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them. The Carthaginians were noted for their perfidiousness and black ingratitude; and according to Plutarch, they were of a morose, saturnine, and savage disposition, utterly averse to every thing that had the least appearance of wit or raillery. The great Hannibal, however, was an exception to this general character of their nation given by Plutarch. For he improved his natural talents by the most polite education which that age afforded, had a great fund of natural wit, and was diffinguished for his fmart turns and repartees. Some of the Carthaginians were filled with an intolerable spirit of arrogance and most viclous ambition, by which they were prompted to defire divine honours. Of this, Hanno affords us a flagrant instance; who, as we are told by Ælian, taught birds to fay, Hanno is a god; though this did not answer his end, fince after their flight from him they returned to their former notes again. The minds of the Carthaginians were so entirely engrossed with commerce, the army, and the marine, that they had no leifure or inclination to pursue the liberal arts and sciences. They must, however, have at least known something of the rudiments of astronomy; fince without this they could not have been tolerably verfed in

Few per-

fons of

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the art of navigation. The Edomites, Phænicians, and Eggs. tians, were famous among the antients for their superior knowlege in celestial sciences. The Carthaginians, therefore, could not have been void of a competent knowlege herein. That they had some notion likewise of sculpture and painting. is plain from the dii Patæci they carried along with them in their voyages; as likewise from the pictures with which their Thips of war and other veffels were adorned. As a feafaring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to supply the necessities or luxury of other na. tions; it is also probable that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts, especially if we consider that the Tyrians, from whom they were descended, were celebrated above all other nations for their mechanical skill in very early ages. But the superb temples, magnificent palaces, rich sur. niture, great variety of arms, &c. in Carthage, put this point beyond dispute. So famous was Carthage for its artificers, that any fingular invention, or exquisite piece of workmanship, feems to have been called Punic even by the Romans, their implacable enemies. Thus the Punic beds or couches, the Punic windows, the Punic wine-prefles, the Punic lanterns, were, of all others, esteemed the most neat and elegant by that people*.

Notwithstanding the great havock made by the Romans in the writings of this people, yet the names of some of their writers have been transmitted to posterity. Hannibal, the most renowned general Carthage ever produced, was well versed in the Greek language; in which, according to Cornelius Nepos and

thaginians. Plutarch, he wrote several pieces +.

Mago, another celebrated general of the Carthaginians, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings as by his military atchievements. He wrote 28 volumes upon husbandry; which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the liberaries found there, they ordered these books to be translated into Latin, tho' Cato had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned, are a farther proof that learning was not entirely banished Carthage.

Philinus, tho' a Sicilian, being born at Agrigentum, is reck-

oned by Polybius as a Carthaginian historian.

Himileo, a fea commander, having failed to the western shores and ports of Europe by orders from the senate of Carthage, wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his discoveries; which were inserted in the Punic annals. Festus Avienus has entirely followed this author in his description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates, that he saw the original journal itself in those annals. From Festus it appears

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^{*} Val. Max. Cato de re rust. Ovid. El. vi. Plaut. Aulul. † Corn Nep. Plut. in Scip. † Cic. l. i. de orat. Plin. l. xviii.

that the Carthaginians were acquainted with the Britannic

islands, which he calls Oestrymnides.

Hanno, another Carthaginian general, by order of the senate, failed with a confiderable fleet round Africa. He entered the ocean by the Straits of Gibraltar, and made many important discoveries; but was prevented from continuing his navigation for want of provisions. He wrote a relation of his voyage, a fragment of a Greek version of which is still remaining. Mr. Dodwell has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time some where betwixt the 92d and 129th Olympiad *.

Silenus was an historian who wrote of the Carthaginian affairs in the Greek language. Some authors take him to have been the same with Philinus above-mentioned; but of this there is

no sufficient proof +.

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Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the Academic fect. Cicero fays, that he was a more fensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally were. He composed several books, in one of which he consoled the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who by the ruin of their city were reduced to flavery 1.

We shall here subjoin what Pliny tells us of Hanno; namely, Hanno the that he was the first man that dared to touch, and could tame first who a lion. The fame author adds, that he was condemned, which tamed a probably implies either death or banishment, on account of this lion. art; his countrymen being persuaded, that he, who had power of foftening the fiercest of beasts, must likewise be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in fuch a manner,

as to become mafter of their freedom §.

With regard to trade and navigation, no nation was ever The trade more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent and navi-They were perfectly acquainted with gation of than the Carthaginians. all the ports in the Mediterranean; and they pushed their dis- the Carcoveries and commerce westward farther, in all probability, thaginithan any other nation. Britain and the Canaries were known ans. to them, and according to some, America itself. It appears from Herodotus and Thucydides, not to mention many other authors, that scarce any people made so great a figure by sea as the Carthaginians. They inherited from the Tyrians their great disposition for commerce, and in process of time eclipsed the glory even of their ancestors. Carthage, by the natural fertility of its foil, the furprifing skill of its artificers, and by its happy fituation, became the centre of traffic of the most remote nations.

The

^{*} Plin. l. ii. Athen. Deipnof. l. iii. Mela. l. iii. Dodwell. differt. de peripl. Hannon. Arift. de admirand. audit. Justin, l. xxii. + Cic. de divinat. t Plut. de fort. Alex. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. § Plin. ut fupra.

A GENERAL HISTORY

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The commodities they supplied other countries with in great abundance, feem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers forts of provisions and high fauces, wax, honey, oil, the fkins of wild beafts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their staple manufactures were utenfils, toys, ca. bles made of the shrub spartum, a kind of broom, all kinds of naval stores, and the colour from them called Punic, the preparation of which feems to have been peculiar to them. From Egypt they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. from the coasts of the Red-sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phænicia, purple, scarlet, with stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture; and from the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. No branch of their commerce feems to have been more beneficial to the Carthagi. nians than that which they carried on with the Persians, Gara. mantes, and Ethiopians. These remote nations, besides other rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almost inestimable value, to Carthage. These wares, from the plenty of them in this city, were called by the antients Charchedonian, or Carthaginian, as Pliny relates. From Polybius it appears probable, that the Carthaginian merchants, at the fale of their wares, had a cryer and fecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profession was reckoned more honourable in this state than that of the merchant; and the most considerable personages in the city were not ashamed to apply themselves to it.

CHAP. III.

The history of the CARTHAGINIANS from the foundation of their city, to the total destruction thereof by the ROMANS.

many Phænicians leave Tyre.

Elisa with ELISA, or Dido, on account of the cruelty and insatiable a great avarice of her brother Pygmalion, fled to Tyre in the 7th year of his reign. This prince had murdered her husband Sichaus, in hopes of obtaining possession of his great wealth. Dido diffembled her refentment, and kept up the appearance of affection for her brother, till an opportunity offered of alfembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper measures for speedily abandoning Tyre, and carrying off her immense treasure, which was concealed under ground. cipal of her affociates were her brother Barca and feveral fenators; who hating Pygmalion, and apprehending themselves every moment in danger of being facrificed by a prince who had broken thro' all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. Her defign being ready for execution, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her and Barca, Barca, with their effects, to Charlica, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of an intention to reside there. To this Pygmalion readily agreed; as imagining, that by such a step, he should become master of what had so long been the object of his desires. Dido, as soon as she was got at a proper distance from land, caused to be thrown into the sea some bags silled with sand, pretending that they contained her husband's wealth; and then, in a doleful tone, entreated his manes to accept of those riches as an oblation. She then represented to her associates, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's resentment if ever they fell into his hands, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purpose; and having by this means fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach before he was apprized of her resolution.

Pygmalion, after her departure, hearing of her design, gave Pygmalion orders to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition in order to prevented pursue her; but he was diverted from this resolution by the enfrom purtreaties of his mother and the menaces of the augurs, who suing her threatened him with the indignation of the gods if he offered,

in any manner, to obstruct the grand project Elifa was gone

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The first place our heroine touched at, was some port in the island of Cyprus; possibly Salamis, which was then in its infancy; since according to Virgil and Servius, Teucer and Mettinus, Elisa's father seized upon a port of Cyprus not very long before, when the former of these built Salamis. Here a priest of Jupiter offering to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her suture fortune, she readily received him; and looking upon his voluntary offer as a good omen, she settled the priest-hood of Jupiter in his family.

It was a prevailing custom in this island, at the time of Elisa's arrival, for the maids to go on certain stated days to the sea-side, there to look for strangers that might possibly arrive on their coasts, in order to prostitute themselves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of these the Tyrians selected a certain number, Justin says 80, and carrying them on board, found them very subservient to their design of planting a new

colony.

From hence they proceeded for the coast of Africa, and at Elisa and last happily landed not far from Utica, a Phænician city of great her folantiquity in Africa. The inhabitants received their country-lowers men with all possible demonstrations of joy, and advised them land in to build a city upon that spot, to which the sates had con-Africa. ducted them. Elisa hearkning to their advice, applied herself She culto cultivate a good understanding with the natives; to which tivates a good un-

they

^{*} Justin. 1. xviii. Tacit. annal. xvi. Sil. Ital. 1. i. Appian in Lib. He- ing with rodian. 1. v. Liv. xxxiv. Vel. Pat. 1. i. Virg. Æn. 1. i. Strabo, 1. xvii. the natives,

they at first were by no means averse, perceiving the advantages that would naturally flow to them from an established com. merce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She purchased of them a tract of land for her and her followers to fettle upon. Fustin, Appian, Virgil, Eustathius, and others, intimate, that the Phænicians imposed upon the Africans, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They defired for their intended fettlement, only fo much ground as an ox's hide would encompass. This request the Africans first laughed at; but were furprised when, upon their granting it, they found Elifa cut the whole hide into one narrow thong, and with that furrounded a large extent of territory, on which the built a citadel, from this incident called Byrsa. The learned however, unanimously agree in exploding this fable. feems to infinuate, that at first Elifa met with some opposition from the natives, which possibly may be true; fince it is certain that the Africans exacted an annual tribute for the ground which the Tyrians possessed, and the latter paid it for many vears.

and makes a fettlement on

Many of the neighbouring people in a fhort time incorporating themselves with the Phænicians, Dido, encouraged by the encrease of her subjects, began to build a new city, or at that coast, least much enlarged the old one, which could make no very confiderable figure before. This new city foon became very populous, and made itself respected by all its neighbours. We are told by Justin, that in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen first found an ox's head; which tho' judged a fymbol of fertility of foil, at the fame time prefaged, as they imagined, continual toil and fervitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another spot, where in digging they discovered a horse's head, and, according to Eustathius, with it, a branch of palm; which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants, and accordingly chose this spot for the situation of their city. In allusion to this it was that the Carthaginians had, in after ages, a horse's head, or a horse and a palm tree so frequently upon the reverses of their coins.

The Carthaginians are sometimes called Sidonians, and their city Tyre, by antient authors. Eusebius seems to affirm, that its most antient name was Origo; but as Carthage and its foundress are both mentioned in that passage, and as her name Elisa imports the same thing in Hebrew or Phænician as Virago in Latin, Bochart takes the word Origo to be a corruption of Ouirago, and confequently supposes it to refer not to Carthage, but to Elisa or Dido *. It is likewise denominated by Stephanus Oenusa, or Oenussa, by Eustathius Cadmea, and by Suidas Aphrice. According to St. Ferom, the name Tarshish in Scripture sometimes denotes Carthage; and in one passage particularly this

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in the Vulgate version Carthago †.

The new colony flourishing in a most remarkable manner, Dido

Jarbas, a neighbouring prince, was tempted to make himself sought in

after of it without any effusion of blood. In order to this, marriage

mafter of it without any effusion of blood. In order to this, marriage he defired that an embasly of ten of the most noble Carthagi-by farnians might be fent to him. He proposed to these ambassadors bas. a marriage with Elisa, or Dido; which last, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country, and threatned them with a war in case of a refusal. The ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message, told their fovereign, with Punic subtlety, that Farbas defired some person might be fent to him who was capable of civilizing his Africans; but that it would be impossible to find any of her subjects who would leave his relations to converfe with fuch barbarians. The queen reprimanding them, and asking them if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner that might be beneficial to the country, they then opened to her the king's command, adding, that according to her own decision of the point, the ought to facrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus enfnared, she called upon her husband Sichaus with tears and lamentations, and at last answered, that she would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. Requiring three months for the execution of her defign, she in the mean time caused a pile to be erected in the farthest part of the city, and when the time was elapsed she ascended it; and looking round upon her spectators, told them, she was now going to her husband as they had ordered her; and immediately, with Her a dagger, she gave herself a mortal wound. death.

This is Justin's account of her death, which is different from that of Virgil. Cedrenus and Sir Isaac Newton favour Virgil's notion, tho' they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that Eneas the Phrygian, after the destruction of Troy, came to Africa, and resided some time with Dido there; but perceiving that Jarbas king of the Numidians, the Mauritanians, the Malsyli, and the Getulians, took umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and resentment. This passage of Cedrenus seems greatly to support Sir Isaac Newton's opinion in relation to Eneas and Dido's being cotemporaries, and likewise to evince that Virgil and Trogus, whom Justin epitomised, agree in their

chronology.

How long Dido reigned in Carthage, or when she came to the violent death above-mentioned, cannot be determined. She appears to have been a woman of an uncommon genius, as her brother Barca and sifter Anna, who attended her to Africa, committed every thing to her management and direction. This likewise may be concluded from the secrety and prudence with

[†] Ezek. xxvii. 12. Theodoret. Hieronym. Euseb. in Chron. Vol. III. L. which

GENERAL HISTORY

which her grand enterprize was conducted. That she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chas-

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tity, is attested by the best authors *.

A chafm tory of Carthage.

After the tragical death of Dido, there is a chasm in the Car. in the hif- thaginian history for above 300 years. During this period, Fustin, and he only, gives us to understand, that Carthage was much agitated by civil diffensions, and sometimes harassed with the plague. From Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, it appears that this republic had got a strong footing in Sicily and Sardinia, and made confiderable acquifitions elsewhere in very early Thucydides and Herodotus also put it beyond dispute that it was formidable by fea in the time of Cyrus and Cambyfes, Almost all their exploits, however, in this early period, are now buried in oblivion.

Cartbage formidable at fea in the time of Cyrus.

That they were early formidable at fea, appears particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans, against that of the Phoceans, a very confiderable maritime power in the reign of The Phoceans, indeed, gained the victory; but almost their whole fleet was either funk or disabled; infomuch that they durst not venture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of Cyrnus, now Corfica, to the Carthaginians and Etrus-The combined fleet confifted of 120 fail, and the Pho-

cæan of 60.

They reduce a of the island of Sicily.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of Cyrus, or that of his uncle Cyaxares, the Carthaginians carried on a war with the neighbouring African princes, wherein they obtained great advantages; which, according to Justin, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general Machaus. The fame general, foon after the conclusion of this war, was fent with a powerful fleet and a great body of forces into Sicily, and reduced good part a good part of that island to the obedience of the republic. Notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs abroad, the fame author infinuates that they were very much agitated by civil diffensions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence then raging dreadfully in Carthage seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appeale them with human facri-Nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they scrupled not to offer up their own children on this melancholy occasion. This inhumanity, however, did not bring fuccess to their arms. On the contrary, having soon after invaded Sardinia, they received a notable defeat from the Sardi, in which above half their army was cut to pieces; which to enraged them against Machaus, who had commanded in that expedition, that they banished him, with the remainder of the army under his command. Machæus, who had hitherto been fuccessful and victorious, and had greatly enlarged the territo-

Banish their general Machæus.

^{*} Reinec. hift. Jul. tom. 1. Sil. Ital. Justin. Tertul. Macrob. Auson. ries

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ties of the republic both in Sicily and Africa, highly refented this ungrateful treatment. He fent to Carthage first in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortune that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; which not being granted, he threatned to do himself justice by force of arms. The senate He benot regarding his threatning, he embarked his army, and came fieges and invested the city; his troops appealing to the gods above Carthage. for the purity of their intentions, and declaring in the presence of gods and men, that their defign was not to hurt their fellowcitizens, but only to demonstrate to them what wrong fentiments they had entertained of their valour. The citizens still rejecting an accommodation, were foon reduced by the army to great distress. During the siege, Cartalo, the general's son, who was priest of Hercules, and had been at Tyre with the tenth of an immense quantity of spoil taken by his father in Sicily, returned to Carthage. As he passed by the camp to enter the city, he was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but he evaded complying with this command, under pretence that he must perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an instance of filial duty. Soon after, having obtained leave, he came out to the camp dressed in his pontifical robes. Machæus, who was greatly enraged at his infolent contempt of his command, took him afide, and reproached him in the following terms: "Hast thou the assurance, most " abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and splendid habit " before fo many miserable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed "with woe? Was there no place for thee to display thy pride " and haughtiness in, but in this spot of ground which is the " scene of thy father's misery and disgrace? How came you " so lately to despise, with such an insolent air, the command " of your father, but the general of your fellow citizens? "Since, therefore, you have confidered me not as a father, "but an exile, I in return will behave to you not as a father "but a general." He accordingly immediately caused a high Crucifies cross to be erected, and crucified him thereon in his facred his his son vestments, in the fight of all the citizens. The city furren- Carthalo. dering some days after, Machaeus convened the senate and peo- Reduces ple, and complaining of the injury and indignity offered him, the city. excused the hostile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice but necessity. He made no alterations in the established form of government, but contented himself with putting to death ten of the lenators, by whose advice the late violent resolutions against him and the army had been taken *.

The republic, for a short time, enjoyed some repose; but Machaus, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, foon endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and introduce

He is afterwards put to death for an attempt to introduce arbitrary power.

arbitrary power. His pernicious views, however, being hanpily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime.

Herodotus informs us, that Cambyfes, in the 6th year of his reign, refolved upon an expedition against the Carthaginians; but that he was forced to drop his project, because the Pha. nicians, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to affift him therein. This is a plain proof that the whole naval power of the Persian empire at that time, without the affiftance of the Tyrians, was not able to cope with that

of the Carthaginians.

The Carconclude their first treaty with the Romans. Bef. Chr. 503.

In the year after the expulsion of the kings from Rome, the thaginians Carthaginians fent ambaffadors thither, and concluded a treaty with the Romans. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen in the time of Polybius on the base of a column in the antient Roman language. By this treaty, which was figned 28 years before Xerxes invaded Greece, it appears that the whole island of Sardinia, and part of that of Sicily, were then subject to the Carthaginians. From hence we learn also, that the Carthaginians were then very well acquainted with the coasts of Italy, had visited several of the petty nations feated there, and even made fome attempts upon them, before this period. Next, it appears that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent in any country, The treaty also makes it manifest, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the territories fubject to them, as well as from the knowlege of what was transacting in them, as though, even at that time, they had taken umbrage at the growing power of the Romans. Lastly, the Carthaginians, according to Polybius, would not allow the Romans to fail beyond the promontory called the fair Promontory, lying to the north of Carthage, left they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and be tempted to make a settlement there. This, doubtless, was a wife precaution, and shewed, that the Carthaginians were not only a people of forelight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprizing genius of the Remans long before they came to blows with them.

Mago fucceeds

The republic being delivered from the ambitious defigns of Machæus, conferred all the high offices he had filled upon Mago, Macheus, who, if we may judge from the good effects of his administration, was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. Justin fays, that he was the first who introduced military discipline among the Carthaginian foldiery. In his time the dominions of Carthage were also much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, and its riches encreased, virtue alone beand leaves ing countenanced both in the army and state. His two forms Aldrubal and Hamiltar, succeeded him in his high employments.

his high offices to his two fous.

The two brothers inheriting their father's virtues, the republic fent them with an army against Sardinia, which had re-

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volted. There is no account given of the success of this war. We are only told, that towards the close of it, Asdrubal was mortally wounded, and was greatly lamented by the Carthaginians, as indeed they had good reason. For he had been eleven times one of the fuffetes, and discharged the duties of that high office with great applause, and had, moreover, triumphed no less than four times.

The Carthaginians, about this period, had a mind to shake The Caroff the African yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which thaginians by their original contract with that people they were obliged to in vain pay. The Africans, however, were so successful in this war, endeavour that a peace was concluded to their advantage, and the payment to shake of the tribute was continued.

About this time Darius Hystaspis king of Persia, sent an em- African bally to Carthage, requiring the people of that city to abstain voke. from human facrifices, and eating dog's flesh; to burn their They redead, and not to bury them; and lastly, to furnish him with a ceive an body of troops to ferve in the war he was going to declare embaffy against Greece. Every thing, except the last article, was com- from Daplied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all ap-rius Hysprehensions of feeling his refentment were vanished. Justin taspis. observes, that the Carthaginians, at this juncture, were much embroiled with their neighbours; which feems to fuggest, that either the war with the Sardi and Africans above-mentioned, or some other, was then carried on. It is no wonder Darius should apply to the people of Carthage for affistance against the Greeks, fince both the Persians and Carthaginians looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Some few years afterwards, the Greeks of Sicily being ex- Gelon tremely haraffed by the Carthaginians, follicited fuccours from gains the Lacedæmonians; but could not obtain their request. Gelon, some adtyrant of Syracuse, however, supported himself without the as- vantages fistance of the Greeks, and even gained some advantages over over the the Carthaginians *.

Although the Carthaginians could not supply Darius with any nians in succours against the Greeks, yet, from Justin, it appears ex- Sicily. tremely probable, that an offensive and defensive league was made betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince's reign. It is at least most certain that an alliance was formed between Xerxes the successor of Darius, and the state of Carthage; by which treaty the Carthaginians were to invade Sicily with all their forces, and to endeavour to drive the Greeks from thence and from Italy, while he invaded Greece.

Before this treaty, it appears that the Carthaginians had got The Cara considerable footing in Spain. We are no where precisely thasinians told when this happened; nevertheless there is good reason to reduce believe from Diodorus and Justin, that it was very early. The part of former of these afferts, that the great nerve of the Carthaginian Spain.

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Carthagi-

^{*} Herod. 1. vii. Justin, l. xix.

power were the mines of Spain, which enabled them to equip fuch powerful fleets, and make fuch great conquests in Sicily and Africa. Hence it is apparent that the first Carthaginian fettlement in Spain, must have long preceded not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himself. Justin intimates, that the Carthaginians first entered Spain, when the city of Gades, or Cadiz, was in its infancy. neighbouring Spaniards attacked this new city with all their forces, infomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid. The Carthaginians not only repulsed the Spaniards, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province in which the new city stood *.

They plant a colony in the island Tvica.

This happy beginning inspired the Carthaginians with thoughts of fubduing the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by its rich mines. It appears, however, from Livy and Polybius, that the greatest part of Spain remained unsubdued till the wars of Hamiltar, Afdrubal, and Hannibal. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Carthaginians planted a colony in the island Ebusus, or Eresus, now Yvica, on the coast of Spain, 160 years after the foundation of their city. The city Erefus, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was furrounded with Ebusus, or a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. It was inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as Diodorus calls them; but the most numerous of these were the Phanicians, or Carthaginians. It is highly probable, therefore, that about this time the Balearic islands, at present known by the names of Majorca and Minorca, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. The name itself is Phænician, or Punic, and they are not 100 miles distant from Ebusus, which itself, according to Vitruvius, was reckoned to belong to the Balearic islands. As the distance from Yvica to the continent of Spain is but very fhort, we may therefore conclude that they became acquainted with that coast much about the same time that they planted Yvica; that is, about 160 years after the foundation of their city; which may well be supposed one of their most early foreign transactions. The Carthaginians were excited to extend their conquests in Spain not only on account of its rich mines, but also because they supplied their armies with a great number of brave recruits from that country.

Carthage, as we have feen, was early in possession of Sardinia and the Balearic islands. It is also very probable that Corfica was possessed by them, either wholly or in part, in very antient times. This island was called by the Greeks Cyrnus, and by the Romans and natives Corfica. It had a large harbour, and two confiderable cities; Calaris, or Aleria, built by the Phocaans, and Nicæa by the Etruscans. Herodotus informs us, that the about this Cyrnians, or Corficans, were one of those nations out of which

Corfica and the Balearic iflands probably planted by them time,

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the Carthaginians formed that vast army with which they invaded Sicily in the days of Gelon.

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It appears from Diodorus, that the small islands of Melita and and also Gaulos, now Malta and Gozzo, were at first either peopled by Melita and the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the Phoenicians.

Gaulos.

As Sicily lay nearest to Carthage, the Carthaginians probably made some settlements upon it very early. Tho' Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, gained several advantages over them; yet they might still have some small footing in the island when they concluded their alliance with Xerxes. In consequence of this trea- The Cartv, they made great preparations for a war with the Greeks of thaginians Sicily both by sea and land. The preparations for this war were send a so prodigious, that it was three years before they were com-powerful pleted, notwithstanding Xerxes sent vast sums of money to Car- army to thage for that purpose. Having raised, with the Persian subsi- Sicily. dies, great numbers of mercenaries in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Liguria, Corsica, &c. the Carthaginians at last set fail with an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of above 2000 ships of war, with 3000 transports, being confident of making an entire conquest of Sicily the first campaign *. The general who commanded in this expedition was Hamiltar the fon of Hanno, or, according to Justin, of Mago, a person of great authority both in the army and the city, who had diftinguished himself on many occasions in the service of his country. In his passage from Carthage to Sicily, his horses and chariots, with the vessels they were on board, perished in a storm; which doubtless was looked upon as ominous by the Carthaginians, who were extremely addicted to superstition.

Hamiltar landing his troops at Palermo, halted three days to Their refresh them, and repair the damage his fleet had fustained, and army enthen marched against Himera, which he closely invested. Gelon, tirely detyrant of Syracule, came with an army of 55,000 men to the feated at relief of the place; and having, by a stratagem, surprized the Himera Carthaginians, flew Hamilcar, and cut off the greatest part of by Gelon. his army. The Carthaginian fleet being also destroyed, those who remained were all made prisoners, and fold for flaves, as we have already related in the history of Syracuse. According to Diodorus, Hamilcar was flain in his camp in the beginning of the engagement; but Herodotus relates, that during the whole engagement, which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar was employed in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but feeing his troops put to the rout, he himfelf rushed into the fire, and was entirely confumed; on which account he was deified by the Carthaginians, because his body could not be found among the flain. According to Polyænus, he was flain by some Syracusans as he was approaching to a place where he used to facrifice. The Carthaginians had been encouraged to invade Sicily on this occasion by Terillus tyrant of Himera; who

^{*} Diod. Sic. I. xi. Herod. I. vii. Ephor. ap. Echol. Pind.

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having been expelled by Theron the fon of the tyrant of Agrigentum, hoped, by means of the Carthaginians, to recover his dominions, and fent his fons to Carthage as hostages of his fide. They beg lity. Of the numerous Carthaginian fleet, only one small boat escaped with a few men in it, who brought the melancholy which is news of the defeat to Carthage, which struck the city with ge-granted to neral consternation. The Carthaginians, to prevent the victo. rious army from landing in Africa, as they expected, immediately fent ambassadors to Sicily to beg a peace; which was generously granted them by Gelon on the following terms: That they should pay 2000 talents of filver towards defraying the expences of the war; that they should build two temples, in which the articles of the treaty should be deposited; and that for the future they should abstain from offering human facri-The Carthaginians, in gratitude to Demarata, the wife of Gelon, who had influenced her husband to consent to a peace. fent her a crown of gold valued at 100 talents of that metal. Being incensed at Hamiltar, to whom they imputed all their misfortune, they banished his fon Gisco, who returned to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. From this time to the close of the 92d, or the beginning of the 93d Olympiad. we scarce find any mention of the Carthaginians or their affairs in the Sicilian history. In the mean time, several remarkable incidents mentioned by Justin, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, seem to have happened.

The Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors, Nuthaginians midians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. They likewise shook off the tribute, and

rendered themselves absolutely independent.

They had warm disputes with the people of Cyrene, a Greek colony, occasioned by the want of a regulation of limits between the two states. As the Cyreneans were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion. The differences were at last accommodated in the following manner: Both states being so exhausted by their continual hostilities, that they were afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader; they confented to a ceffation of arms, and afterwards agreed that each city should appoint two commissaries, who should set out from their respective towns upon the same day; and that the spot they met upon, should be the common boundary of both states. In consequence of this agreement, two brothers, called Philani, were dispatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilft the Cyreneans proceeded more flowly. Whether the delay of the latter was to be imputed to their laziness, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the last is not improbable; fince those fandy regions, at certain feafons of the year, are agitated by stormy winds, like the surface of the sea, and thereby rendered impassible. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philani acted perfidiously, by setting out before the appointed time. Be this as it may, the Cyreneans finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called

The Carrender themfelves independant in Africa. Disputes betwixt them and the Cyreneans.

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to an account for their conduct, accused the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the ftipu-The Philani, on the other hand, talked with much feeming calmness and moderation, and defired the Cyreneans to propose some expedient for removing the differences hetween them; promising to submit to it, whatever it might he. The latter then proposed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or fuffer themselves to be buried alive there. thaginian brothers, to the aftonishment of the Cyreneans, confented, without hesitation, to this proposal, laid down their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The Carthaginians, ever afterwards, celebrated this as a most heroic action, paid divine honours to the Phileni, and erected two altars on the spot where they were buried. If the account of Valerius Maximus be true, it is furprifing that any civilized nation could be fo far prejudiced by interest, as to justify fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, by conferring honours on those who deserved rather the severest punishment.

The Carthaginians were again encouraged to attempt the A new conquest of Sicily, on account of some diffensions betwixt the war beinhabitants of Selinus and Egesta; the latter of whom implor- twixt the ed their affistance. They promised succours to the Egestines; Carthagibut before they directly engaged in the war, they made an efti- nions and mate of the prodigious fums necessary to support it and the nu- and Syramerous body of forces requisite to carry it on with vigour. cufans. They appropriated certain funds to the defraying of the ex- Bef. Christ pences of the war, and impowered Hannibal, whom they declared general, to raife an army equal to the undertaking, and to equip a fuitable fleet. Hannibal, who was then one of the Hannibal fuffetes of Carthage, and had great interest in the republic, sails with failed the following spring with a powerful army to Sicily, and a powerlanding in the island, encamped at a place called the well of ful fleet to Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybæum was afterwards built. Sicily. According to Ephorus the historian, his army confisted of 200,000 foot and 4000 horse; but Timeus Siculus, and after him Diodorus, makes the number of his troops to be about 100,000. Hannibal, foon after his landing, began his march for Selinus, and in his way took Emporium, a town feated on the river Mazara, by ftorm. Having invested Selinus, he divided his army into two parts, and carried on the approaches with great vi-The Selinuntines defended themselves with the utmost He takes bravery; but their city was at length taken and plundered by and plunthe Carthaginians, who exercised all manner of cruelty upon ders Seli-Sixteen thousand citizens were flain, 2600 nus. the inhabitants. escaped to Agrigentum, and about 5000 women and children were carried away captives. Some Syracufans, who had arrived at Agrigentum on their way to succour the besieged, sent

to intreat Hannibal to spare the temples of Selinus; but he replied, that the gods, provoked at the wickedness of the in-

habitants.

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habitants, had forfaken both the city and the temples, whence it would be no facrilege to strip them of their ornaments. This answer is a clear demonstration of the Punic genius at that time. Hannibal accordingly having razed the city to the ground, plundered the temples of all their wealth: but the &. raculans fending a fecond embaffy to him, and at the head of it Empediones, a Selinuntine, who had always been in the interest of the Carthaginians, Hannibal received him with great affer. tion, restored to him his estate, pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and permitted all the Selinuntines who had fled to Agrigentum to rebuild their city, upon paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians.

He invests Himera, which he alfo reduces.

Twenty thousand Siculi and Sicani soon after joining Hannibal, he next marched against Himera, which after an obstinate fiege he also took and razed, murdering almost the whole inhabitants without distinction of fex or age. Hannibal, after the reduction of these two cities, dismissed the Siculi and confede. rates, and disbanding the Campanians, who went back to Italy, he embarked the greatest part of his troops and returned to Carthage. He was received by the whole city with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general who had performed greater things, in fo fhort a time, than any ever before him.

The Carfend new troops to Sicily.

The Carthaginians being now filled with hopes of making an thaginians eafy conquest of Sicily, joined Imilcar the son of Hanno, in commission with Hannibal, and hired a great number of mercena-They also took a body of Campanians into their pay, and received a confiderable number of auxiliaries from the princes and ftates with whom they were in alliance; namely, the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. After the junction of all these troops with the national forces, the Carthaginian army, according to Ephorus, confifted of 300,000 men; but according to Timaus, of only 120,000.

They found a new city in that island.

At the same time they drew together, out of Carthage and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant themselves, and with them peopled a new city which they had built near the hot baths in Sicily, which was from thence called, by the Greeks, Therma.

Hannibal invefts Agrigentum.

The grand fleet was composed of 1000 transports, besides a numerous fquadron of gallies; and the troops being embarked, were landed in Sicily near Agrigentum; which city they immediately invested. They divided their army into two bodies; one of which, confifting of 40,000 Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town, while The Agrigentines, as well as the the other carried on the fiege. other Sicilians, upon hearing of the great preparation the Carthaginians were making for invading their island, had carefully provided all things necessary for their defence. The Carthaginians raifed a mount, and brought two towers of a monftrous fize, with feveral battering engines, against the walls. The Agrigentines, however, in a fally, burnt and destroyed the machines

The Agrigentines make a vigorous defence.

of the beliegers, and made a great flaughter in their camp. Soon after, the plague broke out among them, and carried off a great number of the foldiers, and the general Hannibal him-The Carthaginian foothfayers interpreted this difaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods; because Hannibal, to form his mounts, had caused the tombs round the city to be deflroyed. Imilcar, after attoning, as he imagined, for the facrileges of Hannibal, continued the fiege with great vigour. Hearing that the Syracusans were on their march to the relief of the belieged, he detached part of his army, with orders to engage them in the plains of the river Himera. This Carthaginian de- The Syratachment was routed by the Syracufans, with the loss of 6000 cusan demen, and pursued by them to the very walls of Agrigentum. feat the The Agrigentines perceiving them flying to that part of their army of camp which lay next to the city, concluded that they had been the Cardefeated, and pressed their officers to fally out upon them be- thaginifore they recovered from their confusion. The commanders ans, were, however, deaf to these follicitations; on which account, foon after, when the Syracufans arrived, and the matter was again canvaffed, four of them were stoned to death by the enraged multitude. Imilcar, about the same time, was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, so that his mercenaries became very mutinous; but a few days after he intercepted a large Syracusan fleet with provisions, by which he not only relieved his own army, but reduced the Agrigentines, who had now held out eight months, to the greatest extremity. The Cam- who nebanians in their fervice deferting to the Carthaginians, and vertheless Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, who was one of the chief officers make in the town, being also bribed by Imilcar, they were at last themobliged to abandon the city in the night, and make their escape selves The Carthaginians next morning entering the city, masters of put all whom they found to the fword, not sparing even such the place. as fled to the temples. The plunder they found in the place was immense, and such as might be expected in one of the most opulent cities in Sicily, which contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been taken by an enemy. Imilcar did not immediately deftroy the city, but allowed his troops to

Mean while the Syraculans were greatly alarmed; and the Agrigentine refugees complaining against the commanders of their army, as tho' they had betrayed Agrigentum into the hands of the Carthaginians, great commotions were raised in the city, which gave Dionysius, one of their citizens an opportunity of seizing the sovereignty. Dionysius having settled some Dionysius disturbances among the Geleans, who were apprehensive of being attacked by the Carthaginians in the fpring, so raised his reputation, that the Syracusans, who had then no suspicion ty at syof his future design of depriving them of their liberties, declared him generalissimo of all their troops and those of their

take up their winter quarters in it.

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Imilcar lays fiege to Gela.

On the return of the spring, Imilear razed the city of Agri. gentum; and after ravaging the territories of Camarina and Gela, invested this last city with his whole army. As he expected that Dionysius, who had now assumed the title of king of Syracuse, would attempt to relieve the place, he fortified The Geleans, tho' their city his camp with a ditch and a wall. was but indifferently fortified, defended themselves a long time with great resolution. They made several successful fallies; and when the Carthaginian rams had broke down any part of

Hedefeats Dionyfius.

abandon their city to the Cartha-

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ginians.

Imilcar a peace with Dio ny sius.

Dionyfius makes preparations for a new war against the Carthaginiars.

their walls, they repaired it again with incredible dispatch (A). Dionystus, in the mean time, having raised an army of 50,000 foot, according to some, tho' Timæus makes them only 30,000, and 1000 horse, with these forces, and 50 sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of Gela. Having made an unfuccessful attempt to relieve the place, he perfuaded the inhabitants, as the only means of fafety, to leave the city. They accordingly marched off in the night, under the protection of his army. The Gele- The Carthaginians, upon finding the place deferted, immedians oblig- ately took possession of it; and having put to the sword or crucified all whom they found left behind, thoroughly plundered it, and then marched towards Camarina. The Camarineans, however, were persuaded by Dionysius to remove with their wives and children to Syracuse. The Carthaginians also plundered this city; but being extremely weakned, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague which broke out among them, Imiliar did not think himself in a condition to continue the war, and fent a herald to Syracuse with offers of peace. Dionyfius, who with difficulty had just quelled an infurrection of the Syracufans, willingly hearkned to the proposal of Imilcar, and a truce was concluded; by which the Carthaconcludes ginians, befides their antient acquifitions in Sicily, were still to possess the countries of the Sicani, the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; and the people of Gela and Camarina were allowed to re-inhabit their cities, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians. Imilcar, after this treaty was concluded, returned with the remainder of his army to Carthage, having loft above one half of his army by the plague, which likewise made a dreadful havock in Africa. The Campanians, who were left by him to defend his conquests in Sicily, foon after, at the request of Dionysius, marched to Syracuse and relieved the tyrant, who was befieged in a part of the city by the Syraculans. Dionysius, after he had, by the affistance of the Campanians, quelled the infurrection, and taken proper means to prevent any future rebellion, began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the Carthaginians, in hopes of stripping them of their Sicilian conquests, which he would annex to his new kingdom. He employed a confiderable

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time in raising a formidable army of mercenaries, in building and equipping a numerous fleet, and making immense warlike preparations, filling not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, piazzas, and even the private houses at Syracuse with workmen, who were continually employed in making arms and armour.

He treacherously began hostilities with allowing the Syracusans The Carto massacre all the Carthaginians who were residing in their city thaginians and to plunder their effects. This horrid example of persidious-settled at ness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island Syracuse of Sicily. Finding the Syracusans no less desirous of war than are mashimself, he next sent a herald to Carthage with a letter to the sacred. senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not immediately withdraw their garrisons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. The Carthaginians, who had suffered greatly from the plague, were not a little disconcerted with this letter. But instead of complying with the demands of Dionysius, they sent officers into all parts with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence, and appointed Himilco commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionysius, without waiting for the answer of the Carthagi- Dionysius nians, advanced with his army to Motya, a Carthaginian city, invests built on a peninfula, in the western extremity of the island, not Morya, far from mount Eryx. As the Carthaginians kept all their stores and provisions in this city, it was very strongly fortified. Dionysius therefore, finding that he could not immediately succeed in this attempt, left his brother Leptines before the place, with the fleet, which confifted of 200 gallies, besides transports, and part of his troops, and marched himself with the rest of his army to reduce the other cities in alliance with the Carthaginians. All thefe, except five, submitted to him; but not being able to reduce Egesta and Entella, two of these five cities, he returned to Motya, and pushed the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. Mean while the Carthaginian admiral arrived at Syracuse with 10 gallies, and entering the harbour in the night, funk most of the vessels he found there, and returned to Carthage without the loss of a fingle man. They hoped, by this means, to cause part of the Syracusan fleet to withdraw from Motya; but Dionysius continued the siege with his whole fleet and army, which is

and at length, after the most desperate efforts, made himself taken by master of the city. After the reduction of Motya, Dionysius storm. returned with his army to Syracuse.

The Carthaginians, who had made an unfuccessful attempt to The Carrelieve Motya, by endeavouring to destroy the Sicilian sleet in thaginians the port of that city, now resolved to raise such an army, as send a should be able to cope with the tyrant in the field. They ac-powerful cordingly assembled an army of 300,000 foot and 4000 horse, army to and a sleet of 200 gallies, with upwards of 600 ships of burden, Sicily, laden with provisions and engines of war, among which were 400 armed chariots. This is the account given by Ephorus;

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but Timæus affirms, that not above 100,000 Carthaginians acted in Sicily the following campaign, but that thefe, upon their

landing there, were joined by 3000 Sicilians.

Before these troops had arrived in Sicily, Dionysius had again taken the field, and ravaged the Carthaginian territories in a dreadful manner. The Egestines refusing to submit to him, he laid fiege to their city; but the befieged, in an unexpected fally, fetting fire to part of his camp, by which many of his foldiers perished, he withdrew his army, and again wasted the country, In the mean time, Leptines, who commanded the Syracujan their fleet fleet, fell in with the African transports off the coast of Panormus, and funk 50 of them, with 5000 men, and 200 chariots on board; but upon the approach of the Carthaginian gallies, he thought fit to retire. Himilco, having landed his troops, and directed the fleet under Mago to attend the motions of his army, marched along the coast, and quickly made himself master of

Eryx and Motya.

Dionyfius, instead of marching against the Carthaginians, and venturing a battle, as his own troops earnestly defired, retreated towards Syracuse. Himileo, having no body to oppose him, advanced towards Messana, being desirous of possessing himself of this city, on account of its fituation and capacious harbour. Before he invested the place, he concluded a treaty with the people of Himera and Cephaledium, and reduced the city of Lipara, the capital of the islands of that name, exacting 30 talents from the inhabitants. His fleet, by the favour of a strong gale, having entered the harbour of Messana, he made himself master of the place without much opposition, and ordered it to be razed to the ground. The Carthaginians not only destroyed all the houses, but threw the rubbish into the fea; so that, after their departure, it was hard to discover where the city had stood.

The Siculi abandon Dionyfius.

The Siculi were encouraged, by these successes, to declare for the Carthaginians, which so alarmed Dionysius, that he prefented all the flaves and fervants at Syracuse with their liberty, and took care to fortify the castles of the Syracusans on the frontiers, and to store them with provisions. He marched with his army, conditting of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, about 20 miles north from Syracuse, his fleet attending him under the command of Leptines. In the mean time, the Carthaginian fleet, under Mago, arrived at Catana, while their army was marching fouthward through the middle of the country against Syracuse. Dionysius seized this opportunity of attacking their fleet, and advancing to Catana, ordered his brother Leptines to attack Mago, charging him at the same time not to break his line on any account. Leptines most imprudently neglected this advice, and notwithstanding the superiority of the Carthaginians, advanced against them with 30 of his best gallies. Being quickly furrounded by the Carthaginian gallies, the battle became most bloody and obstinate, both parties fighting for a long time hand to hand as on firm ground. The Syracusans were at length totally defeated, with the loss of 100 gallies and 20,000 men.

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Dionysius, apprehensive lest the victorious fleet should surprize Syracuse, hastily marched back to the defence of his metropolis. Himilco foon after arrived with his fleet and army before Syra- The Carcule, and having blocked up the city by fea, ravaged the coun- thaginians try for many miles round, cutting down groves, and destroying lay siege all before him. He at length closely blocked up the place by to Syraland, and took the quarter of the city called Acradina by affault. cufe. The Syracusans, receiving some reinforcements from Greece and Italy, ventured out to fea, and gained fome advantages over the Carthaginians, taking 25 of their gallies, and damaging feveral others.

This defeat was foon attended with a much more fevere miffortune; and the Carthaginians, who had made a conquest of almost the whole island, were soon obliged to return in a shameful manner to Africa, a striking instance of the inconstancy of worldly prosperity. The past successes of Himileo were, in a The manner, all rendered fruitless by the plague, which now broke plague out in his army, and made dreadful havock among his foldiers. breaks out This infection was looked upon by the superstitious as a punish- in the Carment inflicted upon them by the gods, for their having plundered thaginion the temples of Ceres and Proferpine, and demolished the tombs army. round the city; but was ascribed by others to the extraordinary heats and the unwholesome exhalations of the fens in the neighbourhood. Before fun-rifing the patients were feized with a convulfive shuddering, which was in part occasioned by the fresh breezes from the sea; but towards noon they were almost suffocated with the heat, which rendered them excessively weak and faint, and gave fresh force and malignity to the disease. In the first stage of the distemper they were afflicted with catarrhs, swellings of the throat, &c. and these were succeeded by violent dysenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, and loathfome ulcers. Some were even feized with madness, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the phyficians, fo that those infected with the malady expired on the hifth or fixth day in exquisite torture. Besides those who in the beginning of the distemper were buried, Diodorus informs us,

that 150,000 carcases were left on the ground without interment. Dionysius, being apprised of the deplorable condition to which They are the Carthaginians were reduced, made a general attack upon attacked their camp, while his fleet fell upon their gallies in the harbour. by Diony-The Syracufans quickly broke into the harbour, and fet fire to fins and the Carthaginian fleet, which struck their troops with such deseated. confidential, that Dionysius, without much opposition, forced their entrenchments, and made a great flaughter among them. He resolved next morning to renew the attack; but Himileo, anding himself unable to sustain a fresh assault, made a private agreement with Dionystus, giving him 300 talents, and obtaining from him a permission to depart in the night, with all the

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Himilco with difficulty e-

furviving citizens of Carthage. He accordingly embarked the Carthaginians on board 40 gallies that had escaped the flames, and leaving the rest of his army to the mercy of the Syracusans, scapes to set sail for Africa, being pursued by some Corinthians, who had Carthage, observed his departure, and sunk several of his vessels in the rear by the beaks of their gallies. The Sicilian allies, finding themselves abandoned by Himilco, immediately went home: but all the rest, except the Iberians, who entered into the service of Dionysius, were either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, the plunder of their camp being delivered up to the Syracusan sol-Thus ended the campaign, one of the most remarkable for the variety of incidents, and viciflitudes of fortune, observ. able in it, to be met with in history.

The inhabitants of Carthage, hearing of the terrible fate both of their land and fea forces in Sicily, were overwhelmed with forrow and despair. Every street was filled with lamentations, the shops and temples were shut up, an entire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious worship. In a short time the melancholy accounts they had received were confirmed, by the landing of the remains of their troops. Hiwhere he mileo, upon his arrival at Carthage, went directly to his own kills him-house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not furvive his countrymen, who perished in Sicily, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the remains of the

The Afrifrom the Carthaginians.

felf.

When it was publickly known in Africa, that Himilco had cans revolt faved only the citizens of Carthage, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had fent them auxiliaries, taking up arms, marched directly against Carthage, their numbers amounting to upwards of 200,000 men. On their march Tunis surrendered to them, which struck the Carthaginians with the greatest consternation. They, nevertheless, ventured to engage them when they approached to the city, but being defeated, were obliged to fave themselves within their walls. Their superstition now prevailing, they resolved to atone for the outrage offered to Ceres and Proserpine in Sicily, by adding them to the number of their deities. They then applied themselves to the necessary preparations for reducing the rebels, and punishing those who supported them. They are Happily for the Carthaginians, the rebel army wanted a general, obliged to and subordinate officers of experience, and had neither warlike engines to carry on a fiege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude. On this account diffensions arising among them, the Carthaginians took that opportunity of bribing feveral of their leaders, and a famine prevailing in their camp, they foon found themselves obliged to disperse; by which means Carthage was delivered from one of the most imminent dangers that had ever threatned it.

Mago de-Dionyfius.

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During these proceedings in Africa, Mago, who had been feated by left in Sicily by Himilco, to take care of the affairs of the repubd the

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lie in that island, treated the Sicilians in the Carthaginian interest with great lenity, and granted his protection to all those who were persecuted by Dionysius. Having also strengthened himself by alliances with several Sicilian free cities, he formed an army, and made an incursion into the territory of Messana, which city, after the departure of Himileo, had been rebuilt by Dionysius. Soon after he was defeated by Dionysius near Abacanum, a city of his consederates, whither he had retired with his booty.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding the great losses they had The Carreceived in the course of this war, could not forbear making thaginians new attempts on the island of Sicily: They accordingly levied fend anoforces in Africa, Sardinia, and Italy, and the following year ther army fent 80,000 men to Mago, who took the field, with the defign to Sicily. of determining the fate of Sicily by a battle: Many of the Bef. Chr. Siculi declaring for him, he marched into the country of the Agyrinaans, to bring over that people to his interest. However, Agyris, prince of the Agyrinæans, was prevailed upon by Dionyhus to declare for him, the tyrant promiting him a larger extent of territory, in case their arms were attended with success in the war. As Agyris was next to Dionysius in power of all others Maro, the in the island, Mago, who had imprudently advanced into his general, territories, foon found himself reduced to great difficulties, and concludes was obliged to propose a peace, which was accordingly con- another cluded. The new treaty agreed in all points with the former; treaty only by an additional article, the city of Taurominium was with Diogiven up to Dionysius, who drove the ancient proprietors from nyfius, thence, and placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room.

From this time, for nine years, history is filent as to any transactions of the Carthaginians. But in the 2d year of the 99th Olympiad, Dionysius, having plundered a rich temple in Etruria, began to raise a formidable army, which alarming the fenate of Carthage, they also made preparations for war. Dio- who vionyfius industriously sought an opportunity of a rupture; and ob- lates the serving that the Carthaginian subjects in Italy were inclined to a treaty, and revolt, he entered into a league with them; in confequence of renews which his troops were admitted into their cities. The Cartha- the war. ginians, having in vain remonstrated against this proceeding, had recourse to arms, and sent Mago with a powerful army into Sicily, fending at the same time another army against the Greek states in Italy. Mago, soon after his arrival in Sicily, was The Carattacked and routed by Dionysius at a place called Cabala. Mago thay inians himself was flain with 10,000 of his men, and 5000 were taken defeated prisoners. The remains of the army suing for peace, Dionysius by him; would grant them no other terms, but that they should engage to evacuate Sicily, and pay all the expences of the war. pretended a readiness to comply with these terms; but alledging that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they pollelled in Sicily, without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an VOL. III. express

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express from Carthage. During this interval they buried Mago,

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and appointed his fon, of the fame name, his fucceffor.

The new general, who was very young, but had given fignal proofs of his prudence and valour, in the time of the truce raifed and disciplined new troops; so that at the return of the express from Carthage, he took the field, and attacking Diony. but after- fius near Cronion, gained a complete victory, killing 14,000 Syracusans on the spot, and among the rest Leptines, the tyrant's brother. Great flaughter was also made of the Syracusans in the pursuit; and Dionysius, in the utmost consternation, fled to Sycompleat racuse, where he expected to be befieged. The Carthaginian general, however, used his victory with great moderation, and retiring to Panormus, offered Dionysius the following terms of peace, which he readily agreed to. The terms were, that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, excepting only that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, with part of the territory of Agrigentum, and besides, should pay 1000 talents to

defray the expences of the war. About three years after the conclusion of this last war, the The Carthaginians Carthaginians landed an army in Italy, and restored the inhabifend affect tants of Hippo, or Hipponium, to their city, from whence they

and army had been for some time expelled.

Immediately after the arrival of their troops from this expedi-A plague tion, the plague broke out afresh in Carthage, and swept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This feems to have raged with greater violence than any diftemper the city was ever vifited with before; for fuch vaft multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and Sardi, encouraged by the extreme weakness of the Carthaginian state, attempted to shake off their voke; but were, with fome difficulty, again reduced to their obedience. This pestilence was of a very fingular nature, for panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, feized on a fudden the heads of those afflicted with it, they fallying out of their houses sword in hand, as if the enemy had taken the city, killing or wounding all who unhappily came in their way. 'Justin feems to intimate, that the Carthaginians laboured under this grievous fickness a considerable time with little or no intermission.

Dionyfius again renews the war.

The domestic calamities of the Carthaginians encouraged Dionyfius to attack their fettlements in Sicily. Having no just cause to allege for his hostilities, he was obliged to have recourse to a downright falfity, and accused the Carthaginians of making incursions into his dominions. To revenge this pretended injury, he entered their territories with an army of 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, attended by a navy of 300 sail. Having made himfelf master of Selinus, Entella, and Eryx, he plundered the adjacent country, and laid fiege to Lilybæum, which, however, baffled all his efforts. The Carthaginians foon after furprifing 30 of his best gallies, which he had laid up at Eryx, Dionysius thought lago,

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thought proper to agree to a truce, and died a few months

About this time, one Suniator, or Suniates, a person of great The use authority in Carthage, giving Dionysius secret intelligence of of the the designs of the state by writing to him in Greek, his treason Greek lanwas discovered, and a law was passed, prohibiting the inhabi- guage tants from learning the Greek language.

Much about this period the Carthaginians concluded their fe- at Carcond treaty with the Romans, in which, according to Polybius, thage. the people of Utica and Tyre, were included. The Romans also were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country in any part beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. From this treaty it farther appears, that both the Romans and Carthaginians applied themselves then with great diligence to commerce. Soon after this event, the Romans having gained a fignal victory over the Samnites, the Carthaginians complimented them on their success, and made a present of a crown of gold of 25 pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Great diffensions in the mean time happening at Syracuse, on account of the weak and tyrannical government of Dionysius II. who had fucceeded his father of the fame name, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, a city in the territory of Agrigentum, gave a kind reception to Dion, the brother-in-law of the late king, who marching from thence, dethroned the Syracufan tyrant, and restored liberty to his country. Dionysius, after an exile of ten years, again recovered the supreme power in Syracuse; but was a second time attacked by Icetas, who not having the fame patriot views with Dion, but aiming at the fovereignty for himself, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, by which it was agreed, that he and they should join their forces in order to expel Dionysius, and after his expulsion, they should

divide all Sicily between them. The Carthaginians, who had The Caralready fitted out a formidable fleet, in hopes of extending their thaginians conquests in Sicily during the distractions in Syracuse, readily intermedentered into the treaty with Icetas; but the Syracufans, foon dle with beginning to suspect their design, applied for succours to the the affairs This state, which had always bore a great aver- of Syra-Corinthians. fion to tyrants, fent a body of troops, under the conduct of cufe. Timoleon, a general of confummate abilities, and a great friend

to liberty, to the affiftance of the Syracufans. Timoleon, having escaped the Carthaginian fleet, which wanted The Syrato intercept him, landed with 1000 men at Taurominium. The cusans af-Carthaginian general threatned Andromachus, the tyrant of that filled by city, with his refentment, if he did not immediately drive out the Corinthe Corinthians; but Andromachus, flighting this menace, af- thians unforded his protection to Timoleon, who marching from thence der Timoin the evening next day, arrived at Adranum, where he defeated leon. 5000 Carthaginians, under the command of Icetas. Then he Bef. Chr. marched to Syracuse, and broke into a part of the town before the enemy had any notice of his approach. Dionysius the tyrant, who still held possession of the citadel, despairing of being

able to recover the fovereignty, furrendered to Timoleon, and put him in possession of the fortress. Leon, whom Timoleon appointed governor of the place, foon after made himself master of that part of the city called Acradina, while Timoleon was absent with great part of his troops at Catana, waiting for reinforcements from Corinth, which were detained by stormy weather at Thurium in Italy. Hanno, the Carthaginian admiral, waited some time to intercept these succours; but at length left his station, and returned to Syracuse. The Corinthians, after his departure, marched from Thurium to Rhegium, whence they embarked and landed fafe in Sicily, where they joined Timoleon, who foon after made himself master of Messana. He then directed his march to Syracuse, having desired some of his troops to intermix themselves with the Greek mercenaries under Mago, and to encourage them to revolt. This stratagem had its defired effect; for these mercenaries beginning to speak favourably of the designs of Timoleon to each other, Mago suspected they had an intention to betray him, and without hearkening to the entreaties of Icetas, weighed anchor, and fet fail for Africa. On his arrival at Carthage, reflecting on his dastardly behaviour, he laid violent hands upon himself. The Carthaginians caused his body to be hung upon a gallows or cross, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people. Timoleon, after the departure of Mago, made great progress

Timoleon makes in Sicily, admitting many cities, dependant upon the Carthagreat pro-ginians into his alliance, and restoring several cities of the and the nians.

Mago ne-

glects to **1uccour** the Car-

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gress in Si- Greeks to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. cily against The senate and people of Carthage, being highly offended at the tyrants the conduct of their general officers in this campaign, deprived most of them of their commissions, and filled the vacant posts with Carthagi- persons of known merit. Being determined to carry on the war in Sicily with the utmost vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and befides raifed a large body of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Liguria, at the fame time A Cartha- making immense naval preparations. In the following spring ginian ar- they fent Asdrubal and Hamilear, two experienced commanders, my lan's over to Sicily, with an army of 70,000 men, 200 ships of war, in Sicily; and 1000 transports. Upon the first news of their landing at Syracuse, Timoleon, who had reduced Icetas, and restored tranquillity to Syracuse, advanced against him, though his forces did not amount to above 12,000 men, 1000 of whom even abanbut is en-doning him, and returning to Syracuse. Timoleon, notwithtirely de- standing his great inferiority in numbers, attacked the Carthafeated by ginians on the banks of the river Cremissus, and after an obsti-I moleon. nate engagement gained a complete victory, the Carthaginians being thrown into confusion by a furious storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, that beat with great violence on their faces. Plutarch relates, that of 10,000 men, whom they left dead on the field of battle, above 3000 were native Carthaginians, of the best families in Carthage; and that, according to the Punic records, fuch a number of persons of distinction never fell in

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any battle before. Besides the slain, whom Diodorus reckons above 12,000, there were 15,000 taken prisoners; and Timoleon made himself master of all their baggage, besides 200 armed chariots, 1000 coats of mail, and 10,000 shields. The spoil, which confifted chiefly of gold and filver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to Plutarch, fo immense, that the whole Greek army was three days in collecting it. After they had palled the river, and taken possession of the enemies camp, they found there such an incredible quantity of gold and filver, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded. Timoleon, leaving his mercenaries on the enemies frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage the whole country, returned to Syracuse with the rest of his army, where he was received with

all possible demonstrations of joy.

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Icetas, Plutarch tells us, after this formed a defign for reco- Icetas conyering his lost territories; and in conjunction with Mamercus, cludes atyrant of Catana, entered into another treaty with the Cartha- nother ginians, who, in consequence of this alliance, raised an treaty army of 70,000 men, and took a strong body of Greeks into with the their service. Gisco, the brother of Hanno, a general of great Carthagiexperience and bravery, was recalled from banishment to com- mans. mand the troops destined for this new expedition. The Messans put to occasioned fresh commotions in Sicily. the fword the garifon left by Timoleon in their city, which confifted of 400 men. A detachment of mercenaries were drawn into an ambuscade by the Carthaginians at Hiera, and all cut off. While Timoleon was marching to Calauria, Icetas, at the head of a Carthaginian party, made an incursion into the territories of Syracuse, and carried off a considerable booty. In his return, passing by Calauria, Timoleon pursued after him, and attacking him upon the river Damyrias, defeated him, with the loss of 1000 men. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, He is dehis fon Eupolamus, and Euthymus, general of his cavalry, were feated and brought bound by their own foldiers to Timoleon, who caused taken prithe two first to be executed, and allowed the last to be murdered soner by in cold blood by his foldiers. After this he moved with his Timoleon, army towards Catana, and defeated Mamercus in the plains of the river Abolus, with the loss of above 2000 men. As the greatest part of the dead were auxiliaries sent to Mamercus by Gisco, the Carthaginians themselves suffered in this action. At Carthage the warlike preparations were still continued; but as Timoleon had greatly the superiority in Sicily, they thought it best to endeavour to procure an accommodation. Timoleon, who conbeing apprehensive of fresh troubles from Mamercus and others, cludes a against whom he wanted to turn his arms, agreed to a peace peace with with the Carthaginians, on condition that all the Greek cities the Carshould be set free, that the river Halycus, or Lycus, should be the thaginiboundary between the territories of both parties, and that Car- ans. thage should no longer give affistance to any of the Sicilian tyrants.

Hanno endeavours to make himfelf absolute at Carthage.

About this time one Hanno, a wealthy and powerful Carthaginian, formed a defign of usurping the sovereign power in Car. thage. In order to accomplish his purpose, he proposed to invite the fenators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage, and then, by mixing poison with his wine, to destroy them all. Though his scheme was discovered, yet his interest in the city was so great, that the magistrates did not dare to punish him; but contented themselves with passing a law, prohibiting too great magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on fuch occasions. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, was refolved to have recourse to arms; and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a fecond time to put his defign in execution. He was a fecond time discovered, and to avoid punishment, retired with 20,000 armed flaves to a caftle that was very strongly fortified, applying to the Africans and the king of the Mauritani for affistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken, and carried a prifoner to Carthage; where, being severely whipt, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, and he was at last put to death in presence of the people, his body being afterwards hung on a cross or gibbet. His children, and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment, that not a fingle person of his family might be left either to imitate his crime or revenge his death *.

Not many years after, according to Curtius, the Tyrians follicited the affiftance of the Carthaginians against Alexander the Great, who had laid fiege to their city. The Carthaginians were most sensibly affected with the misery of their countrymen, for fo they and the Tyrians always called one another; but being incapable of fending them any fuccours, by reafon of some domestic troubles, they only dispatched some of their principal citizens to Tyre to express their grief, that the bad fituation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The Tyrians put their wives and children on board some vessels, in order to send them to Carthage, and then made the most strenuous efforts to drive the enemy from their walls; which however, in the end, were ineffectual, Alexander taking

and razing the city.

The Carfend an ambassalexander

The Carthaginians, hearing of the reduction of Tyre, and the thazinians great progress Alexander made in the East, began to be under fome apprehensions; but were much more alarmed, when they received advice that he had made himself master of Egypt, and dor to A- had built Alexandria on the confines of Egypt and Africa, in order to rival them. They therefore chose one Hamilear, or, the Great, as Gellius intimates, Asdrubal, furnamed Rhodanus, a person of great eloquence and address, to found the inclinations of that prince, and to endeavour to pry into his counsels. Hamiltar, having obtained an audience, declared to the king, that he

Justin, lib, xxi. Plut. in Timol. Oros.

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was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished Carthage, and hegged that he might have the honour of attending him in all his future expeditions. This being granted, he did his country fignal service, by communicating many important discoveries relating to Alexander's schemes. Upon his return home, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betraver of his country, and was accordingly put to death at Carthage, by a fentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful.

Not many years after, Sosistratus, who had usurped the su-preme power at Syracuse, being expelled, with 600 citizens, by the popular faction, had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused his cause. Hereupon, the Syracusans gave the Agathocles command of their forces to Agathocles, a man of an obscure elected birth, who had been banished Syracuse by Sosistratus, but had general of acquired a great reputation for his military exploits. The Syraracusans soon began to suspect the treacherous designs of Aga- cusans. thocles, and choie one Acestorides for their general, who was Bef. Ch. fent to them from Corinth. Agathocles, however, by force and fraud, again got himself created general, and having then ordered his troops to massacre all the senators, with many other principal citizens, he affumed the fovereign power with the title of king. Having established his authority in Syracuse, he formed a design of making himself master of the whole island, the greatest part of which he accordingly subdued within two years. According to Justin, Hamiltar the Carthaginian was even at first instrumental in establishing the authority of Agathocles, probably with the defign of keeping up the diffensions in Syracuse. However, he soon felt the bad effects of this conduct; He makes for Agathocles, after reducing the other parts of Sicily, made incursions incursions into the Carthaginian territories, and those of their into the allies. As Hamilcar did not offer to give him the least distur- Carthagibance, the people of those districts were highly incensed against nian terrihim, and fent letters to Carthage, filled with bitter complaints tories in of his perfidious conduct. The fenate, who were greatly ex- Sicily. asperated, resolved to punish him in an exemplary manner; but he died before his return to Carthage. Hamilcar, the fon of Gifco, was appointed to fucceed him in the command of the army in Sicily. A Carthaginian fleet of 60 fail foon after arriving at Agrigentum, obliged Agathocles to defift from an attempt upon that place. Whilft he was employed in ravaging the territories of Agrigentum, another Carthaginian squadron of 50 ships entered the great harbour of Syracuse, and sunk two transports, which were all the veffels then in port. Agathocles growing daily more powerful in Sicily, the Carthaginians, at length, refolved to fend over a strong army to oppose him. They accordingly reinforced the troops intended for the Sicilian expedition with 2000 native Carthaginians, among whom were many perfons of quality, 1000 Etruscan mercenaries, as many slingers from the Balearic islands, and 200 chariots, which were fent along with Hamiltar. The fleet, confifting of 130 gallies, in the passage was dispersed by a violent storm, in which Hamiltar M 4

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loft 60 gallies, 200 transports, and a great number of men. By this difaster, many persons of the best families in Carthage were loft, which caused a public lamentation in the city, when the walls were all hung with black, as usual on such melancholy occasions. Hamilear, notwithstanding this loss, being joined on his arrival by fuch of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, formed a numerous army, and encamped near Himera. Agathocles, in the mean time, having loft 20 of his gallies, and perceiving the Sicilians well affected to Hamiltar, resolved to engage him as The Car- soon as possible. Having surprized and plundered Gela, he theginians marched towards the Carthaginians, and encamped on an emigain a signal figure opposite to them. The two armies viewed each other hal victo- for some time in suspence; but at length they came to a general engagement, in which Agathocles was routed, with the loss of

ry over Agaibo-7000 men. cles.

Agathocles, after this defeat, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to Gela. Some of his troops, foon after, decoying 300 African horse into the place, he caused them all to be cut off to a man. He remained some time at Gela, that he might draw the Carthaginians thither, and thereby prevent the fiege of Syracuse, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. In the mean time, the people of Camarina, Catana, Leontium, Taurominium, Messana, and Abacanum, sent ambassadors to Hamilear, imploring his protection; in such persect abhorrence was the tyrant held by the greatest part of the inhabitants of the island. Agathocles, perceiving that Hamilcar daily became more formidable, retired with his forces to Syracuse, whither he was quickly followed by the Carthaginians, who closely invested the place.

The tyrant, finding himself now abandoned by all his allies,

They befiege the tyrant in Syracuse

and his capital besieged by a victorious enemy, did not, how-ever, despair; but on the contrary formed the bold design of Agathocles transferring the war to Africa. Having eluded the vigilance of leaves Sy- the Carthaginian fleet, he accordingly fet fail from Syracuse with racife and 60 gallies, and a few days after landed in Africa with a chosen body of troops, having left the defence of Syracuse to his brother Antandrus. Soon after his landing on the African coast, he burnt his fleet, that his foldiers might be fully convinced, that their only fafety confifted in victory. After he had destroyed his ships, he immediately led his troops against a place in the territories of Carthage, called the Great City, which he took and plundered. Soon after he made himself master of Tunis, in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which he also plundered and razed. This unexpected invasion threw the Carthaginians into the greatest consternation. Imagining that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost, some of them proposed to send an embassy to Agathocles, and to sue for peace.

Their fleet, that had pursued Agathocles, in the mean time arriving at the city, and informing them of the real state of their affairs, the fenate immediately ordered the citizens to be armed, and in a few days affembled an army of 40,000 foot, 1000 horfe,

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and 200 armed chariots. The command of this army was given to Hanno and Bomilcar, though it was well known that there was an irreconcileable enmity between the two families. imprudent step proved very fatal to their affairs; for Bomilear, who aspired at the sovereign power, seized this opportunity of attempting to put his ambitious defigns in execution. Agathotles, though his troops confifted of only 14,000 men, committed great ravages in the country, and burnt a great many villages. The Carthaginian army at length marching out to oppose him, He dehe ventured an engagement, notwithstanding his inferiority of feats the number, and gained a compleat victory; which, in a great Carthagimeasure, was owing to the treachery of Bomilear, who did not nians near second the efforts of his collegue Hanno; but, during the ac- Carthage. tion, retired with the troops under his command. The facred Bef. Christ cohort, even after Hanno was killed, distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner, and were almost all cut off. makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides, 2000 Sicilians and 3000 Carthaginians, according to him, being flain; but, according to Diodorus, only 200 Sicilians were flain, and 1000, or, as some say, 6000 Carthaginians. Agathocles allowed his troops to plunder the Carthaginian camp, in which, among other things, they found 20,000 pair of fetters and manacles, which had been provided for fecuring the Sicilian prisoners.

The Carthaginians, on this defeat, were extremely disheart- They enened, and believing the gods fought against them, they made deavour it their first endeavour to appease the offended deities, particu- to appease larly Hercules and Saturn, whom they confidered as the tutelar their deigods of their country, From the foundation of their city, they ties by had, for a long time, fent the tenth part of all their revenues prefents annually to Tyre, as an offering to Hercules. Having disconti- and hunued this cuftom for a confiderable time, they judged that they man facriwere now punished for their facrilegious avarice; and therefore, fices, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their infincerity, and fent the golden shrines of their other deities to Hercules at Tyre, imagining that fuch facred gifts would make a more effectual attonement. It had antiently been cultomary to

facrifice to Saturn children of the most noble families; but, for many years patt, children of mean extraction had been substituted in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of this impious fraud, they now facrificed 200 children of the first rank to Saturn. Above 300 other persons, in a sense of this dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, as they imagined, the wrath of their deity. After these and recall expiations, the Carthaginians sent orders to Hamilear to return, Hamilear with the utmost dispatch, to the relief of his country. Hamil- from Sicar, notwithstanding this peremptory message, only sent 5000 of cily.

his troops to Africa, and continued with the rest of the army

Agathocles, in the mean time, reduced many forts and castles reduces a in the neighbourhood of Carthage; and the fuccess that had at- great matended his arms having induced many cities to declare for him, ny Car-

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his army was greatly reinforced, which encouraged him to march against those maritime places that still held for the Car. thaginians. Leaving part of his troops in his fortified camp at Tunis, he marched with the rest against the New City, which he took by ftorm. He then advanced to Adrumethum; but while he was engaged in befieging this place, the Carthaginians affembled another army, and forced his camp before Tunis they even invested his troops in that city; which obliged Aga. thocles to withdraw, with part of his army, from before Adrum. thum. He posted himself on a mountain, from whence he could view both cities, and ordering his foldiers at night to make many large fires, by this stratagem he gained two points. The Carthaginians before Tunis, imagining that he was marching with his whole army to the relief of that city, abandoned the fiege, and the garison of Adrumethum, thinking that reinforce. ments were advancing to the army before their city, immediately capitulated. Agathocles afterwards reduced, in that tract, above 200 cities and towns, partly by force and partly by composition. While he was absent in Lybia Superior, punishing the king of that country for having abandoned his alliance, the Carthaginians, who were now stripped of almost all their African territories, made a second attempt against Tunis. Agathocles having overthrown the Libyan king in a great battle, suddenly returned to the relief of Tunis, and surprising the Carthaginians, routed them with the loss of 2000 men, so that they were again obliged to abandon the fiege.

During these transactions in Africa, Hamilear had made himfelf mafter of many cities in Sicily subject to the Syracusans; and having augmented his army to upwards of 120,000 men, atand put to tempted to surprise Syracuse by marching thither in the night. The Syracusans, having notice of his design, sallied out upon him in the narrow passage near the city, and throwing his army into disorder, routed them with great slaughter. Hamiltar being taken prisoner by the Syracusans, they put him to death by tortures, and fent his head to Agathocles, who caused it to be

fhewn to the Carthaginians.

Agathocles is joined by many African princes.

Hamilear

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Refolving now to invest Carthage itself, he fent ambassadors to the African princes, inviting them to join in the common cause; and even persuaded Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, to march from Cyrene with 20,000 men to act in concert with him, promifing to make him king of Africa. He most perfidiously, however, put him to death, and prevailed on his troops to ferve under him. Then assuming the title of king of Africa, he laid flege to Carthage, which at the same time was in danger of being Bomilear ruined by a domestic enemy. Bomilear, who was possessed of the first employment in the state, and had long been aspiring at the fovereign power, now attempted to put his defign in execution. He had fent away all the most eminent citizens, from reignty at whom he apprehended any obstruction, to serve in the army Carthage. which had marched to reduce the Numidians, who had declared for Agathocles. Having affembled 500 affociates, he marched from

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from Neapolis to Carthage, and entering the city, cut off as many citizens as he found in his way, without regard to fex or age, which struck the whole inhabitants with incredible terror, they fuppoling that the town was betrayed to the enemy. He divided his troops into five bodies, which attacked in five different quarters, carrying all before them, and at length uniting again in the forum. When it was known, however, in the city that Bomilear had been the author of this difturbance, and had moreover caused himself to be proclaimed king of Carthage, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole vollies of darts and stones, upon the heads of his foldiers. The traitor, finding himfelf not able to carry the city, forced his way out, and retired towards Neapolis; but being closely pursued and surrounded by the Carthaginians, who proclaimed an amnesty to all who would lay down their arms, his troops furrendered. Bomilear, notwithflanding the general indemnity promifed upon oath, was condemned to die, and was fixed to a cross in the middle of the forum, where he expired in torments.

Great revolutions, in the mean time, happening in Sicily, where the Agrigentines, after the defeat of Hamiltar, had inspired the inhabitants of most of the cities with the desire of afferting their independance, Agathocles found himself under a necessity of returning to that island, to oppose the formidable affociation which the Agrigentines had formed. His affairs in Africa were in such a prosperous situation, that he thought he might safely trust the African army to his son Archagathus. He Agathocles accordingly embarked for Sicily with 2000 men; and fo great returns to was his reputation, on account of his exploits in Africa, Sicily. that many cities voluntarily submitted to him, and others made

but a faint opposition before they surrendered.

During his absence, Archagathus greatly extended the con-Histroops quests in Africa. Eumachus, whom he sent at the head of a in Africa large detachment into Numidia, conquered several of the Nu-extend midian cantons that would not come into a state of amity with their con-Agathocles. Afterwards taking Phellina, the Afphodelians, a quests. nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Ethiopians, fubmitted to him. From hence he marched and reduced Maschala, a city of great importance, built by the Greeks in their return from Troy, and inhabited by their posterity for several succeeding ages. He next made himself master of Hipponacra, which, fince its furrender to Agathocles, had revolted to the Carthagimans. Lastly, he possessed himself of Cleris, a free city of great opulence, which he gave up to the foldiers to be plundered, and fold the inhabitants for flaves. These places, neither of which are mentioned by Cellarius, feem to have had their fituation in that part of Numidia contiguous to Africa Propria. Eumachus, having returned with an immense booty to the camp, soon after made another excursion, and traversing the countries last invaded, he arrived at a city called Miltine, and forced his way The Barbarians, however, collecting their whole force.

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force, attacked him in the streets with such fury, that they obliged him to retire out of the town in great confusion, with the loss of a vast number of men. From hence he advanced to an high mountain, above 200 stadia over, full of wild cats, that would not fuffer any birds to live amongst them. Having passed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called by the Greeks Pithecusa, from the apes with which all the adjacent country abounded. Having taken and razed one of these cities, the other two immediately surrendered; but being informed, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests. and retreated with the utmost precipitation to the sea coasts.

The Carthaginians, upon hearing of this repulse of Eumachus. refolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, to recover their former losses. They fent three bodies of troops out of the city; one to the sea coasts to keep the maritime towns in awe, another into the inland parts to preserve the inhabitants there in their allegiance, and the last to Upper Africa, to support their confederates in that country. They hoped also, by this means, to restore plenty to the citizens, who began to

be in want of provisions.

Thirty thousand soldiers being fent out of the city, provifions returned to their former price, their confederates abandoned the fide which, through compulsion, they had been obliged to take, and the Sicilian army was forced to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Carthage. Archagathus also divided his troops into three bodies; one of which he fent to observe the Carthaginians on the sea coasts; another he posted, under the command of Aschrion, one of his generals, at a proper distance in the heart of the country; and with the last he kept nearer Carthage, preserving a communication with the other

But are at theginians.

The Carthaginian troops, fent into the heart of the country, length de- were commanded by Hanno, a general of great experience, feated by who laid an ambuscade for Æschrion, and cut him off, with the Car- 4000 foot and 200 horse. The rest were either taken prisoners, or fled to Archagathus, who lay encamped about 500 stadia from the place where this action happened. Eumachus, who had marched with his detachment from the coasts to Upper Africa, was also defeated by Himilco, the Carthaginian general in those parts. Of 8000 foot only 30, and of 800 horse only 40, had the good fortune to escape, the rest either perishing of thirst, or being put to the fword. Himilco, after the defeat of Eumachus, moved with great expedition towards Archagathus, who ordered all his detachments to return to his camp with the utmost speed, Himileo having cut off all communication betweet the Syraculan army and the fruitful country of Africa, Atarbas, another Carthaginian commander, encamped within 40 stadia of Tunis, and prevented any supplies coming to them by sea; so that the Greeks, in a short time, were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. Their confederates also deserting them,

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and joining the *Carthaginians*, they were hemmed in on all fides, and feemed deftitute of all resources for retrieving their affairs.

Agathocles being informed by an express from his son of their Agathocles desperate situation, returned to Africa; and upon his arrival, returns to reviewing his troops, found them to confift of 6000 Greeks, as Africa. many Celtes, Samnites, and Etruscans, besides 10,000 Africans, who had persevered in their fidelity to him, and 1500 horse. His troops being desperate he led them out, and offered the Carthaginians battle; which they declined; thinking that by protracting the time, they would gain a victory without strik-The tyrant foon after attacked the Carthaginian camp, hoping by a desperate effort to retrieve his affairs. He quickly made a confiderable impression upon it, and might posfibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries basely deserted him almost upon the first onset. The Carthaginians, animated He is deby this cowardice, redoubled their efforts, and forcing the feated by Greeks to retreat with great precipitation to their camp, pursued the Carthem with great flaughter, killing above 3000 men, and taking thaginimany prisoners.

The next night the Carthaginians facrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a grateful acknowlegement to the gods for the victory they had obtained. While they were in the midst of this folemnity, the wind fuddenly rifing, carried the flames to the facred tabernacle near the altar, which, with the general's tent, and those of the principal officers, were entirely The foldiers tents being chiefly built of branches A terrible of trees, reeds and straw, the fire quickly seized upon them, and disaster the whole camp was foon in flames; in which many of the happens foldiers perished by endeavouring to fave their arms and the in their rich baggage. The Africans, at the same time, having deserted camp, Agathocles, and advancing towards the Carthaginian camp, the foldiers, who were running from the flames, met them, and believing them to be the Syracufan army, returned in the utmost terror to their own army, which was thereby thrown into the greatest confusion, several parties engaging their comrades, miltaking them for the enemy. Five thousand men lost their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the rest thought proper to take shelter within the walls of Carthage.

An accident something resembling this happened at the same and anotime in the Greek camp. The African deserters, who intended ther in the to join the Carthaginians, observing the great confusion in their camp of camp, and not understanding the meaning of it, thought pro- igathoper to return to the place from whence they came. The Sy-cles, racusans, seeing a body of troops advancing towards them, immediately concluded they were the enemy; and running hastily to arms, attacked each other in their confusion. This intestine fray was so bloody, that it cost Agathocles 4000 men. Agathocles, from this disaster, was quite disheartened; and finding that the Africans were no longer his hearty friends, and that his other troops were greatly reduced, he resolved to make

his

who foon after abandons Africa.

his escape from Africa with a few friends, and to leave his army behind him. His defign being discovered, he was feized by his own troops; but the night following, a tumult happening in his camp, he took that opportunity of escaping, and embarked for Sicily.

conclude a peace with the Carthaginians,

After the departure of Agathocles, his two fons fell a facrifice to the wild fury of the foldiers, who then chose leaders from amongst themselves, and concluded a peace with the Carthagi. Histroops nians upon the following terms. Ift, That the Greeks should deliver up all the places they held in Africa, upon receiving 300 talents. 2dly, That fuch of them as were willing to ferve under the Carthaginians should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay. And, 3dly, That the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were punctually observed by the Carthaginians, who notwithstanding they were brought to the very brink of destruction by the Syracufan army, settled their affairs upon the antient footing. Some cities which, in hopes of relief from Agathocles, refused to submit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garrifons obliged to cultivate those parts of the country they had before laid waste and defroyed *. The treaty concluded betwixt the Carthaginians and ratified by the Syracusan troops in Africa, was ratified the following year by Agathocles, who was reduced to great straits in Sicily by Dinocrates, whom he had banished from Syracuse. He not only ratified the former treaty, but also restored to them all the cities they formerly possessed in Sicily. The Carthaginians having recovered their Sicilian territories, fent Agathocles 300, or as Timæus will have it, 150 talents of gold, and 500,000 bushels of wheat, to affift him in his enterprizes against Dinocrates.

which is Agathocles.

Some years afterwards, the Carthaginians were again threatned with another war by Agathocles, who bore them an implacable hatred; but their apprehensions were soon dissipated by Manon, who had poisoned Agathocles, endeavoured to usurp the sovereign power in Syracuse; but finding himself vigorously opposed, he applied to the Carthaginians for affis-The Car. tance. This people, always intent upon fomenting divisions in Sicily, in order to enlarge their own acquifitions in that ifand, readily granted his request. The succours they granted him, however, were not fufficient for his purpose: for he was routed feveral times by Icetas the Syracufan commander, who usurped the supreme power himself, and held it for nine years under the title of prætor. In the 9th year of his command, he was defeated by a Carthaginian army near the river Teria, and obliged to fly with great loss to Syracuse.

That city, at the same time, being torn to pieces by two opposite factions, headed by Tanion and Sofistratus, who each aimed at the fovereignty, the Carthaginians took advantage of

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their divisions, and after reducing most of the cities subject to Syracuse, invested the capital itself with a fleet of 100 sail, and an army of 50,000 men. The two competitors now united their forces against the Carthaginians, and invited Pyrrhus king The Syraof Epire, then at Tarentum, to come over to Sicily, to deliver cusans call the Greeks in that island from the barbarians, who threatned in Pyrthem with utter destruction. Pyrrhus eagerly accepted of this rhus to invitation, and arrived in Sicily with a powerful fleet and army. their af-Upon his approach, the Carthaginians withdrew from Syracuse; fistance. so that he took possession of that city without opposition. All the cities on the coast followed the example of Syracuse, and declared for Pyrrhus; who having a formidable army of veteran troops, and being joined by a great many Sicilians, foon stripped the Carthaginians of all their acquisitions in that island, except Eryx and Lilybæum.

Before Pyrrhus arrived in Sicily, both the Carthaginians and The Car-Romans were alarmed at his conquests and enterprizing spirit, thaginians and entered into an alliance for mutually affifting each other if offer to the territories of either of them should be attacked by the king affift the of Epire. In consequence of this alliance, when Pyrrhus in-Romans vaded Italy, and declared war against the Romans, the Cartha- against ginians fent a fleet of 120, or according to Valerius Maximus, of Pyrrhus. 130 fail to the affiftance of their allies, under the command of This officer, upon his arrival at Rome, offered the fenate, in the name of his republic, a body of auxiliary troops; but they thought proper, in a civil manner, to decline the affistance of the Carthaginians. Diodorus tells us, that the Carthaginian fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, nevertheless sailed to Rhegium, which place they battered for some time with incredible fury; but were at last obliged to raise the flege. They again put to fea to observe the motions of Pyrrhus, Mago himself even venturing to his camp under pretence of offering his mediation betwixt him and the Romans, but in

reality to discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily. Notwithstanding their precautions, Pyrrhus, as we have ob- The Carserved, landing in Sicily, soon threw them into great conster- thaginians nation by his rapid progress. Before they could form an army almost capable of opposing him in the field, he almost drove them driven out Having taken Eryx by storm, he laid of Sicily wholly out of the island fiege to Lilybæum with all his forces, which was the only city by Pyrleft to the Carthaginians in Sicily. The Carthaginians being rbus. mafters of the sea, landed a strong body of troops in the city, just as Pyrrhus came before the walls: but the rapidity of his conquelts fo terrified them, that they fent ambassadors to treat of a peace with him, offering him either a large fum of money, or to abandon all they had possessed in Sicily, except Lilybæum. Pyrrhus infifting that they should entirely abandon the island, the negotiation was broke off, and they prepared for a vigorous defence. The city being strongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garrison, Pyrrhus, at the end of two months, was shamefully obliged to raise the siege.

who proposes to invade Africa.

In his re-

Pyrrbus, notwithstanding this repulse, resolved, in imitation of Agathocles, whose daughter he had married, to transfer the war into Africa: but disobliging the Sicilians by his oppressive and tyrannical government, they thwarted his measures, and endeavoured to shake off his yoke before it was fixed too fast. The king feeing his interest now ruined in Sicily, wanted to leave the island: but the Carthaginians being informed of this fudden revolution, reinforced their army in Sicily, and fent a powerful fleet to cruife off the island. This squadron sell in with his fleet at fea, when he was returning with his troops to Italy he is Italy, funk 70 of his ships, and dispersed or took the rest, so totally de- that he arrived at Locri with only 10 veffels, the poor remains of a fleet of 200 fail.

turn to feated by the Cartbaginians, Bef. Chr. 275. ver all fessions in Sicily,

The Carthaginians, after this victory, quickly recovered all their possessions in Sicily, and settled their affairs in that island upon a firmer footing than ever. They had nevertheless two powerful enemies still to contend with in the island; namely, the Mamertines, who were in possession of Messana; and the who reco- Syracusans, who soon after the departure of Pyrrhus submitted to Hiero, a wife and politic prince. The Syracufan forces untheir pof. der his command, obtained several advantages over the Carthaginians, and even in a fhort time grew formidable to them. The Mamertines, who were originally Campanians, and had feveral years before treacherously seized on Messana by massacreing the antient inhabitants, were enemies not only to the Carthaginians, but also to the Syracusans. Hiero, who was a skilful general, and had restored military discipline among his troops, foon reduced the Momertines to fo great difficulties, that they made overtures to him for an accommodation, and even offered to put the city of Messana into his hands. The Carthaginians, who already dreaded the power of Hiero, artfully endeavoured to prevent this negotiation from taking effect. Their fecret practices not being successful, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, fent one of his officers to Messana, who prevailed upon the Mamertines to admit him and a body of troops into their city, under pretence of defending it against Hiero their common enemy.

All the Mamertines did not agree to this measure. The greatest number of them proposed to call in the Romans to their affiftance, and an embaffy was accordingly fent to Rome for that purpose. As there was a mutual jealousy and rivalship betwixt the Carthaginian and Roman republics, and the Carthaginians, a short time before, had attempted to get possession of Tarentum in Italy before it submitted to the Roman confuls, the Romans ardently embraced this opportunity of curbing the enterprizing spirit of their powerful rivals, and promifed affiftance to the Mamertines. The Carthaginians, tho' they knew that the Romans were resolved to attempt to wrest Messana from them, would not evacuate the place, being determined to risk a war with that powerful republic, rather than allow them to intermeddle with their affairs in Sicily. They, doubtless, hoped also

and take possession of Mef-Sana. The Romans, at the entreaty of the Mamertines, undertake the defence of Meffanz.

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to humble a proud rival, whose interests in every respect clashed with theirs, and were likewise anxious to preserve the dominion of the sea, and that extensive trade which they then The Romans, it is plain, were not influenced by motives of equity to succour the Mamertines; for the year before they had extirpated the inhabitants of Rhegium, who had taken possession of that city, in the same treacherous manner as the Mamertines had seized Messana. They even pressed their affisfance upon the Mamertines; who when Claudius the military tribune arrived at their city, declared to him, that they were fatisfied with the Carthaginian garrison, and that it was needless for the Romans to intermeddle in their affairs. was, indeed, a Roman faction in the city, which, encouraged by the intrepidity of Claudius, seemed to express some desire of the affiltance of the Romans, altho' they were then greatly awed by the Carthaginian troops within their walls. eagerly interpreting this as a general invitation, returned to Italy to make the necessary dispositions for transporting a body

The Carthaginians being informed of the resolution taken at

of forces to Messana without delay.

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Rome to affift the Mamertines, fent a strong squadron of gallies, under the command of Hanno, to Sicily. Hanno being stationed off Messana, attacked the Roman fleet under Claudius, who was attempting to throw fuccours into that place. A fform arifing during the engagement, many of the Roman ships were dashed upon the rocks, and Hanno took several others; so that Claudius was obliged to fave himself in Rhegium. Hanno restored all the vessels he had taken from Claudius; but ordered the deputies he fent with them, to expostulate with the Roman general upon his infraction of the treaties sublisting between the Claudius fcornfully rejecting the prefent, an two republics. open rupture enfued; the Carthaginian deputies declaring, that they would not fuffer a Roman even to wash his hands in the Straits. Claudius foon after eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginians, and landing at Messana, Hanno, who now commanded their troops in that city, was forced by the Romans to They evacuate the place; for which he was afterwards crucified at oblige the Carthage; it being usual with them to inflict such a punishment. Carthaupon their generals who were unsuccessful. The Carthagini- ginians to ans being determined, at all events, to diflodge the Romans leave the from Messana, raised a formidable army, and equipped a pow-place. erful fleet for that purpose; appointing another Hanno, the son The Carof Hannibal, commander in chief of their forces. This gene- thaginiral landed his troops at Lilybæum, and advancing afterwards to ans, in Agrigentum, repaired the fortifications of the citadel. Ambaf- conjuncfadors, about the fame time, arriving at his camp from Hiero tion with king of Syracuse, to concert measures for driving the Romans Hiero, inout of Sicily, it was agreed to march with their united forces veil Mefagainst Mellana.

The Romans refusing, when summoned, to quit the place, Hanno put all the Italian soldiers in his army to the sword. He Vol. III.

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pitched his camp near cape Pelorus, where his fleet was flation. ed, to prevent any supplies entering the place by sea, while Hiero encamped on mount Chalcis, to cut off all communication betwixt the besieged and the neighbouring country. Abpius Claudius, the Roman conful, arriving soon after with an army at Rhegium, fent to Hiero, and conjured him, by the antient friendship betwixt the Romans and him, to defift from the fiege he had undertaken. Hiero absolutely refused to retire; and urged, that the Romans ought not, in justice, to undertake the defence of fuch a nest of banditti. The conful foon after landing with his troops in Sicily, attacked and defeated Hiero, who thereupon abandoned the fiege, and returned to Sv. Appius next attacked the Carthaginian entrenchments: but was repulsed with loss. The Carthaginians, however, imprudently pursuing him to the plain, were in their turn defeated, and obliged to raise the siege, the Romans afterwards carrying their arms further into the island, and reducing several The conful foon after departing, the Carthaginians and Hiero united their forces, and recovered feveral places which had been reduced by the Romans.

They are both obliged to raife the fiege.

Hieroconcludes an alliance with the Romans.

the war with the gour.

The following spring, both the Roman confuls arrived in Sicily, with two consular armies consisting each of 8000 legionaries and 600 horse. Having, without difficulty, reduced about 67 towns, they advanced with all their forces to Syracuse; which fo intimidated Hiero, who had some suspicion that he had been betrayed by the Carthaginians before Messana, that he entered into a treaty with the Romans. The confuls, by this treaty, having acquired a faithful and powerful ally, turned their whole force against the Carthaginians, who had used their The Car- utmost endeavours to obstruct the accommodation. thaginians thaginians still believed themselves able to sustain the whole burresolve to den of the war, and were so far from being dispirited on this profecute occasion, that they resolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner to drive the Romans out of Sicily, and even to oblige king Hiero to renounce his new alliance. They placed utmost vi- numerous garrisons in all their frontiers, perfected the works of their fortified towns, and fent officers with large fums of money to make levies in Liguria, Gaul, and Iberia. The Romans, nevertheless, carried on their conquests with great rapidity, and made themselves masters of many of the Carthaginian cities, feveral of which voluntarily opened their gates to the confuls, who at the end of the campaign took up their winter quarters at Rhegium.

The next campaign, the Carthaginians appointed Hanno commander in chief of all their forces. This general fixed his principal magazine at Agrigentum, which city the Roman confuls blocked up for four months, and then befieged in form. fiege happened in the middle of harvest; and the Carthaginian garrison observing great numbers of the Romans dispersed in the fields in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous fally, and had almost forced their intrenchments; but were

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at last beat back into the town. The Romans pushing on the fiege with great vigour, Hanno, who commanded the Carthaginian army, advanced to Erbeffa, and so streightened the Romans, who were engaged in the fiege, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions. In this extremity, however, they were supplied with provisions by Hiero, who from time to time fent confiderable convoys to their camp; and many Sicilian cities also joined them with a good body of forces. Hanno, finding that he could not oblige the Romans in that manner to raise the siege, advanced into a plain near the Roman Agrigencamp, and drew up his army in order of battle. The Roman tum, after generals having posted proper detachments to repulse the be- a long fieged if they should make a fally, and sent a body of troops to fiege, fall upon the Carthaginian rear, drew the rest of their troops taken by out of their entrenchments, and ventured an engagement. The the Ro-Carthaginian army was routed, with the loss of a great number mans. of men and some elephants; and Hannibal, who sallied out of the city with the garrison, was repulsed with considerable loss. Immediately afterwards he abandoned the place to the Romans, and Hanno fled with the broken remains of his army to Heraclea. The fiege of Agrigentum continued feven months, the Romans losing 30,000 foot and 540 horse before the town.

The Carthaginians, greatly chagrined at the ill success of their The Cartarms in this last campaign, attributed it, as usual, to the bad conthaginians duct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an impunish mense sum of money from Hanno by way of fine, but likewise their gederived him of his commission, and appointed Hamilear to neral by a command in his room. Hannibal, who commanded their sleet, fine. attempted to ravage the coasts of Italy; but the precautions of

the Romans rendered his endeavours ineffectual.

C. Duilius found means of transporting two legions to Sicily, Duilius reand laid fiege to Mytistratum; but notwithstanding the large pulsed by number of battering engines he had with him, he was obliged the Carto raise the siege, and retire with great loss. Hamilcar, the thagini-Carthaginian general, being apprehensive that a body of Gauls ans. in his army intended to defert to the enemy, because they had mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to storm a town defended by a Roman garrison; and giving the Romans notice of the intended attack, the Gauls were drawn into an ambuscade, and all cut off. The consul being ignorant of Hamilcar's views, judged that he had gained a fignal advantage; and animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for making an incursion into the Carthaginian territories. The Carthaginians, however, about this time, gaining an advantage over the Romans at sea, Duilius was recalled to command their Heet, and confequently was obliged to suspend the operations by land.

The Carthaginian fleets making feveral descents upon the The Carcoasts in Italy, the Romans were resolved to fit out a fleet with the cinians the design not only of defending their own coasts, and opening ravage the a free communication with Sicily, but also of carrying hostilities Italian

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to the coasts of Africa. The Romans had fitted out a small fleet of 17 gallies, which being decoyed by Hannibal into the port of Lipara, Boodes, the Carthaginian commander, who failed thither before them, perfuaded the Roman conful and the legionary tribunes attending him, to come on board his galley, under pretence of making proposals for a peace between the two republics. They no fooner came on board than he detained them prisoners; and then with ease making himself mafter of their gallies, he fent the conful, with many oher Romans, prisoners to Carthage. Soon after Hannibal committed great ravages on the coasts of Italy; but being attacked by the Romans, he lost the best part of his ships, and with great diffied by that culty made his escape *.

Their fleet is defeatof the Romans,

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fea.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Carthaginians, who were at this time one of the most powerful nations of the world by fea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the Roman The Romans, on the other hand, tho' they had gained an advantage over Hannibal, dreaded the naval force of the Carthaginians, and for this reason ordered C. Duilius to take upon him the command of the squadron in the straits of Rhegium. This conful having added a new machine to the prow of his gallies, called Corvus, by which he grapled the veffels of the Carthaginians, gained a fignal victory over Hannibal, who was obliged to abandon his septireme, and escape in a small boat. The loss of the Carthaginians in this engagement, is variously related by the Roman historians; but the most authentic acvictory at count of it is the inscription on the Columna Rostrata of Duilius, still preserved at Rome. According to Orosius and Zonaras, Hannibal, upon his arrival at Carthage, was in danger of being crucified; but by fome fubtle artifice averted the impending danger, and was only removed from the command of the fea forces. But according to Polybius, he was continued in that post, and was afterwards crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another diffrace from the Romans.

> After the departure of Duilius from Sicily, the arms of the Carthaginians, for fome time, were attended with success in that island. Hamilcar, who had fixed his head quarters at Panormus, being informed that a dispute had happened betwixt the Roman auxiliary troops and legionaries, and that the former had actually marked out a camp for themselves between Parapus and Therma, fell upon them before they could entrench themselves, and put 4000, or according to Diodorus, 6000, of them to the fword, and dispersed the rest. After this victory, Hamiltar made himself master of Camarina and Enna, and fortified Drepanum. Then advancing to Eryx, he almost razed that antient city, peopling Drepanum with its inhabitants. Many other cities he also reduced, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and would have made himself master of the

Hamilcar gains feveral advantages in Sicily.

b

whole island, if Florus, who succeeded Duilius in the command of the Roman army, had not behaved with great vigilance and bravery.

Hannibal, according to Polybius, after being defeated by Duilius, retired to Carthage, and being reinforced by a good number of gallies, and attended by many officers of great merit, again put to sea, and steered for Sardinia. While he was in one of the harbours of that island, he allowed himself to be surprized by the Romans, who carried off many of his ships, and took great numbers of his men prisoners. This so incenfed the rest, that they seized the admiral and crucissed him. Nothing surther material, according to Polybius, happened this

campaign or the following.

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In the campaign that succeeded, Hamilcar posted himself at Panormus, while C. Aquilius Florus, the Roman general, who in vain endeavoured to draw him to an engagement, took Hippana by storm, and besieged Mytistratum; which place the Romans had twice attempted before. Florus made his approaches so flowly, that before he could reduce the place, his authority expired. Early next spring his successor A. Atilius Collatinus, joining the army before Mytistratum with a strong body of mans, afforces, pushed on the siege with such vigour, that the Cartha- ter a long ginian forces abandoned the town in the night, and the citizens siege, take then opened their gates to the Romans. Many of the inhabi- Myzistratants, however, were massacred by the Roman soldiers, and lum, those who escaped the slaughter, were sold for slaves, their city being levelled with the ground. The consul next attacked Camarina; but in his march thither, he narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army by a stratagem of Hamilear. Receiving a large train of battering engines and other supplies from king Hiero, he at length made himself master of the place, Camarina, and fold the inhabitants who escaped the sword for slaves. He afterwards feized upon Enna by treachery, and massacred the and Enna. Carthaginian garrison; and in a very short time after reduced many other cities.

During these transactions, L. Cornelius Scipio, the collegue Corsica of Florus, had sailed with a squadron to Corsica, and taken and part Aleria, the capital city, by storm. Scipio sailed from Corsica to of Sardi-Sardinia; but upon entering the port of Olbia, he was so struck nia also with the appearance of the whole Carthaginian squadron, which reduced was there riding at anchor, that he retreated in a precipitate by manner. Some authors, however, relate, that he soon after returned and reduced Olbia, and several other places of less note; but could not make himself master of the whole island *. Hamilcar being informed, the year following, that the Romans

Hamilear being informed, the year following, that the Romans had a defign upon Lipara, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the conful, who when he had attacked the place, was repulfed with confiderable loss. About the same time the Romans made themselves masters of Sardinia.

The

^{*} Polyb. Liv. Zenar. Flor. Oros. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ij.

The Roman general in Sicily, by means of some deserters impoling upon the Carthaginian admiral, and persuading him that the Romans intended to land in Africa, abandoned Sardinia and failed for Carthage. Sulpitius, the Roman admiral, being apprifed of the intelligence given them, posted himself in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or funk, by favour of the night, most of their ships. The good success of this stratagem, encouraged the Romans now in good earnest to prepare for an expedition to Africa, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate Sicily, and procure an advantage. ous peace.

The following year, from Zonaras, it feems probable, that the Roman forces in Sicily befieged Lipara a fecond time, tho' they had been routed by the Carthaginians towards the close of the last campaign. M. Attilius Regulus, one of the new confuls, had two naval engagements with the Carthaginians off the coasts of Sicily. In the first he lost nine gallies; but in the fecond he routed the Carthaginians, finking ten and taking eight of their vessels. The other conful, about the same time.

As neither of the late actions had been decifive, both parties made fuch vast and expeditious preparations, that the ensuing

laid waste the island of Melita.

receive a terrible at fea.

fummer, the ninth year of this war, they collected their whole naval force in order to determine the fate of Sicily as well as The Car- the dominion of the fea. The two Roman confuls affembled thaginians their fleet, which confifted of 330 gallies of different fizes, at Messana, and took their land-forces on board at Ecnomos in Sicily. About the same time the Carthaginian squadron, comoverthrow posed of 350 fail, arrived at Heraclea Minoa, and made the neceffary dispositions for a decisive battle. The Roman squadron was manned with their best troops, and separated into four divisions. Each galley contained 300 rowers, and 120 foldiers; fo that the whole force on board amounted to near 140,000 men. Polybius feems to infinuate, that the combined naval and land-forces of the Carthaginians, could not have been less than 150,000 strong. In the engagement that followed, the Carthaginians, by retreating when the action began, feparated the Roman fleet. The Romans, nevertheless, who were separated from the rest, after an obstinate engagement gained the victory by the affiftance of their corvi, by which they obliged the Carthaginians to come to a close engagement. The remaining division of the Carthaginian fleet attacked that of the Romans in two different parts; fo that at the same time there were three fea-fights, the combatants in each being almost within fight of one another. The first division of the Roman fleet having gained the victory, returned to the affiftance of the other two; and by that superiority, enabled them entirely to defeat the Carthaginians, the ardour of whose attack was greatly abated by their dread of the corvi. The Romans loft only 24 gallies in this action; but of the Carthaginians, 30 were funk

and 63 taken by the victors.

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The Carthaginians, after this battle, made propofals of peace The Roto the Romans, chiefly with a design to amuse the consuls, and mans land divert them from the African expedition. The confuls, how- in Africa, ever, rejecting their propofals, failed foon after for Africa with their whole fleet, and landed a powerful army at Clypea. Romans having made themselves masters of this place without and take much difficulty, left a strong garrison in it to secure their ship- a great ping, and moved with the rest of their army near Carthage, many reducing a great number of towns on their march. They places. plundered also a great number of villages, laid very many noblemens feats in ashes, and took above 20,000, Eutropius savs 27,000, prisoners. Having scoured the country almost to the gates of Carthage, the Romans returned with an immense booty to Clypea, where the best part of their troops again embarked and returned to Italy. Regulus the conful remained in Africa with only 40 ships, 15,000 foot, and 500 horse; which gave fresh courage to the Carthaginians, who upon the first landing of the Romans had been struck with the greatest consternation. milear arriving from Sicily with 5000 foot and 500 horse, he with Afdrubal and Bostar, as joint commanders, took the field with an army. Regulus, in the mean time, after committing great ravages on the fea coast, advanced to Bagrada in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where, with his battering engines, he flew a ferpent of a monstrous fize, which, if Ælius Tubero may be believed, found the whole Roman army for some time in employ.

Hamiltar and his collegues, hearing that Regulus had formed Regulus the fiege of Addis, or Adda, a fortress of great consequence to gains a Carthage, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. fignal vic-They encamped in his neighbourhood upon fome heights co-tory over vered with woods, which was a capital error, and occasioned the Carthe defeat of their army; their fituation rendering their ele- thaziniphants and cavalry, which was their chief strength, useless in ans. the action which enfued. Regulus attacking them in the night, many of the Carthaginians had their throats cut in bed, and others loft their lives before they could lay hold of their arms to defend themselves. The Spanish and Gallic mercenaries in their fervice, however, behaved with great bravery, and not only repulfed the first legion, but forced them to fly to their The Carthaginians lost 17,000, or according to Eutropius 18,000, men in the battle and pursuit; 18 elephants were also taken, 5000 men made prisoners, and the rest disperfed. Regulus, after this action, burnt all the open places, and reduced, according to some, above 200 cities, among which were Utica and Tunis; but according to Eutropius, the conful only conquered 73 towns.

To complete the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the Nu- The Afimidians declared against them, and committed dreadful devasta- cans and tions in their territories, which occasioned a famine in Car- Numidians thage. The African nations more immediately subject to Car- declare thage, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, also declared for for the N 4 the Romans.

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the Romans, who now carried every thing before them. Regulus, hoping that the Carthaginians would consent to any terms, offered them a peace, being afraid that his fucceffor would rob him of the glory he had acquired. The terms prescribed by Regulus were so intolerable, that the Carthaginians resolved to suffer all extremities rather than submit to them, tho' their country was almost desolated, and they had lost, according to some, 200,000 prisoners. Regulus having sent great part of his booty to Rome, encamped with his victorious army before Carthage, full of confidence that he would foon reduce the place *.

Some mercena-Xantippus arrive at Cartbage from Greece.

The Carcounfels of Xanthippus,

who entirely defeats Reprisoner.

Whilst matters remained in this melancholy situation, a Carthaginian officer returned from Greece with a body of mercenaries under ries, who were commanded by Xantippus, a Lacedamonian, a person of great bravery and military skill. Having informed himself wherein the main strength of the Carthaginian forces lay, he blamed their generals for encamping on the hills, and declared, that by an opposite conduct, they might still retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being unanimously appointed commander in chief, he taught them to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art according to the Lacedæmonian manner. Xantippus having inthaginians structed his troops, and inspired him with confidence, he drew follow the them up in battalia in a large plain, and advanced against the Romans, tho' his troops did not amount to above 16,000 men. Regulus being elated with his fuccess, held the Carthaginians in great contempt, and now acted in a very inconfiderate manner. He overfatigued his men, exposed them to the parties of the Carthaginians posted on eminences to annoy them in their march, and to crown all, passed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat in case any missfortune happened. Xantippus taking his advantage of these imprudent steps, gained a compleat victory, 2000 Romans only escaping, all the rest being taken prisoners or slain. Of the Carthaginians, 800 were killed in this action; but of the Romans, it may be concluded from *Polybius*, near 13,000 must have fallen. gulus, and cording to Eutropius, 30,000 Romans lost their lives in this battakes him tle, and 15,000 were taken prisoners; but on this supposition, Regulus must either have received a strong reinforcement from Rome, or been joined by a large body of Africans; which last is not improbable. Xantippus took Regulus himself, and 500 of his men, prisoners in the pursuit, and immediately carried them to Carthage.

The Carthaginians treated all the Roman prisoners, except Regulus, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the Romans to behave with lenity to the Carthaginian prifoners in their hands. Regulus having, in the height of his profperity, infulted them, they now treated him with great indig-

^{*} Appian, Polybe Oro'. Eutrop. Zonar. Died. Sic. Aur. Via. Flor. nity,

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nity, and threw him into a dungeon, where they allowed him only sustenance barely to keep him alive. The Carthaginians, upon this victory, repaired to the temples in crouds, to return thanks to their gods for fo fignal a victory, and hung up in these temples the arms taken from the enemy. According to some authors, they foon forgot the vast obligation they were under to Xantippus, and even shewed themselves guilty of most shocking ingratitude to him and the mercenaries who had faved there from ruin. According to them, they either actually destroyed Xantippus, or attempted his destruction; and not only dismiffed the mercenaries without paying them their arrears, but in their paffage home left them exposed on a desolate island. But as Polybius, Livy, Florus, Eutropius, and other historians, make no mention of these circumstances, they deserve, we think, but little credit. Historians are not at all agreed as to the fate of Regulus. Some Roman writers relate, that he was put to death by tortures at Carthage; but add many romantic circumstances, which render their accounts very improbable.

The Carthaginians having re-established their affairs in Africa, began to threaten even Italy itself with an invasion. The Romans, to oppose them, placed strong garrisons in all their maritime towns, and fitted out a new fleet, in hopes of raising some fresh disturbances in Africa. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, made a fruitless attempt upon Clypea and Utica, which were relieved by the Roman squadron. Tho' they could not fo eafily regain the towns on the fea-shore, yet they recovered the towns on the frontiers of Numidia without much difficulty. They again put to sea with a fleet of 200 fail; but the Romans defeating them off cape Hermea, landed without opposition at Clypea, and routing them in a pitched battle near that place, carried off the remains of the army of Regulus to Sicily. In their passage thither, the Romans met with so dread- The Roful a storm, that almost their whole fleet was lost; all the sea- man fleet coasts from Camarina to Pachynum were strewed with the dead destroyed bodies of men and horses, as well as the wrecks of ships.

Immediately after this difaster, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, made himself master of Agrigentum, which he laid in The Carthaginians, to support him, sent Asarubal to Sicily with a large reinforcement of troops and 150 elephants. About the fame time they fent Hamikar with an army into The Car-Mauritania and Numidia to punish the people of those coun-thaginians tries for shewing a disposition to join the Romans. Hamilear reduce treated them with the utmost rigour and severity, causing all and punish their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer their refort to the fword, and exacting from the rest 1000 talents of volted filver, besides 20,000 head of cattle. Tho' they met with some subjects. success in Sicily, yet their army could not prevent the Romans from taking possession of Panormus, the capital of their dominions in that island. In the end of the campaign, they took several Roman ships laden with money and other valuable effects,

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The Carthaginians, notwithstanding all their disasters, suffered less at sea than the Romans, who considering their great losses on that element, began to lay aside all thoughts of con-The year after, losing 160 tinuing their naval armaments. gallies more on the coasts of Sicily, they actually dropt all fur. mans leave ther attention to naval affairs, and left the Carthaginians masthe sea to ters of the sea. Their soldiers also being terrified by the great havock made by the elephants at the battle gained by Kantip. the Carpus for the two succeeding years, fled at the approach of those furious animals, which prevented the war from being carried on by them with any vigour. But the Romans, being uneafy at the flow progress of their arms in Sicily, were at length induced to attempt making a figure once more by fea.

but gain an advantage over them at Panormus.

thagini-

ans,

Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, perceiving how much the Romans were afraid of his elephants, marched out of Lilybaum, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, in order to draw the Romans to a battle. After he had passed the river Orethus, Metellus, the Roman commander, taking him at an advantage, attacked him with great fury, and gained a fignal victory; the Carthaginians losing a vast number of men in the action, besides many elephants, ten of which were taken with their Indian leaders. The Carthaginian elephants, after this battle, were no longer the dread of the Roman troops. According to Zonaras, the Carthaginian fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of their land-forces: for vast numbers of Afdrubal's foldiers endeavouring to make their escape on board the gallies, fell into the fea and were drowned. The Celtes in the army of Asdrubal, according to Diodorus, got drunk with wine before the action, and occasioning great confusion, encouraged the Romans to venture an engagement. This action happened in the 14th year of the Punic war.

Soon after the Carthaginians receiving intelligence that the Romans intended to form the fiege of Lilybaum, they reinforced the garrison with a large body of chosen troops, and furnished the fortifications in fuch a manner, as to render the place almost impregnable. The Roman confuls, nevertheless, laid siege to the place, the garrison of which was commanded by Himileo, an officer of great conduct and bravery. The Romans carried on their attacks with great vigour, and were no less vigorously repulfed. The garrison being very numerous, Himilco made frequent fallies; in some of which as much blood was spilt as in pitched battles. The Romans attempted, but with little fuccefs, to undermine the walls: but what they could not effect by force, they endeavoured to accomplish by treachery. Some of the leaders of the mercenaries who had escaped the vigilance of the centinels and come to the Roman camp, were corrupted by the confuls, and promifed to deliver the place into their hands. One Alexon, an Achaian, discovering the whole conspiracy to Himileo, he took such prudent measures, as defeated the defigns of the traitors. For upon their return from the Roman camp, they found their men fo far from liftening to their

The confuls lay fiege to Lilybæum. fuffer-

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their fuggestions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmost fury. According to Zonaras, the mercenaries, induced by the length of the fiege and a want of pay, began to think of betraying the city; but Himilco having paid the officers their arrears, appealed the minds of the soldiers by large promises, which he was soon enabled to fulfil. He rewarded Alexon for his fidelity, and continued his fallies upon the Romans with the usual success; having, in the mean time, received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, and a large supply of provisions. Soon after the Romans cutting off all communication betwixt Lilybæum and the other Carthaginian territories. the garrison was reduced to some difficulties. A storm arising, All their and rendering useless all the Roman battering engines, and over-battering throwing many of the towers they had erected, the Greek machines troops in garrifon made a fally, and not only destroyed the ma-being dechines that had escaped the fury of the tempest, but put a stroved. great number of the Romans to the fword. The confuls, up- they turn on this unexpected blow, turned the fiege into a blockade; the fiege the befieged, on the other hand, repairing all the breaches into a made in their works, and even adding several new fortifica-blockade.

tions. The following year, Claudius the conful put to fea with a powerful fleet, in order to furprize Drepanum, which, with Lilybaum, were the only two places of consequence in Sicily in possession of the Carthaginians. Claudius was totally routed The Roby Adherbal, the Carthaginian admiral, and escaped only with mans are 30 vessels to Lilybaum. As this was the greatest blow the Ro-defeated mans had hitherto received by fea, nothing was now celebrated with great at Carthage but the praises of Adherbal, who had given such a loss in a check to their proud and infulting enemy. Adherbal filled all sea enhis magazines at Drepanum, and furnished Lilybaum with a gagemost plentiful supply of provisions which he had taken from ment. The Carthaginians, at this time, being mafters the Romans. at fea, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and reduced the natives to the extremest poverty. Adherbal, soon after, detaching Carthalo with 100 gallies, gained several advantages over the Roman squadrons before Lilybaum, and at last had the plea-

with them by land, and appointed Hamilear, surnamed Bareas, their general.

They seem, at this time, to have been engaged in a war upon the continent of Africa as well as in Sicily. For, according to Diodorus, Hanno, one of their generals, entered Libya with a powerful army, took a city called Hecatompylos, and carried

off from thence 3000 hostages to Carthage.

fure of seeing them totally destroyed by a storm. Notwith-standing all the losses the Romans had sustained, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum with great firmness, being determined, if possible, to carry the place. As the Romans, now again, dropt their naval armaments, in which they had been very unsuccessful, the Carthaginians began to entertain hopes of coping

Hamilar

Hamilcar comthe Carthaginians.

He fuccessfully opposes the Romans.

They felves to maval af-Mirs.

Hamiltar receiving full power from the senate to act as he appointed should think fit for the service of the republic, set fail for Carthage in the 18th year of this war, being then, according to mander in Cornelius Nepos, a perfect youth. After ravaging the coasts of the Locrians and Brutians, he made a descent near Panormus with all his forces; and encamping between that city and Eryx, fent out fome gallies, which made descents upon the Italian coasts as far as Cumæ, and laid the country waste wherever they moved. For some time both he and the Roman generals made it their whole business to observe each others motions. By marches and counter marches, by rencounters and ambuscades, and by military stratagems of all kinds, the Roman confuls and he strove who should shew the greatest skill and dex. terity. Both the Carthaginian and Roman camps were by art and nature rendered impregnable; fo that neither fide could force the other to a battle. The military operations, therefore, for a confiderable period of time, confifted in rencounters betwixt parties, who on both fides behaved with great bravery; tho' from Polybius and Diodorus, it would feem that the fuccess was generally on the side of the Carthaginians.

The Romans, who had imagined that their land-forces were again ap-more than a match for those of the Carthaginians, now finding ply them- themselves greatly mistaken, began to think of applying themfelves again to naval affairs. In order to this, a fleet was equipped by private persons, with the design of plundering the Carthaginian territories. This squadron committed great depredations on the coast of Africa, and entering the port of Hippo by forcing the barrier at the mouth of the harbour, burnt the shipping and the greatest part of the town. Having filled their veffels with spoils, they returned to Panormus, near which place they gained an advantage over the Carthaginian fleet. One of the confuls, in the mean time, pushed on the siege of Lilybaum, and the other that of Drepanum. Fabius, who carried on the fiege of Drepanum, joined the little island of Peliadis with incredible labour to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave Hamilcar terribly haraffed the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering frequently the coasts of Italy.

> About three years after Hamilcar's arrival in Sicily, he made himself master of Eryx by surprize, and maintained himself in the advantageous post he had gained, tho' the Romans had strong detachments entrenched both at the top and bottom of the mountain on which the city was built. Both fides remained in this fituation for the space of two years, during which time the Romans continued the blockade of Lilybaum. The Romans in the consulship of Lutatius Catulus, fitted out a fleet of 200 quinqueremes, which was equipped at the expence of private persons, and commanded by Lutatius; who in the first place possessed himself of the port of Drepanum, and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of Lilybaum. Soon after, the

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Romans attempted to take Drepanum by florm; but the conful being wounded, their attempt proved fruitless. Not long after The Cara general engagement happened betwixt the two fleets near the thaginian islands of Ægades, in which the Carthaginians were entirely de-fleet totalfeated. Florus fays, that the Carthaginian fleet was fo heavy ly defeatladen with troops, baggage, arms, provisions, &c. that the ed in a whole city of Carthage seemed to have been on board, and that general the vessels could not move with any freedom. Polybius, whose engageaccount ought chiefly to be relied upon, fays, that the Romans ment. funk 50 of the Carthaginian vessels, and took 70 with their crews, the rest making off in great confusion to the isle of Hiera. Lutatius, following his blow, advanced to the city of Eryx, where he cut off 2000 Carthaginians, which last action concluded the operations of the first Punic war.

Hamilcar, who was now reduced to the greatest extremity, Hamilcar was required by the conful to deliver up his arms to him; but he obliged to rejected this haughty demand with scorn and indignation. The conclude conful being defirous to have the honour of concluding the war, a peace. then agreed to peace; which the senate and people of Rome refused to ratify, thinking that the republic of Carthage was now They fent ten deputies to Sicily, to inlying at their mercy. form themselves of the state of affairs in that island; these deputies ratified the treaty after they had in some measure new modelled it. As these hard conditions were extorted from Hamiltar by the Romans, because they saw him not in a situation to refuse them, he from this moment conceived an invincible aversion to that nation. Both fides fuffered extremely by the war, the Romans having loft, fince their first putting to sea, 700 ships, and the Though, in the opinion of Polybius, the Carthaginians 500. Roman foldiers were far superior to the Carthaginian in valour and resolution, yet Hamilcar, in his judgment, was the greatest captain of the age.

This bloody and expensive war was no sooner concluded, The Lithan the Carthaginians found themselves engaged in another, byan war, which had like to have proved fatal to them. Being greatly or war of exhausted by the war, they delayed to pay off and discharge the merthe mercenaries that had returned from Sicily, on which ac-cenaries. count thefe troops took arms, and quickly became extremely This war, which for three years and a half preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, was attended with fuch instances of cruelty as are scarce to be paralelled in history. Gifco, who was entrusted by Hamiltar with the care of transporting the mercenaries to Africa, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them off all at once, but in small and separate parties, that those who came first might be paid off The Carand sent home before the arrival of the rest. The Carthaginians, thaginians. however, omitted discharging them as they arrived, in hopes prevail of obtaining from the whole body of them a remission of some with the part of their arrears, by pleading the great diffress of the repub-mercenalic. Being foon made fensible of their wrong conduct on this ries to occasion, by the frequent disorders these barbarians committed leave Car-

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in the city, they with some difficulty prevailed on the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood. As they gave them some money to induce them to remove, they most imprudently insisted that they should take their wives, children, and baggage along with them; whereas, had these remained in Carthage, they would have been as so many hostages for the future good behaviour of the foldiers.

neglectarrears;

As the mercenaries were wholly immerfed in idleness, to ing to pay which they had long been strangers, a neglect of discipline enthem their fued, and of course a petulant and licentious spirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquiesce in receiving their bare pay, but to infift upon the rewards promifed them by Hamilcar, and even to force the state of Carthage to comply with their demands. Hanno, who was fent by the fenate to appeale their clamours, expatiated upon the poverty of the state, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded, and imprudently defired them to be fatisfied they take with part of their pay. By this impolitic step, the mercenaries were fo highly exasperated, that they immediately had recourse to arms, and encamped before Tunis, to the number of 20,000 men. As these troops were composed of several different nations, and had neither the same connections nor the same language, there was almost an utter impossibility of making them hearken to the dictates of reason.

them.

arms.

The Carthaginians now offered them supplies of provisions at thaginians their own prices, and fent a deputation of fenators to confer endeavour with their chiefs, and if possible to satisfy them; but these to appeale concessions, instead of bringing them back to their duty, only rendered them more insolent; and considering the republic as destitute of troops, and themselves as the best soldiers in the world, they rose in their demands, without the least regard to reason, justice, or moderation. The Carthaginians, finding themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity, shewed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, and agreed to refer themfelves to some general in Sicily, as they had all along defired, leaving the choice of such commander to them. They believing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, because he had never appeared among them, chose Gisco for arbitrator. Gisco soon after arriving at Tunis with money to pay the troops, harangued them in a mild and infinuating manner, declared that their reasonable demands should be complied with; but begged them to recede from all exorbitant claims. His discourse made such an impression upon them, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of the principal mutineers, occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. Spendius was a Campanian deferter, and had been a flave at Rome. He was a ftrong, lufty, and extremely bold fellow, and being apprehenfive of being delivered to his old mafter, by whom he was fure to be hanged or crucified, he used his utmost endeavours to interrupt

Spendius and Mathos prevent an accomterrupt an accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raifing the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Carthaginians, he knew that a peace would infallibly prove his ruin, and therefore very warmly espoused the designs of Spendius. By their feditious discourses, the troops were inspired with a degree of fury against the Carthaginians and Gisco; and whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or testified an inclination to temperate counsels, was stoned to death by the enraged multitude. Being at this very juncture heated with wine, which the They are

Carthaginians had imprudently supplied them with, they gave a chosen gefull vent to their rage and infolence, and chose Spendius and nerals by

Mathos for their leaders.

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Gisco, in the midst of these commotions, behaved with great neers. prudence, and left no methods untried to soften the officers, and calm the minds of the foldiery, though at the same time he kept up an air of dignity and command; but the torrent of fedition was now become so strong and rapid, that there was no possibility of stemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A fearcity of provisions succeeding their late plenty and profusion, the troops, in an infolent manner, demanded of Gifco an immediate supply, who, to reprove their insolence, bade them go to Mathos their captain for it. This cutting answer so irritated them, that they instantly seized upon the military chest, dividing the money amongst themselves in part of their arrears. They also put Gisco under arrest, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmost indignity. Mathos and Spendius loaded the unhappy Gifco and his followers with irons, and

formally declared war against the Carthaginians.

The African cities, being invited by them to recover their li- The Afriberty, foon came over to them, except Utica and Hippo-Diar- can cities thytus or Hippacra. Their army by this means being greatly declare encreased, they divided it into two bodies, with one of which for them. they moved towards Utica, whilst the other marched against The Carthaginians, in the mean time, found themselves ready to fink under the pressure of their mistortunes, their city having never been exposed to such imminent danger. They were not only deprived of their revenues and tribute arifing from their African territories, but these were turned directly against them. They were destitute of forces and arms either for lea or land, and had not the least prospect of receiving affistance from any foreign friend or ally; to such a melancholy situation had they reduced themselves, by their numerous instances of cruelty, injustice, and ill-conduct. During the war with the Romans, they had most tyrannically oppressed all the African nations subject to them; so that it is not to be wondered at, that the Africans were so easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, feen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable and grievous taxes, as likewife suffering cruel deaths for the slightest crimes, shewed themielves

themselves every where extremely active in promoting a revolt, and gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war, which enabled Mathos and Spendius to raise immense sums.

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Carthage blocked up, and fieged by pacra. them.

The Carthaginians pursued all the measures necessary to put themselves in a posture of defence, and to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. Mathos and Spendius, stationing the main Utica and body of their troops at Tunis, kept Carthage in a manner block. Hippo be- ed up, while large detachments laid fiege to Utica and Hip-The Africans advanced to the walls of Carthage by day as well as by night, and treated with the utmost cruelty every Carthaginian that fell into their hands. Hanno, whom the Carthaginians had declared general, marched to the relief of

ca;

Utica with a large body of troops, 100 elephants, and a train of Hanno re- battering engines. By the help of his elephants, which made lieves Uti- great flaughter of the enemy, he broke into their intrenchments. and made himself master of their camp. The advantage he gained was fo confiderable, that it might have proved decifive. had he made a proper use of it; but not entertaining a right idea of these veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of Hamilcar in Sicily, to fly before an enemy, face about and attack their pursuers in one and the same day, as occasion should require, he imagined that he had routed a body of raw undifciplined Africans and Numidians, who, upon any defeat, gene-butallows rally retired into the heart of the country. He therefore rehimselfas- mained in Utica in great security, his troops, who were to guard his camp, being in the mean time off their duty. The to be de- mercenaries, who had rallied on a neighbouring eminence, obferving this neglect, poured down upon the Carthaginians, cut many of them off, forced the rest to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and feized on all the provisions and military stores brought from Carthage to the relief of the befieged. Hanno foon after gave other proofs of his military in-

capacity. Though he was incamped in a most advantageous

manner near a town called Gorza, at which place he twice

overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally

ruined them, he yet neglected to improve these advantages,

and even fuffered the mercenaries to possess themselves of the

terwards feated.

isthmus which joined Carthage to the continent of Africa. Such repeated miftakes, which had almost proved fatal to the mand of republic, highly displeased the Carthaginians, and induced them the army once more to place Hamiltar Barcas at the head of the forces,

is given to though he was of the opposite faction to that headed by Hanno Hamilcar, Hamilcar marched against the enemy with an army of about 10,000 men horse and foot, and 70 elephants, all that the Carthaginians were then able to assemble. As the mercenaries were very advantageously situated on the banks of the Bagrada, Hamilcar durst not venture to pass that river before them, but had recourse to a stratagem: observing that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with fand, he halted there for some time, without communicating to

any one his defign; and the wind, in a few days, favouring his wishes, he passed the river privately by night, and immediately marched to attack the mercenaries, who, well knowing the great abilities of Hamiltar, were thrown into the utmost conflernation. As they were very numerous, and ventured to advance against him, in hopes of surrounding him, Hamilear changed his order of battle; whereupon, the enemy believing that he intended to fly, fell upon him in an irregular manner. but were themselves entirely defeated. Hamilcar, having flain 6000 of them, and taken 2000 prisoners, did not give them time to recover from their defeat, but obliged them to retreat with great precipitation to Tunis. Many of the revolted towns now submitted to the Carthaginians, and others Hamiltar re-

duced by force.

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Notwithstanding this defeat, Mathos pushed on the siege of who gains Hippo with great vigour, and appointed Spendius and Autaritus, a fignal commander of the Gauls, to observe the motions of Hamiltar, victory Heatthe same time folicited the Numidians and neighbouring Afri- over the tans to fend him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to mercena make their utmost efforts to affert their independency. Spendius ries. and Autaritus, having received strong reinforcements of Africans and Numidians, marched to attack Hamiltar, who was far inferior to them in numbers and strength. In the mean time, one Naravasus, a young Numidian nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, and greatly attached to the Carthaginians, came with 100 Numidian horse to the Carthaginian lines, and defired to speak with their general. As the guards appeared a little diffident of him, he difmounted, and leaving his horse and arms with his followers, he came, without the least diffrust or sufpicion, to Hamilcar's tent, and told him, that he was well difposed towards the Carthaginian nation in general; but to contract a friendship for him, for whom he had the most profound veneration and esteem, was the height of his ambition. Hamilear, greatly admiring fo generous, polite, and gallant ari action, made him an equal return of politeness and generosity: he made him his confident in all points whatfoever; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Two thousand Numidians following the example of Naravasus, He gains Hamiltar was enabled to face the enemy, who were entirely a fecond defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men left dead upon the spot, be- victory. sides 4000 taken prisoners. Hamiltar received among his troops all those prisoners who were willing to engage in the Carthaginian service, and allowed the rest to depart, on condition that they should never afterwards bear arms against the Carthaginians.

The chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this affected le- The barnity of Hamilear might occasion a defection among their troops, barity and in order to prevent it, thought of putting them upon some inhumaaction fo execrable, as should deprive them of all hopes of ever nity of the being reconciled to the enemy. Having accordingly affembled mercenathem in a formal manner, fictitious letters were produced, ries, pretending to give a discovery of a fecret defign to rescue Gisco

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and his followers out of prison at Tunis. The chiefs then expatiated upon the danger of trusting to the Carthaginians; and a fecond courier being produced with other dispatches confirming the former, it was unanimously agreed to prevent the escape of Gisco by putting him to death. In conformity to this decree, the mercenaries first stoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the Carthaginians, and then executed Gisco, with 700 of his countrymen, as the vilest malefactors. The Carthaginians were greatly affected with the news of these inhuman cruelties, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. The mercenaries, not contented with what they had done, passed a decree, ordaining, that their countrymen in the Carthaginian fervice, who should happen to be taken prisoners, should have their hands cut off, and then be fent to Carthage, which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. As these infernal practices are, on the one fide, proofs of the more than ferine disposition of the Africans, they may, on the other, be confidered as strong intimations of Carthaginian oppression, since human nature, wicked as it is, feems fcarce capable of fuch cruelties, except it be in the highest degree irritated and inflamed.

which is retaliated by the Carthaginians,

who are

great diftress by

of Utica

Hamilcar, being joined by Hanno, resolved to act vigorously against the mercenaries. In order to deter them from their barbarous proceedings, he threw all the prisoners that fell into his hands to wild beafts. Several unlucky accidents at this juncture, again depressed the Carthaginians, who, from the late successes of Hamilear, were in great hopes of quickly re-establishing their affairs. By reason of a misunderstanding between the generals, who were the heads of opposite factions, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy. A great supreduced to ply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea from Emporium, were all cast away in a storm. Sardinia, which had always served the revolt them as a magazine, was totally loft; and, to compleat all their other misfortunes, Utica and Hippacra at length joined in the and Hippo. revolt. The citizens, not fatisfied with entering into an alliance with Mathos and Spendius, massacred the Carthaginian garrison.

Carthage belieged by the mercenaries.

The Carthaginians, feeing the enemy a fecond time before their walls, and being apprized of the division betwixt their own generals, resolved to separate them. The determination of this point being left to the army, they gave the preference to Hamilcar; upon which Hanno returned to Carthage, and Hannibal was fent to supply his place. There being now a perfect harmony between the commanders, the military operations were The Car- no longer clogged. The army, however, not being able thaginians wholly to relieve the garrison and inhabitants of Carthage, the affilted by fenate were obliged to have recourse to the friends of the Hiero and republic, particularly to Hiero king of Syracuse, who granted by the Ro- what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole course of this war. They also applied to the Romans for affistance,

mans.

affiftance, though they had, fince the conclusion of the last treaty, disobliged them. At the beginning of this war they feized upon feveral Roman vessels trading to the coasts of Africa. for supplying the enemy with military stores and provisions, and detained the crews, confifting of 500 men, in cuftody. The Romans, threatning the Carthaginians with their refentment, they immediately fent both the men and ships to Rome. The Romans, pleased with their manner of complying with their request, fent to Carthage all the prisoners that remained in their hands fince the late war without ransom, ordered their merchants to affift Carthage with what it wanted, and prohibited all commerce with the Africans. Though both the malecontents of Africa and Sardinia offered to submit to them, and to put them in possession of Utica and Sardinia, they refused to hearken to their proposals. Soon after, Mathos and Spendius, being extremely harassed by Hamilcar, found themselves obliged to abandon the fiege.

Notwithstanding this disgrace, the revolters, being joined by The mer-

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an African chief named Zarzas, with all his people capable of cenaries bearing arms, they again took the field with an army of 50,000 are joined effective men. They, however, kept on the hills, and watch-by new reed the motions of Hamilcar, who frequently outwitted them, inforcefometimes dispossessing them of their advantageous posts, at ments. other times drawing them into ambuscades, and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. He at last surprized them when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. They were, in a fhort time, fo forely pressed by famine, as to be obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, fays Polybius, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exercised on others. As they knew the punishments that would await them if they fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, they did not for some time entertain the least thought of peace; but at length, prompted by the extremity of misery which they suffered, they insisted that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas should, in person, make proposals to Hamiltar, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a fafe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents should be left entirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians; and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only in a fingle coat. The treaty was no fooner concluded, than Hamilear, by virtue of the first article, seized upon the negotiators themselves, which savoured not a little of Punic subtlety. The army being informed that their chiefs were under arrest, They are and at the same time being ignorant of the articles of the treaty, entirely had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting that they were overbetrayed; but Hamilcar, drawing out his army in order of thrown by

battle, immediately furrounded them, and either cut them to Hamilear.

Mathos

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nibal;

pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The number of the wretches who perished, amounted to above 40,000.

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After this compleat victory, many of the revolted towns returning to their obedience, Hamilcar invested Tunis, into which place Mathos retired with all his remaining forces. Hamiltan caused Spendius and the rest of the prisoners to be led out in view of the besieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos being excited by this spectacle to be more watchful in his own deand routs fence, and observing that the guards in the quarters of Hannibal were remiss in their duty, he made a fally on that side, killed thaginian many of his men, took feveral prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of Spendius from the cross on which it was fixed, he substituted Hannibal in its place, and crucified round him 30 Carthaginian prisoners of distinction; Fortune, as Polybius expresses it, giving both fides an opportunity of vying with each other in point

of cruelty.

Upon this misfortune *Hamiltar* decamped, and posted himself along the sea-coast near the mouth of the river Bagrada; and the Carthaginians, being greatly alarmed with this repulse, sent 30 senators to his camp, together with Hanno. These senators, by their pressing entreaties, prevailed with Hanno to be reconciled to Hamilcar; and the senate, at the same time, ordering all the youth capable of bearing arms to be preffed into the fervice, Hamiltar foon found himself again in a condition to but is also act offensively. He drew Mathos into frequent ambuscades, totally de- and gave him a fignal defeat near Leptis, which reduced him to feated by the necessity of hazarding a decisive battle. In this action the Hamilear. malecontents were entirely routed, most of their army falling in the field of battle and in the pursuit; Mathos, with a few others, escaping to a neighbouring town, were taken, and carried alive to Carthage. Upon this defeat, all the revolted towns returned to their duty, except Utica and Hippo, which were foon reduced by Hamiltar. Mathos, having adorned the public triumph, was put to death by tortures. From the fad calamities which attended this cruel war, now happily concluded by Hamiltar, Polybius justly remarks, that those states must be exposed to the greatest dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by interest or affection.

The mercenaries revolt, and are siland.

During this war against Spendius and Mathos, the mercenaries in Sardinia also revolted; and seizing upon Bostar the governor in Sardinia of Olbia, maffacred both him and the Carthaginian garrifon. Hanno being fent over thither with an army, foon after his landing was abandoned by his men, who, joining the mercenasupported ries, not only crucified him, but put to the sword all the Carthaby the Ro-ginians they could find in the island. The mercenaries, being mans, who foon after expelled by the natives, took shelter in Italy, and the take pos- Romans, contrary to justice, taking them under their protec-fession of tion, sent the consul Sempronius on trisling pretences to reinstate them, and to take possession of Sardinia. The Carthaginians,

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being now in a manner exhausted, were obliged to cede the island to them; but the Romans, not content with this iniquitous act, obliged the Carthaginians to defray the expence of their armament, and besides, extorted from them a sum of 1200 talents. We are told, that when the Carthaginians made preparations to reduce Sardinia, the Romans pretended to be under terrible apprehensions of their power, as though these preparations had been intended to subvert their republic, and from thence took occasion to declare war against them *.

To palliate this conduct of the Romans, some of their writers tell us, that by the treaty concluded at the end of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians made a cession of Sardinia, as well as Sicily, to the Romans; but notwithstanding the authority of these writers, this is utterly impossible. For if so, why did not the Romans take immediate possession of it? The Romans soon and preaster sought a pretence for a rupture with the Carthaginians, scribe by accusing them of somenting a rebellion of the Cors, Sardi, terms to and Ligurians; but Hanno, a young Carthaginian lord, justified the Carhis nation with great spirit. Not long after, however, the thaginians Romans, without any tolerable pretext, assumed to themselves in an arthe power of prescribing limits to the Carthaginian conquests in bitrary Spain, obliging Asdrubal to engage himself by treaty not to pass manner. the Iberus.

Hamilear, by the happy conclusion of the Lybian war, did Hamilear not only restore tranquillity to the republic, but greatly extend- carries ed the Carthaginian conquests in Africa. That his republic an army might be foon able again to cope with its imperious rival, he into Spain. formed a scheme for adding also to its dominions the kingdom of Spain; and in order to facilitate the execution of his scheme, he inspired his son-in-law Asarubal, and his son Hannibal, with an implacable aversion to the Romans; who, not many years after, were brought to the very brink of destruction by Hannibal. Hamilear, having concluded a war with the Numidians to the advantage of the republic, was appointed to command the army Hannibal, his fon, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmost importunity to attend him, and his father granting his request, ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and fwear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the Romans. Hamiltar also bestowed his daughter upon Afdrubal, whom he intended to take with him. military preparations being completed, he advanced with a powerful army to Abyla, and croffing the straits of Hercules, now called the straits of Gibraltar, landed in Spain without oppolition. According to Appian and Polybius, he had two views in this war: first, to put Carthage in a lituation to revenge the indignities of the Romans; and secondly, to have an opportunity of being absent from home, the Carthaginian state being,

Polyb. Liv. lib. xxi. Orof. lib. iv. Zonar. Appian. in Theric.

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head of one of which was Hanno, Hamilcar's inveterate enemy, Hamilear commanded nine years in Spain, during which time he fubdued many warlike nations. Confidering how rich a country Spain was, an immense quantity of treasure must neceffarily have fallen into his hands in the course of so long a war. This wealth he distributed in the most politic manner, partly among the troops, and partly among the great men at Carthage,

by which means he secured his interest with both those powerful There is no particular detail of his transactions in that country that can be depended upon, nor have we even the account of that action in which he fell. The Vettones, or Vectones, anation of Lustania, it is faid, with several other neighbouring nations, took the field, to revenge the devastations committed in their country by the Carthaginians. To compass this end. they made use of the following stratagem. They sent before them a vast number of waggons, filled with fascines, pitch, fulphur, and other combustible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle array. The Carthaginians at first ridiculed this seemingly coarse stratagem; but the Spaniards, as they approached them, fetting fire to the carriages, and driving the beafts among them, foon obliged He is flain them to quit their ranks. The Vettones and their allies imme-

in battle. diately charging the Carthaginians, put them to flight, and killed many upon the fpot, among whom was the general himself. Polybius takes no notice of these circumstances, but only relates, that Hamiltar died in the field of battle at the head of his

Afarubal chosen to **fucceed** him.

Upon the death of Hamiltar, the army elected his fon-in-law Asdrubal, then the Carthaginian admiral, to succeed him. The fenate, having confirmed the choice of the army, fent a ftrong reinforcement of troops to Asdrubal; who, though the faction of Hanno endeavoured at first to depreciate his merit, acted with fuch wisdom and address, as enabled him to support Hamilear's friends both at Carthage and in the army. the acquisitions of his father-in-law, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbours, and extensive commerce, became afterwards one of the most considerable cities in the world. It was then called by some the New City, and by others Carthage, but at present it is known by the name of Carthagena.

His great p. ogress in Spain checked by the Romans.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the great progress the Carthaginians were making in Spain, began to have a watchful eye upon them. As they took for granted, that their rivals never loft fight of their grand scheme, though the execution of it might be at fome distance, they began to reproach themselves for their indolence and floth. Being, however, apprehensive of an invalion from the Gauls, they thought it not proper to come to an open rupture with the Carthaginians, but had recourse to milder methods; and partly by menaces, and partly by persuafion, prevailed upon Afdrubal to conclude a new treaty with them. The

The articles of it were, 1. That the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus. 2. That Saguntum, a colony of Zacynthians, and the other Greek colonies there, should enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The Saguntines, by imploring the protection of Rome, afforded the Romans some pretext for this proceeding.

Afdrubal was careful not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty, though he still pushed on his conquests, and made himself master of all that part of Spain extending from the western ocean to the Iberus, within five days journey of the Pyrenees. By his engaging address and affable deportment, he rendered himself popular amongst the princes of Spain, and brought them over more effectually to the interest of Carthage by that means, than he could have done by force of arms. Having governed the Carthaginian dominions in Spain eight years, he was publicly assassing affassinated by a Gaul, whose master he

had put to death.

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Aldrubal, three years before his death, wrote to Carthage, to Hannibal defire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be goes to fent to him. Hanno, the inveterate enemy of the family of Spain. Barcas, opposed this with all his might; but the Barcinian faction prevailing, Hannibal was fent to the army in Spain. great resemblance Hannibal bore to his father, rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. Upon his first arrival in the camp, he discovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatness of mind. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance furprizing, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. Astrubal, under whom he made three campaigns, always employed him in enterprizes of the greatest importance, as thinking him the best qualified for the execution of them. The soldiers likewife Is chosen reposed the utmost confidence in him; and, upon Asarubal's general of death, he was immediately faluted general by the army. The the army. fenate and people of Carthage confirmed this election, in a manner that shewed them to have been entirely at his devotion;

Hannibal had no sooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himself in motion. Though he was determined to attack Saguntum, in order to facilitate his suture enterprizes against the Romans, he thought it at present more expedient not to seem to have an eye directly upon that place. He therefore marched against the Olcades, a nation seated near He subthe Iberus, and soon made himself master of Althæa, their cadues sevenital; upon which, their other towns immediately submitted to ral Spanish him. He distributed all the plunder taken in this expedition towns. among the troops, which greatly animated them; and upon their return to winter quarters at New Carthage, he paid the army all their arrears, so that all the soldiers were now entirely devoted to him. In the beginning of the next campaign he took Hermandica, and afterwards Arbacala. He also subdued

but Hanno and his faction continued still averse to him.

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the country of the Vaccæi; but in the mean time the Carpetani, one of the most powerful nations in Spain, declared against the Carthaginians, and raised an army of 100,000 men, to fall upon Hannibal in his return from the Vaccæi. Hannibal's troops, being satigued with long marches, and loaded with spoils, he encamped upon the banks of the Tagus, and when the enemy were assep, silently forded the river. The Spaniards, interpreting this as a slight, threw themselves into the river, without any order or discipline, to attack them in their retreat; but were entirely deseated by Hannibal, who had drawn up his elephants and infantry on the banks of the river, and ordered his horse to guard the fords. Hannibal, after this victory, laid waste the whole country of the Carpetani; who, terrified by so great a deseat, thought proper to submit to the conqueror.

The Saguntines apprehenfive of Hannibal's defigns.

Not long after, Hannibal pushed his conquests to the very gates of Saguntum, and by his fingular address, secured the countries he reduced, before he gave the Romans an opportunity of declaring war against the Carthaginians. The Saguntines, greatly alarmed at the rapid progress of Hannibal, sent deputies in all hafte to Rome, to follicit fuccours against him. He, in the mean time, found means to embroil fome of the neighbouring cantons with the Saguntines, in order to furnish himself with a pretext for attacking their capital city. The reduction of this place, he hoped, would prevent the Romans from carrying their war into Spain, and the city would also serve as a barrier to the former conquests. He expected also to find treasure there, sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the Romans; and that the plunder of the city would inspire his troops with great ardour, and even bring the people of Carthage over to his measures: for the animosity betwixt the two rival republics had been gradually heightening, ever fince the conclusion of the treaty betwixt Hamiltar and Lutatius, by which the Carthaginians had been obliged to abandon Sicily.

He befieges Saguntum.

As foon as Hannibal approached the frontiers of the Saguntines, he detached a party to lay waste the adjacent territory, and then made a disposition to attack Saguntum in three different places. The Saguntines defended themselves with the utmost bravery; and by frequent fallies cut off a great many of the befiegers, though they themselves suffered greatly in these actions, which rendered their condition almost desperate. The Carthaginians were scarce sensible of their loss, their army confisting of 150,000 foot and 20,000 horse; but Hannibal receiving a wound in his thigh, as he was viewing some of the works, his troops were thereupon thrown into so great a consternation, that the besieged were upon the point of making themselves masters of all his military machines. Till the wound was cured a fort of ceffation of arms enfued, though the besiegers still maintained their posts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After Hannibal's recovery, hostilities recommenced with double fury. The Carthaginians, having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demolished three towers, made made a general affault. The befieged, on the other hand, confidering that every thing valuable to them lay at stake, drew up their forces in order of battle in the space betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and disputed every inch of ground with such resolution, that they at last not only forced the Carthaginians to abandon the breach, but to fly to their camp. About this time, according to Zonaras and others, the Roman deputies arrived at the camp of Hannibal, who for some time avoided

giving them an audience.

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After the late repulse, he remained for some days in a state of inaction to refresh his troops, who were greatly fatigued; and the besieged, in the mean time, built a new wall opposite to the breach made by the Carthaginians. Hannibal, in a few days, renewed his attacks with the utmost vigour, demolished the new wall, and entering the town without opposition, planted his artillery against the citadel, after surrounding it with a line of circumvallation. The Saguntines still disputed every inch of ground with the utmost bravery, and erecting a new wall to defend that part of the city not yet taken, repulled the Carthaginians in many attacks. Hannibal, about this time, undertook an expedition against the Carpetani and Oretani, who shewed a disposition to shake off the Carthaginian yoke, Maherbal, the fon of Himilco, in the mean time carrying on the fiege of Saguntum. Having battered down a great part of the new wall, Hannibal, upon his return, immediately stormed the After a warm dispute, he possessed himself of one part of it, the Saguntines, with great difficulty, maintaining themselves in the other. At length, one Alcon, a Saguntine, came privately to the camp of Hannibal, and endeavoured to foften him in favour of his fellow-citizens; but all the terms he could obtain from him were, that they should give ample satisfaction to the Turdetani, that they should deliver up all their treasure to the Carthaginians, and retire, with only their cloaths upon their backs, to the place the Carthaginians should affign them for their habitation.

The Saguntines could not so much as think of accepting these The Saconditions; and before they gave their final answer, the princi-guntines pal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the destroy public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire them-lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. The Car-selves. thaginians about the same time entering the town by a breach, Their city cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. taken by

The news of the taking of Saguntum had scarce reached Car- the Car-thage, when ambassadors arrived there from Rome, demanding thaginians, of the senate and people, whether the Spanish expedition had B. C. 542. been undertaken by their order. One of the Carthaginian se- The Ronators endeavoured to vindicate Hannibal's conduct, or rather mans that of the republic, on this occasion. He drew a parallel be-make twixt the treaty Astrubal had concluded with the Romans, and comthat concluded betwixt Hamilcar and the consul Lutatius. He in-plaints sisted, that as the Romans had taken the liberty to insert some ad- of Hanniditional articles in that treaty, so the Carthaginians had an equal bal's conright duct,

A GENERAL HISTORY

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right to make what alterations they thought proper in that which Asdrubal had lately concluded; and he ended with asfuring them, that the fenate and people of Carthage were of the fame sentiments with Hannibal, and entirely approved of his conduct. Fabius, one of the Roman ambassadors, upon receiving this answer, immediately declared war against the Carthaginians.

and declare war against Carthage.

Polybius is at great pains to state the remote and immediate motives of this war, and examines, with great impartiality, which of the two states had justice on their side. This last he leaves indeterminate; or rather, he decides in favour of the Carthaginians, supposing that they began the war, to revenge the injury they had received, when Sardinia was unjustly wrested from them. But the justice of the wars these two republics engaged in, appears rarely to have been examined by the states themselves, their interest or ambition being almost always their real, though difguifed motives. Appian feems to intimate, that Hannibal was obliged to attack the Saguntines, and come to blows with the Romans, in order to provide for his own fafety, as the faction of Hanno began to predominate at Carthage. He judged that a war with Rome would put a stop to civil diffensions, as an enterprize of such importance as this would engage all the public attention. Hannibal, after a fiege of eight months, having made himself master of Saguntum, did not raze the city, but transplanted thither a colony from Car-

The Roman ambassadors soon after arrived in Spain, in their return from Carthage, and endeavoured to draw the Spaniards from their allegiance to the Carthaginians, to detach those who were in alliance with Carthage, and to dispose them to accept either the friendship or protection of the Roman republic. The Bargusi, being defirous of shaking off the Carthaginian yoke, gave the Roman ambaffadors a kind reception, which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. The ambaffadors however, meeting with a repulse from the Volsciani, who reproached them with their base desertion of the Saguntines, they were obliged to retire out of Spain without accomplishing their design. Neither did they meet with any better success in Gaul, Hannibal having prepoffessed the Gauls in favour of the Carthaginians, which he found not very difficult to accomplish, they having, on various accounts, conceived an aversion to the

Romans.

Hannibal prepares to carry the war

Hannibal, in the mean time, had put his troops into winterquarters at New Carthage; but permitted the Spaniards, in order to gain their affections, to retire to their respective habitations. During the winter, he made feveral wife regulations into Italy, for the fecurity of the Carthaginian dominions both in Spain and Africa. He transported into Africa 13,850 Spanish foot and 1200 horse, with 870 Balearic slingers. He at the same time brought troops from Africa to Spain, which were to act under the command of Asarubal. These troops amounted in the

whole to 2550 horse, 12,150 foot, besides 500 Balearic slingers, 21 elephants, 30 quinqueremes, and 7 lesser gallies. Hannibal now waited only for the return of those messengers he had sent to the Gauls; for he had endeavoured to inform himself with all the exactness that was possible of the fertility of the country beneath the Alps, and along the Po, of the numbers and courage of the people, and above all, whether they retained any refent-

ment against the Romans for their former wars.

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Being at length informed that the Gauls were perfectly difnosed to favour his design, and even expected his approach with eagerness, he began his march for Italy with 90,000 foot and 1200 horse. He passed the Iberus, and with incredible rapidity, He rethough not without many obstinate battles, and a great loss of duces the men, reduced all the nations that inhabited between that river nations and the Pyrenæan mountains; namely, the Hergetes, Bargusians, betwixt Erenosians, and Andosinians. He gave to Hanno the care of the the Iberus conquered countries, enjoining him to have a watchful eye over and the the Bargusians, as they were still suspected of favouring the in- Pyrenees. terests of the Romans; and to support him in his new post, he left him a body of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. In order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, he disinisted about the like number of them to their respective habitations, and gave the greatest encouragement to those that continued in the Cartha-The army, being disencumbered of their heavy ginian service. baggage, which was left with Hanno, and confifting in the whole of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse, all veteran troops, and the best in the world, continued their march forwards by the way of the Pyrenæan mountains, and arrived on the banks of the Rhone without much opposition. Some Gauls, indeed, had ventured to oppose him, but were easily defeated, and others he had gained over with presents. The Gauls, on the opposite bank of the Rhone, affembled all their forces to oppose his pasfage; and feeing it impracticable to transport his troops in the face of the enemy, he fent a large body of them about twenty-five He passes miles up the river, where they passed on floats, without meet- the Rhome. ing any opposition. Two days after he embarked the rest of his troops, and while the barbarians left their camp to oppose him, the detachment, that had already passed over, suddenly attacked them, and obliged them to fly. Hannibal, having transported all his troops, introduced among them one Magilas, a petty king, who had come to him from the country near the This prince, by the help of an interpreter, informed the army of all the resolutions the Gauls had taken in their favour, and offered to conduct them into Italy through places that would yield a full supply to all their wants. Hannibal next entered the allembly, and in a speech magnified extremely this deputation of the Boii, and extolling with just praises the bravery his forces had hitherto shewn, exhorted them to maintain to the last their reputation and glory.

About this time, 500 Numidian horse, who had been sent out to make discoveries, returned to the camp in great disorder.

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Publius Scipio had arrived with his army by fea at the mouth of the Rhone, and had fent out 300 Gallic and Roman horse to gain intelligence. These two detachments meeting each other, a sharp engagement ensued, in which the Numidians were defeated, with the loss of upwards of 200 men, and pursued to their camp by the Romans, who had loft about 140 men. The conful being informed of the arrival of Hannibal, immediately began his march with the intention of overtaking him, and forcing him to a battle. The Carthaginian general, however, early next morning began his march northwards along the east side of the Rhone; and on the fourth day after, he arrived at a fertile country, where the Rhone and Isara unite. In this coun. try two brothers were in arms against each other for the so. vereignty of the territory; and the eldest soliciting the affiftance of Hannibal, he established him on the throne after defeating the younger brother; for which fervice he received a supply of corn and other necessaries in great abundance, particularly new arms and new cloaths. The prince that was restored also escorted the Carthaginians thro' the whole country of the Allobroges, and secured their march from insult till they arrived at the foot of the Alps.

He arrives at the Alps,

Most, if not all, of the barbarous nations thro' whom Hannibal was to pass, had a mortal aversion to the Romans; but at the fame time they were resolved to affert their independance against every invader, and made frequent attacks upon the Carthaginians in their march thro' the passes of the Alps. On the ninth day after he had entered the passes, he gained the fummit of the Alps, his troops having furmounted innumerable difficulties and dangers, in which great numbers of them had perished. His army being extremely dispirited by their fatigues and losses, which were heightened by the rigours of the season, as the mountains were already covered deep with fnow, Hannibal, to encourage them, shewed them the plains beneath, that were watered by the P_0 , and pointing towards the place where Rome stood, he assured them that a battle or two would make them mafters of it, and confequently put a glorious period to all their toils. Tho' the Carthaginians met with no enemy, except a few lurking parties in their descent from the Alps, yet their dangers and difficulties were now greater than before on account of the deepness of the snow, the narrowness and steepness of the roads, and the great number of precipices. Hannibal, after four days march, at length gained the fruitful plains and enters of Insubria; where taking a review of his army, he found that in five months and a half's march, he had loft by fickness, defertion, fatigue, and various engagements, 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, his troops now amounting only to 26,000 effective men. The whole length of his march from New Carthage to the plains of Insubria, was 8400 stadia, or about 1000 English miles.

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Insubria.

Having now entered Italy, Hannibal encamped for some time at the foot of the mountains, to raise the drooping spirits of outh of

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the troops, and by proper refreshment to restore both the men and horses to their former state? for his men, by nastiness and want of necessaries, had contracted many diseases, and were so worn and altered by continued sufferings, that their appearance was scarcely human. The vigour and spirits of his troops being restored, he invited the Taurinians, who were at this time at war with the Insubrians, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refusal to conclude a treaty with him, He takes he took their capital city by storm, and put all whom he found Taurinum. in arms to the fword. By this feverity, the neighbouring barbarians were all struck with terror, and submitted at discretion; and the ardour of the Gauls to join him was greatly encreased, tho' they were awed by the Roman legions that had passed thro' their territories under the command of Publius, who not finding Hannibal as he expected at the Rhone, returned with all speed to Italy. Hannibal advanced with his army, that by some action of importance he might fix the confidence of those that were disposed to embrace his party, and encourage them to act without restraint. As he approached the Roman army, he took great pains to animate his troops, by representing to them that they had no place to escape to if they were defeated; and that if they would firmly resolve either to conquer or die, they would both live and conquer.

A few days after, he attacked the Roman conful in the plains Defeats near Ticinus, and by the bravery of his Numidian horse, gained the Roman a compleat victory. The conful having lost many of his men, conful at and being himself wounded, immediately retreated, and repast-Ticinus.

fing the Po, broke down the bridge over that river. Hannibal advanced without delay, having now received many embaffies from the Gauls in that neighbourhood, who entered into an alliance with him, and fupplied his army both with men and flores. In a few days he again came up with the Romans, who were encamped near Placentia, and offered them battle, which they declined. The following night a body of Gauls in the Roman camp massacring a great many of the legionary soldiers, and deferting to Hannibal, Publius was filled with great anxiety and concern, and abandoning his entrenchments, pafsed the Trebia. Part of his rear were either killed or taken prisoners by the Carthaginians. Hannibal encamping on the opposite bank of the Trebia, was supplied in the greatest plenty with all necessaries by the Gauls, who shewed the utmost eagernels to thare in all the labours and all the dangers of the war.

The Romans, upon the news of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, were thrown into no small consternation; but this was greatly encreased when they heard that he was joined by the Gauls, and had routed the consul. However, when Tiberius Sempronius, the other consul, passed with his troops thro' Rome, in his way from Sicily to join his collegue, they again recovered their considence, assuring themselves that the enemy would not dare to face so brave an army.

Tiberites

Gains another victory over the Romans at the Trebia.

Tiberius having gained a small advantage over the Carthagia nians, was eager to venture a general engagement before he had formed a right judgment of the state of affairs. Hannibal having carefully informed himself of the character of Semtronius, began to make the necessary preparations for a battle: and the eager and impatient spirit of the conful soon giving him the opportunity he defired, he took the Romans at a great diladvantage, and in a very fnowy day, when they were benumbed with cold and faint with hunger, he entirely defeated them. He caused his own troops, before the action, to take their repast, to anoint their bodies with oil, and to put on their armour before several fires. Tho' many of the Gauls in the Carthaginian service were flain in the action, the loss of the Africans and Spaniards was very inconfiderable. But the rains and fnows which had fallen continually during the whole day, were fo fevere and fatal, that of all the elephants one only was preferved alive; and great numbers also of men and horses perished thro' the extremity of the cold. Ten thousand of the Romans retreated in good order to Placentia; but the greatest part of the rest were either killed or taken prisoners.

The Carthaginian. at fea.

The Carthaginians, befides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out 20 gallies, with 1000 foldiers on operations board, to ravage the coasts of Italy. Nine of these seized upon the island of Lipara, and eight upon the island of Vulcania, Another fleet of 25 quinqueremes attempted to take possession of Lilybæum; but they were repulsed by the Romans, with the loss of seven gallies, and 1700 men taken prisoners. Sempronius the conful, in the mean time, had taken Melita; but before he could undertake any other enterprize, he was recalled to Italy to oppose Hannibal. Before he departed from Sicily, hearing that the Carthaginians had made fome descents on the coast of Italy, he fent Sextus Pomponius, with 20 gallies, to watch their motions.

The transactions in Spain.

Whilst Hannibal was pushing on his conquests in Italy, Cnaius Scipio, who was left by his brother Publius with the command of the 'fleet, landed his troops in Spain near Emporium; and marching along the coast, reduced all the country from the Pyrenees to the Iberus. He soon after totally defeated Hanno near the city of Cissa, with the loss of 6000 men killed, and 2000 taken prisoners; among which last was Hanno himself, and Indibilis, a Spanish prince. All the heavy baggage left with Hanno by the army that marched for Italy, fell into the hands of the Romans; and many of the Spanish nations concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Scipio. Astrubal hearing of these transactions, made haste to pass the Iberus with his army; and having received intelligence that the naval forces of the Romans had relaxed their usual discipline, he fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greatest part of them to the fword, pursuing the rest to their fleet.

Hannibal, whilst he remained in winter-quarters, was careful to refresh his troops, and to gain the affections of the Gauls

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and the allies of the Romans. He therefore declared to the Gallic and Italian prisoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to reflore them to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans. He then dismissed them all to their respective countries. without demanding any ranfom.

At the same time, reflecting with himself that his connection with the Gauls was fresh and recent, and fearing lest a people so noted for their fickleness and fraud should form designs against his life, he provided some artificial suits of hair, adapted to the looks of persons of every age, and different sorts of habits that corresponded with them; and varying his dress continually, he lay fo well concealed under this difguife, that not those alone who had feen him only in a transient view, but even his inti-

mate acquaintance, could scarcely know him.

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His troops being reinforced by a confiderable body of Gauls, Hannibal Ligurians, and Etruscans, the following spring he marched his marches army into Etruria; and hearing that the conful Flaminius lay into encamped under the walls of Aretium, he marched towards Etruria. him, in order to inform himself of his capacity and his designs. Bef. Chr. Being informed that Flaminius was entirely ignorant of the military art, but was rash, proud, and of a fierce disposition, he was in great hopes of foon bringing him to a battle; and to inflame his impetuous spirit, he advanced beyond him, destroying all the country, thro' which he marched, with fire and fword. Flaminius was fo highly irritated, that, contrary to the remonstrances of his officers, and despising the bad omens, he began his march without employing the least care or forefight with regard either to the time or place of action.

Hannibal hearing that the conful approached, chose for the place of action a large valley, bounded on each fide by hills, and having a steep eminence at the further end. The lake Thrasymene was situated at its entrance, which was very narrow. Hannibal having posted part of his forces on the hills on each lide, took possession of the eminence at the further end of the valley; and when the Roman army had near approached the place where he was stationed, he gave the fignal for engaging. As the morning was remarkably dark and mifty, the Ro- Defeats

mans were quickly thrown into the greatest confusion, and easily the confus routed. Flaminius himself, with 15,000 of his men, fell on Flaminius the field of battle; and according to Plutarch, 10,000 men at the lake were taken prisoners. Polybius says 15,000, but Livy and Va- of Thrasslerius Maximus tell us, that 6000 only were made prisoners on mene. this occasion. Hannibal had only 1500 men killed, most of whom were Gauls, tho' great numbers, both of his foldiers and the Romans, died afterwards of their wounds. A few days after this battle, Hannibal hearing that 4000 horse were on their march to have joined Flaminius, fent out Maherbal against them with part of the cavalry and light-armed troops. herbal killed 2000 of the Romans, and next day obliged the rest to furrender.

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sternation. Hannibal, however, did not yet think it seasonable to advance towards Rome, but continued his route thro' Umbria and Picenum, wasting the country without resistance, and flaying without distinction all those who were found of age to carry arms. After ten days, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Adria, having gained so immense a booty, that the army could neither carry nor remove it. Here he rested for some time to refresh his troops, both his men and horses being covered by a kind of leprous fourf; a difease which is usually the consequence of famine and continued hardships. He armed his foldiers likewise all his Africans after the Roman manner, from the spoils that had been taken; and now, for the first time, sent some messengers to Carthage with an account of his success. The Carthaginians received the news with the greatest joy; and fixing their whole attention upon the affairs of Spain and Italy, resolved to employ every effort to support the war with vi-Hannibal having restored strength and alacrity to his troops, advanced into Apulia, plundering and destroying every thing in his way. Fabius Maximus, whom the Romans had created dictator, arriving with four legions, and encamping in his neighbourhood, Hannibal drew out all his troops, in hopes of tempting him to an engagement; but this Roman general, who was as cool and confiderate as his predecessors had been impetuous and rash, kept his raw legions within their entrenchments, being refolved, on no account, to try the fortune of a general battle. He attended closely to the motions of the Carthaginian army, encamping always in their neigh-bourhood, and cutting off, at different times, parties of their

He marches into Campania, which he ravages.

Hannibal being convinced that a state of inaction must prove fatal to him, still continued his devastations, and at length marched into Campania, the most pleasant and fertile province of Italy. This fine country he ravaged in a most dreadful manner, Fabius, in the mean time, remaining encamped upon mount Massicus, being censured by his own troops as a cowardly spectator of the devastations of his country. Hannibal finding that nothing could provoke Fabius to hazard an engagement, resolved to leave Campania, which he had entirely wasted, and to cross the Appennines with his booty.

foragers who happened to straggle from their main body.

Fabius made a prudent disposition to intercept him as he entered the passes of the hills; but Hannibal being aware of his defign, caused small faggots to be tied to the horns of 2000 oxen, and after fetting fire to them, drove the oxen, about midnight, upon the Romans that had feized the passes; which threw them into fo great consternation, that they abandoned their post. Hannibal immediately advanced with his army, which he conducted with fafety thro' the passes, and at day-break repulsed the Romans who had attacked his rear, with the loss of 1000 men.

This retreat spread a general consternation thro' all the towns of Italy, and the dictator was now universally accused of

the basest cowardice. He, however, still remained firm to his purpose; and being obliged, a few days after, to return to Rome, charged Minucius, his mafter of the horse, to think chiefly of covering his troops from danger, and not of gaining advantages

over the enemy.

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Hannibal having led his army into the neighbourhood of Luceria, took Gerunium, a town within 20 miles of Luceria, by form; and having massacred all the inhabitants, filled their houses with the corn of the adjacent country, and fortified his camp without the walls. Minucius following after the Cartha- Minucius ginians, repulsed a body of 2000 of them from an eminence, gains and afterwards intercepted and cut off a party of foragers. The some ad-Romans hearing of these successes, were so pleased with the con-vantages duct of Minucius, that they gave him an equal authority with over the the dictator. Fabius, upon his return to the army, would not Cartha iconsent to an alternate command, but agreed to divide the army, nians, that each general might have his separate corps, by which he hoped, at least, to save part of the forces. Hannibal, in a short time, drew Minucius to an engagement, by making an but is afattempt to feize an eminence near his camp. Having, the terwards night before the action, placed 500 horse and 5000 foot in dif-defeated ferent places of the plain in ambush, he soon threw the Romans by them. into the greatest disorder, and would have entirely routed them, if Fabius had not immediately advanced to their relief, which forced him to return back again to his camp. Hannibal, after this action, fortified his camp, and continued in a state of in-

action till the following campaign.

During these transactions Cneius Scipio gained a naval victory The Roover the Carthaginians at the mouth of the Iberus. Hamiltar, mans fucthe Carthaginian admiral, lost a great number of his men, and cessful in 25 gallies, which were taken by the Romans. The Cartha- Spain and ginians, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat, immediately Africa, equipped another fleet of 70 ships, which sailed first to Sardinia, and from thence to Pifa, in hopes of acting in concert with Hannibal. Hearing that Servilius was coming against them with a fleet of 120 gallies, they returned directly to Carthage. Servilius not being able to overtake them, steered for Cercina, a imall island on the coast of Regio Syrtica, which he laid under contribution. He afterwards took and garrifoned Coffyrus, a imall island near Carthage, and then laid up his squadron at Lilybaum. Scipio, in the mean time, made great progress in Spain, and after pillaging the island of Ebusus, or Ivica, concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of the Balearic islands. Upon the fame of his exploits, 120 different cantons of Spaniards submitted to the Romans, who obliged Asarubal to retire into Lusi- Asarubal tania, and those parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean. Af in great drubal, this summer, was twice defeated, 15,000 of his men distress. being killed, and 4000 taken prisoners. P. Scipio, the brother of Cneius, arriving foon after in Spain with 8000 Roman troops, the two brothers penetrated into the Carthaginian dominions VOL. III.

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Spanish hostages left there by Hannibal.

Mean while the confuls Cn. Servilius Geminus, and M. Attilius Regulus, succeeding Fabius in the command of the army against Hannibal, observed the maxims of that great general, carefully avoiding a general action, but cutting off feveral parties of Carthaginian foragers. Their successors were Lucius Æmilius Paulus, a Patrician, and C. Terentius Varro, a Plebeian, and great favourite of the people, who, that he might have the honour of conquering Hannibal, ordered eight new legions to be raised, and the allies to furnish double their contingents in horse and foot. The Roman army under the consuls consisted of about 86,000 men; but as there was no harmony betwirt the generals, and as Varro, who was of an inconfiderate and rash disposition, was the most popular, Hannibal, who had informed himself of these circumstances, was in great hopes of foon extricating himself out of the difficulties that he had been brought into by the prudent conduct of the late confuls. Having removed from Gerunium, he halted near the ruined city of Cannæ, in a vast plain, watered by the Austidus. Varro, contrary to the advice of Emilius, followed him, and on the day when the command fell to him, he ventured a general engagement; in which the Romans were totally defeated, 45,000 of them, according to the smallest computation, being slain on the fpot; among whom were the conful Amilius, two proconfuls, two military quæstors, 29 legionary tribunes, and 80 senators. Polybius fays, 70,000 Romans were flain on the field of battle, and 13,000 taken prisoners. Other authors give different accounts, and according to Livy, the Romans lost 50,000 men. including the auxiliaries. He makes the loss of the Carthaginians 8000; but according to Polybius, Hannibal lost only 4000 Gauls, 1500 Africans and Spaniards, and about 200 horse.

The immediate consequence of this victory, was a disposition in the fouthern parts of Italy to Submit to him; and even the provinces near Rome shewed some disposition to throw off the Roman voke. Maherbal preffed Hannibal to march directly to to Rome; but he commending his ardour, and answering, that an affair of such importance required mature deliberation; Maherbal replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the 66 fame person with all shining talents. You know, Hannibal, " how to conquer, but not how to make the best use of a vic-" tory." Many antient writers have been of the same opinion with Maherbal, and have reproached Hannibal with the fame fault; but others have entertained different fentiments of that renowned general's conduct on this occasion. The advantages he had gained, were chiefly owing to the imprudence of the Roman generals, and his own cavalry, which could be of no use in a siege. The Roman infantry were much more numerous than his army, which was not large enough to invest such a city as Rome. The Romans had as many generals as fenators; and being all bred up to arms from their infancy, would

Hannibal defeats the Romans at Cannæ.

would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and domestic gods. Besides, no one nation or city of Italy had yet declared for him; fo that had he miscarried in the attempt, he must have been utterly ruined. He was destitute of battering engines, ammunition, and all things necessary for the carrying on of a fiege. The filence of his great cotemporary Polybius on this point, is also interpreted in his favour. Zonaras, indeed, tells us, that Hannibal afterwards condemned himself for neglecting this opportunity of besieging Rome; and falling into a deep melancholy, often cried out, in doleful tone, O Cannæ! Cannæ! but his authority ought not to over-balance the reasons here assigned in favour of Hannibal's conduct. When Hannibal had thoroughly pillaged the Roman camps,

where he took 4000 prisoners, he advanced to Campsa, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a Carthaginian garrison. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immense plunder he had amassed. From thence he turned towards Cabua, the inhabitants of which city entered into a treaty with him. Some of the leading men in the city had offered to deliver the place into his hands immediately after the battle of Thrasymene, which, it is supposed, had induced him to advance into Campania instead of marching against Rome. Fabius then The Caprevented the Capuans from executing their design; but being puans ennow no longer under restraint, they surrendered their city to ter into him, on his promifing them an entire liberty and independance, an alliance and putting into their hands 400 Roman knights.

The state of Carthage, in the mean time, sent two fleets to nibal. the coasts of Sicily. One of these ravaged the territories of Hiero king of Syracuse, the ally of the Romans, while the other watched the motions of the Romans at the islands Ægades. admiral of this foundron had orders to attack Lilybaum both by sea and land, as soon as the Romans advanced to the relief of Hiero. Otacilius, the prætor, however, not having any troops to spare, remained with all his forces to defend the Ro-

man territories in Sicily:

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Soon after Capua had made its submission, many cities of the Several Brutii opened their gates to Hannibal, who fent his brother other ci-Mago to Carthage with the important news of his great fuccess. ties also Mago, upon his arrival at Carthage, acquainted the senate, that submit to Hannibal, in fix pitched battles, had killed 200,000 Romans, and him. taken 50,000 prisoners; and that the Apulians, Bruttians, Luca-Mago carnians, and Campanians, had submitted to the Carthaginian do- ries an acminion. As a proof of what he advanced, he produced, ac-count of cording to some, three bushels, but Livy says only one bushel, his success of rings of Roman knights and fenators. For fuch imparalleled to Carfuccesses, he moved that thanks should be returned to the im- thage. mortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement of men, with supplies of money, should be sent to Hannibal. All ranks of people were filled with joy on this happy occasion. Hanno, however, with all his adherents, opposed the continuance of the war. He urged, that if Hannibal was really fo successful

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as Mago represented, he would be able to support himself; and that as one defeat might undo all his mighty projects, they ought chiefly to seek an advantageous peace with Rome. The majority of the senate, considering his opposition merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy, decreed an immediate supply of 4000 Numidians, 40 elephants, and 1000 talents of silver for the army in Italy. A large detachment of Spanish forces were appointed to follow the Numidians, Mago immediately setting out for Spain, where he intended to raise 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. With these new levies, the Carthaginians proposed to recruit not only Hannibal's army, but that likewise

which acted in Spain.

Hannibal, in the mean time, had attempted, both by promifes and menaces, to make himself master of Neapolis; but not succeeding, he turned his arms against Nola, where the populace was entirely at his devotion. The senate and leading men being in the interest of the Romans, entered into a negotiation with Hannibal, and by that means gave Marcellus an opportunity of marching from Casilinum to their relief. Hannibal retiring upon his approach, obliged Nuceria to surrender, and afterwards appeared again before Nola; but was repulsed by Marcellus, with the loss of some thousand men. He next laid Acerræ in ashes, and afterwards laid siege to Casilinum. The garrison behaving with great bravery, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade; and leaving some troops in a camp before the city, put the rest into winter-quarters in the neighbouring villages and in Capua, whither he himself retired.

This voluptuous city, it is faid, proved more fatal to him, than Cannæ to the Romans. He and his foldiers, who had been inured to fatigue, and braved the most formidable dangers, were now vanquished by luxury and effeminate pleasures, in which the Capuans had long indulged themselves to the greatest ex-But the we should allow that the martial genius of the Carthaginians was impaired by the bewitching retirement at Capua; yet it cannot be reasonably supposed, that the bad success that afterwards attended Hannibal's arms, was solely owing to that cause. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the Romans, and the bravery with which he maintained himself in Italy for 14 years after this event, will not admit of fuch a supposition. His reverse of fortune may more justly be attributed to another cause. For Hannibal being deserted by his country thro' the intrigues of the faction of Hanno, who had come to a resolution to sacrifice the state, of which they were members, to their private refentment, found himself obliged to act on the defensive, his army being reduced to 26,000 foot and good horse.

Hannibal, at the return of the spring, drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of Casilinum, the garrison of which was at length obliged to surrender; having been reduced to so great an extremity by famine, that a single mouse was sold for 100, or according to Pliny and Frontiraus, 200 Roman

Hannibal reduces Cafilinum and Pete-lia.

Roman denarii. The Carthaginians next invested Petelia, a city of the Bruttians; and after a long and obstinate fiege, made

themselves masters of it.

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The war was carried on in the mean time with great vigour The in Spain. Asdrubal, who had been for some time obliged to transackeep himself on the defensive, having received a reinforcement tions in of 4000 foot and 500 horse, ordered his fleet to be refitted, and Spain. hegan to advance against the two Scipios. Before his fleet was ready to put to fea, feveral captains of ships, who had been blamed for their former behaviour in the action at the mouth of the Iberus, now deferted to the Romans, and prevailed with feveral cities of the Carthefians also to revolt from the Carthaginians. Afdrubal, to check this revolt, laid afide his defign against the Romans, and marched against the rebels, who were commanded by Galbus. The two armies lay for some time near each other; but the barbarians being very numerous, Afdrubal, instead of attacking them, was obliged to defend his own troops by an entrenchment, while Galbus made himself master of Asena, the chief Carthaginian magazine. Astrubal, foon after, finding that the enemy, elated with their fuccefs, laid afide all discipline, and dispersed themselves in small parties over the country, fell suddenly upon their main body, and cut them almost all to pieces; which defeat threw the Garthefians into fuch a consternation, that the next day the whole nation submitted to Asdrubal. A courier soon after arriving from Carthage with orders to Afdrubal to begin his march for Italy without delay, the Spaniards, upon the publication of this news, began to look upon the Carthaginians as not able to support them, and to turn their eyes towards the Romans. Asdrubal giving the republic an account of the wavering disposition of the Spaniards, Himilco was sent thither from Carthage with a competent army and a confiderable naval reinforcement. Himileo having landed his forces, and fortified his camp, went

with a small escort with the utmost expedition to Asdrubal; and imparting the orders of the fenate to that general, and receiving instructions from him how to carry on the war in Spain, he returned thro' the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the Carthaginians, or disposed to be so, to his own camp in fafety. Afdrubal having furnished himself with large fums of money, which he exacted from the Spaniards subject to and in alliance with Carthage, affembled all his forces, and advanced to the Iberus. Hearing that the Romans had laid siege to Ibera, the richest town in all that part of Spain, he sat down before another town which had lately submitted to the Romans, in hopes of obliging them to raise the siege of Ibera. accordingly came, and encamped within five miles of him; and a general engagement ensuing, Asdrubal, tho' he gave proofs Asdrubal of an extraordinary military genius, was nevertheless entirely defeated The Spaniards in his army not relishing an Italian by Scipio. defeated. expedition, fled at the first onset, and the Mauritanian and Numidian horse made but a faint resistance. Asdrubal was not

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only obliged to leave the field of battle but his camp to the enemy, together with the vast sums of money which he had amassed for the Italian expedition. The Carthaginians having loft in this action, according to Eutropius and Orofius, 25,000 killed and 10,000 men taken prisoners, the greatest part of the Spaniards declared for the conquerors; fo that Asdrubal, after collecting the remains of his shattered army, instead of marching to succour Hannibal, found it difficult to maintain himself in Spain.

Hannibal extends his conquests in Italy.

During these transactions in Spain, Hannibal having reinforced his army with feveral Campanians and Brutians, made himself master of Consentia, Locri, Croton, and several other cities in Great Greece. Rhegium, however, baffled all the efforts of the Carthaginians. Sicily, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the Romans; and even Gelon, the heir apparent to the crown of Syracuse, despising the old age of his father Hiero. the faithful ally of the Romans, declared for Hannibal; but was prevented by a fudden death from doing him any fervice. The Carthaginians, about the fame time, receiving an account of the defeat of Afdrubal in Spain, were thrown into the greatest consternation. Mago was on the point of setting out for Italy with a reinforcement of 12000 foot, 1500 horse, 20 elephants, and 1000 talents of filver; but upon the arrival of this bad news, his departure was countermanded. The drooping fpirits of the Carthaginians were foon after a little revived by an embaffy from the Sardinians, who begged their affiftance to drive the Romans out of their island. Mago was now allowed to depart for Spain with the above-mentioned succours, and Aldrubal Calvus dispatched with the like number of forces to support the Sardi.

The Sardinians beg the affiftance of the Carthaginians.

Philip of Macedon, who was an ambitious young prince, and had lately begun to look upon the Romans as dangerous neighbours, hearing of the great success of Hannibal, came to a refolution of entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Carthaginians. The ambassadors which he sent for this purpose to Hannibal, happening to fall into the hands of the Romans, Xenophanes, the chief of the embassy, when examined by the prætor Valerius Lævinus, pretended that he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the Romans; and by that means obtaining his liberty, came to the camp of Hannibal, and concluded the treaty with him. After stipulations of mutual affistance, it was agreed that the Romans should be looked upon as a common enemy, till fuch time as the war should be terminated: that Philip and his allies should supply the Carand Philip thaginians with all necessaries, according to the regulations of a particular convention afterwards to be fettled: when a peace should be concluded with the enemy, they should all be comprehended in the treaty; and the Romans should never be permitted to have any footing in the island of Corcyra, nor to exercise any dominion over the inhabitants of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharus, Dimalus, Parthenia, and Atintania. It was also stipulated,

An alliance betwixt Hannibal of Macedon.

stipulated, that if the Romans should hereafter declare war against any of the contracting powers, they should mutually affift each other; and the same thing should be done by both parties, if any other power should attack either of them, except it were a king, state, or city, with which the other was hefore in alliance. When the Macedonian ambassadors returned home, they were again feized at fea by the Romans. In this emergency, Xenophanes had recourse to another falshood; asferting, that the roads were so beset by the Carthaginians, that he found it impossible to go to Rome. But three Carthaginian deputies being found on board his galley, his artificce was now discovered, and he and the Carthaginians were sent prisoners to Rome. The Romans, by raising disturbances in Greece, pre-

vented Philip from giving any affiftance to Hannibal.

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The Campanians, in the mean time, having openly declared The Camfor Hannibal, raised an army of 14,000 men; but before they panians performed any action of importance, they were surprized near defeated Cumae by Sempronius Gracebus, who killed 2000 of them, and by the afterwards retired with his raw troops into Cumæ, where he Romans. was befieged by Hannibal. The Carthaginians attempted to take the place by storm, by the help of a large wooden tower; but were repulsed with the loss of 1400 men, and obliged to retire. About the fame time Hanno being defeated at Grumentum, with the loss of 4000 men, was obliged to abandon Lucania to the Romans, who having also retaken three cities in the country of Hirpini, fold 1000 prisoners which they seized there for flaves. Afdrubal Calvus, in the mean time, having been obliged by a form to put into one of the Balearic islands, while he was repairing the damages he had fuffained, the Romans in Sardinia had leifure to provide for their defence. Philip king of Macedon hearing of the misfortune of his ambassadors, sent a new embassy to Hannibal, and concluded a fresh treaty with him; but as the summer was spent before the negotiation was concluded, Philip had not time before winter to make any diversion in favour of the Carthaginians, who now began to lose ground in the southern parts of Italy. The two confuls, Fabius Maximus and Sempronius, pressed upon Hannibal with a strong army, while Marcellus made incursions into the territories of the Hirpini and Samnites, where he committed great depredations. Hannibal being folicited to march to their relief, promised them speedy affistance, and marching against Nola, besieged Marcellus in that city. The Roman ge- Marcellus neral drawing all his forces out of the city, ventured an en- gains an gagement with Hannibal, and defeated him, with the loss of advantage 5000 men, besides 600 prisoners and two elephants that were over Hantaken. A body of 1300 Spanish and Numidian horse, imme-nibal. diately after this defeat, deferted to the Romans; which so affected Hannibal, that he left Campania, and retiring into Apulia, encamped near Arpi. He was no sooner gone, than Fabius drawing near to Capua, laid waste the whole adjacent country, and then encamped at Sueffula.

The Romans reof Sardinic.

In the mean time Manlius, the Roman general, landed with fome troops at Calaris in Sardinia; and affembling an army of cover the 22,000 foot and 1200 horse, marched into the territories of possession Hampsicora, who was at the head of the revolters. Hampsicora having then left the command of his army to his fon Hioftus, the young man, in his absence, ventured an engagement with Manlius, and was defeated, with the loss of 3000 men killed, and 300 taken prisoners. Upon the news of this defeat, a body of troops raifed by his father in a different part of the island, immediately dispersed; and the Romans would have made an entire conquest of the island, if Asdrubal had not, at that juncture, arrived with the forces from Carthage. Hamplicora joining him with all the Sardinian forces he could raife, they marched into the territories of the Roman allies, laying waste the whole country as they advanced. Before they could reach Caralis, the capital of the island, they were opposed by Manlius, who after some flight skirmishes, drew them to a general engagement, and entirely defeated them, with the loss of 12,000 men slain, and 700 prisoners. Among the latter were Mago, a near relation of Hannibal, Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, the chief fomenter of the troubles in Sardinia, and Asdrubal the general. Hiostus being among the number of the slain, his father Hampsicora was so afflicted, that he laid violent hands upon himself. This victory being attended with the submission of the whole island, Manlius returned to Italy with the prisoners, as well as the vast booty he had acquired. The fleet that brought Asdrubal to Sardinia, in its return to Carthage was attacked by the Roman prætor Otacilius, who took feven Carthaginian gallies with their crews. About this time Bomilcar arrived at Locri with a reinforcement of troops, 40 elephants, and a confiderable supply of provisions and military stores. Bomilear soon after joined Hanno, who lay encamped in the country of the Brutii; but after his departure, Locri surrendered to the Romans.

State of affairs in Spain.

The Carthaginians, according to Livy, fustained this year a very confiderable loss in Spain. Asdrubal, Mago, and Hamiltar laid fiege to Illiturgis; but the two Scipios having broke thro' the enemy and supplied the garrison, afterwards attacked the camp of Asdrubal; who the supported by his two collegues, was entirely defeated. The Carthaginian army consisted of 60,000 men, and that of the Romans of only 16,000; nevertheless the Carthaginians, he says, lost above 16,000 men slain on the spot, 3000 made prisoners, five elephants killed, befides 1000 horses, 60 military ensigns, and five elephants taken. Notwithstanding this great loss, the Carthaginians, in a short time, again took the field with a great army; but were again defeated, with the loss of 13,000 men killed, besides 3000 prifoners, above 40 standards, and nine elephants that were taken by the enemy. After this battle, adds Livy, almost all the difterent nations in Spain revolted to the Romans.

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Hannibal, during the winter, found means to raise commo-Hannibal tions in Sicily, and by feveral artful steps fixed Hieronymus, raises the grandson and successor of Hiero, in the interest of the Car- commothaginians. Tho' Hieronymus, a few months after he had con-tions in cluded the league with Hannibal, was affaffinated; yet the Sicily. Carthaginian emissaries in Sicily found means of embroiling the flate of Syracuse with the Romans, which for three years created no small diversion to their arms.

The Capuans, terrified by the great preparations of the Ro- The Romans, who had levied no less than 18 legions for the service mans of the following campaign, entreated Hannibal, in the most make vipreffing terms, to march. Hannibal accordingly came and gorous encamped in their neighbourhood on mount Tifata, from efforts in whence he fent a detachment to reinforce the garrison of Ca- Italy. pua. He foon after made an unsuccessful attempt upon Puteoli, and likewise marched to Nola, whither he was invited by the populace. Marcellus, however, before his arrival, reinforcing the garrison of Nola with 6000 foot and 300 horse, his defign upon that place was again baffled; and being attacked by Marcellus, was obliged to retire, with the loss of 2000 men. Sempronius Gracchus, in the mean time, who commanded an army of flaves, or Volones, routed Hanno near Beneventum, with the loss of 16,000 men. Hanno retired into Lucania, where he gained fome advantage over a body of Romans; and Hannibal, after his repulse from Nola, marched to Tarentum, where some prisoners that he had sent home without ransom raised a party in his favour. The consuls, in the mean time, after an obstinate siege, retook Casilinum; but tho' Fabius, by a capitulation, promised the Campanians, who were part of the garrison, leave to retire to Capua, Marcellus fell upon them and cut the greatest part of them to pieces. After the reduction of Casilinum, Fabius laid waste great part of Campania, and also destroyed with fire and sword the country of the Caudine Samnites, and taking many of their cities by storm, carried off from thence an immense quantity of plunder. Hannibal finding that the Tarentines, who were awed by the prætor Levinus, would not openly declare for him, marched to Salapia, where he ordered vast quantities of provisions to be brought. His Moors and Numidians also pillaged the district of Salentum, and among other things brought off a large number of wild horses, 4000 of which being tamed, were very serviceable in the remounting of the Carthaginian cavalry.

In Spain, several actions happened this summer between the They are Carthaginians and the Romans, generally to the difadvantage successful of the former, who in many rencounters lost great numbers of in Spain. men; and being driven to a distant part of the country, could not prevent the Romans from making themselves masters of Saguntum. The antient inhabitants of this city, who still furvived, were now restored, and the Turdetani, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, were fold for flaves. This account of Livy may justly be looked upon as not altogether confiftent:

confistent; for it is hardly possible that the Carthaginians, if they had received fo many bloody overthrows, could have been able to have made fo strong an opposition to the Romans.

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The campaign in Italy.

The following spring, Hannibal being informed that Cassius Altinius, to make his peace with the Romans, from whom he had revolted, offered to deliver Arpi into their hands, feized the traitor, and having punished him, and taken possession of his immense treasures, burnt his wife and children alive. The garrison of 3000 citizens was immediately reinforced with 5000 Carthaginians; but foon after the Fabii surprised and took the place. According to Appian, they were admitted into the town by traitors, and put all the Carthaginians therein to the fword. During all this fummer, Hannibal was obliged to remain on the defensive. In Spain, the Scipios were still superior; and tho' nothing of moment was transacted there this fummer, they even extended their views to Africa, where they engaged Syphax king of Masasylia, or western Numidia, to take up arms against Carthage. The Carthaginians, to defend themfelves on this fide, entered into an alliance with Gala king of Massylia, or eastern Numidia. Gala was prompted to this alliance by his fon Massinissa, then about 17 years of age; who affembling his father's forces, gave Syphax two fuch total overthrows, that he found it impossible to make a diversion in fayour of the Romans. The Romans took a body of Celtiberians into their fervice, allowing them the fame pay given to their countrymen by the Carthaginians.

commotions in Africa.

Some

Towards the close of the campaign, some inconsiderable cities of the Salentines surrendered to Hannibal; but on the other hand, the Thurians and Consentini revolted from him to the Romans. The fatal confequences of this revolt were prevented by an advantage gained by Hanno in Lucania over L. Pomponius Veientanus. A few small towns of Lucania, even after this victory, opened their gates to Sempronius. The Tarentines foon after entering into a treaty with Hannibal, admitted fubmit to him into their city. Livius retiring with the garrison into the Hannibal. citadel, Hannibal laid fiege to that fortress; but his warlike machines being destroyed by the Romans in a fally, he blocked up the place by fea and land, and retired with his army.

The Tarentines Bef. Ch.

199.

The Romans defeat Hanno.

While he was engaged in this siege, he was earnestly solicited to return to Campania by the Capuans, whose territories were ravaged by the Romans, who threatned to invest their Hannibal not chusing to leave Tarentum, ordered Hanno to relieve and cover Capua. This general, however, was attacked by the conful near Beneventum, and his camp was forced, with the loss of 6000 killed and 7000 taken prisoners. All the corn collected for the use of the Capuans, with an immense quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the Romans. Hannibal, to encourage the Capuans, who were now in great consternation, sent them a reinforcement of 2000 men; and in the mean time prevailed on Metapontum and Heraclea to declare for him, the inhabitants of those two cities, according to Appiano pian, putting the Roman garrisons to the sword. The Thurians also, about the same time, entered into an alliance with the

Carthaginians, and admitted them into their city.

The consuls, to put a stop to the progress of Hannibal in this part of Italy, moved towards Capua, and defigning to beflege that city, ordered Sempronius to come from Lucania with his army of Volones to cover the fiege. Sempronius, before he left Lucania, was drawn into an ambuscade by the treachery of a native of that country, and cut to pieces, with a fmall party that attended him; upon which misfortune, the Volones thinking themselves discharged from their military oath, disbanded. This accident feems, for fome time, to have retarded the attack of Capua; but foon after the confular army began to approach the city. A confiderable detachment of Romans being cut off by the Capuan garrison near the city, the consuls, for some time, thought proper to stand on the defensive. Hannibal foon after arriving, and attacking the Romans, the confuls, to Hannibal oblige him to leave the territory of Capua, separated, one of gains a them marching into the district of Cumae, and the other into victory Lucania. After their departure, Hannibal fell in with 16,000 over the Romans under the command of Centenius Penula, and entirely Romans. routed them, only about 1000 of them making their escape.

Hannibal leaving Capua, the confuls again returned and invested the place, while the Carthaginians marched into Apulia, and drew Cn. Fulvius the prætor, with 18,000 men, into an ambuscade, and put them almost all to the sword. After this vistory, Hannibal returned to Tarentum; but not being able to persuade or force the garrison of the citadel to surrender, he moved towards Brundusium, in hopes of being admitted into that city; but the inhabitants still remained saithful to the

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About this time Otacilius failed with 80 quinqueremes from The Ro-Lilybæum to Utica, and entering the port by night, took a great man fleet number of vessels laden with corn. Having landed part of ravages his forces, he ravaged the adjacent territory; and then reim- the coast barking, returned safe to Lilybæum with 130 transports laden of Africa;

with corn and other spoils.

This year the Carthaginians had three armies in Spain, com-The transformed by Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, Mago, and another actions in Asdrubal the son of Gisco. Massinista and Indibilis joining them, Spain. the first with a body of Numidians, and the second with a reinforcement of Spaniards, Mago and Asdrubal, who acted in conjunction, gave the Romans a compleat overthrow, and killed Publius. They soon after attacked Cneius, who was also routed and slain. G. Marcius, a young Roman knight, having collected the remains of the Roman armies, and being by them chosen general, towards the end of the campaign surprized the Carthaginian camp, and cut off 37,000 of their men. He gained, according to the Roman writers, scyeral other considerable advantages.

The

Capua bethe Romuns.

The proconfuls, in the mean time, continuing the fiege, fieged by or rather the blockade, of Capua, began to reduce the place to great distress. Hannibal being informed of the distress of the Capuans by a Numidian horseman who had passed undiscovered thro' the Roman camp in the night, left the fiege of the citadel at Tarentum, and marched to their relief with his horse, his light-armed infantry, and 33 elephants. Having found means to give the garrison intelligence of his design, he made a furious attack upon the Roman camp, whilst the besieged, in a general fally, affaulted those who guarded the lines: but after a warm dispute, both the Carthaginians and Capuans were repulsed with confiderable loss.

Hannibal marches to Rome.

Hannibal, upon this repulse, was much perplexed how to act; but at length he formed a scheme, which he hoped would foon make an alteration in his affairs. He ordered his troops to fupply themselves with provisions for ten days, and to get ready as many transports as would waft them over Vulturnus in one night; being resolved to surprise the city of Rome before the Ramans could have any notice of his defign. Fulvius, however, being informed of Hannibal's intended motion by some deserters, dispatched a courier to Rome with the news; which threw the Romans into the greatest consternation. Hannibal did not march by the shortest way to Rome, but took his march by Suessa, Alifa, Aquinum, Interamna, Fregella, Labicum, Fusculum, and Gabii; so that the Romans had some time to prepare for their defence. Hannibal at length encamped on the banks of the Anio, about three miles from Rome; and tho' he began to despair of succeeding in his design, yet he advanced to the very gates of the city at the head of 2000 chosen horse. Soon after he retired fix miles from the city; and after rayaging the neighbouring country, marched into the territory of Capena, where he rifled a temple consecrated to the goddess Feronia. The Romans, contrary to his expectation, still continuing

the fiege of Capua, he marched back thither with the utmost expedition, and attacking the Romans in the night, killed a great many of them, and threw them into great confusion. Finding it, however, impossible to relieve the city, he marched thro' Lucania and Bruttium, and almost surprised the city of Capua sur- Rhegium. Capua, soon after his departure, was obliged to surrenders to render to the proconfuls; who not being able to agree as to the treatment of their chief prisoners, they referred their fate to the determination of the fenate; but Fulvius, in the mean time, without confulting his collegue, caused them to be put to death. The fuccess of this siege gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians, and disposed the Italian states in gene-

ral to declare for their former mafters.

Soon after the reduction of Capua, Claudius Nero, who had been employed in that fiege, failed to Spain with a confiderable reinforcement of troops; and not long after his arrival, thut up Afdrubal in a neck of land, and reduced him to fuch straits,

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that the Carthaginian army offered to leave Spain, provided the Romans would only grant them their lives. The proposal be-The Spaing accepted by Claudius, the artful Carthaginian started niards enevery day new difficulties, and in the mean time found means terinto an of conducting his troops by small parties out of the place where alliance they were invested. This event so changed the face of affairs with in Spain, that no person of distinction, except P. Cornelius Scipio. Scipio, the son of Publius, offered himself for the proconsulate there. Scipio, who was unanimously chosen, soon after his arrival in Spain, received deputations from most of the Spanish nations, who discovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a close union with the Romans.

The Carthaginians, about this time, fent a squadron to Tarrentum, to cut off all supplies from the Roman garrison there: but tho' they blocked up the place for some time by sea, yet they were not able to annoy the garrison. Hannibal now find. The Caring the Carthaginian affairs going swiftly to decay in Italy, as thaginian well as Spain and Sicily, which island had been wholly reduced affairs go by the Romans, could not forbear exclaiming against Hanno and to decay. his faction, for keeping back those successful.

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The next campaign, Marcellus, who was again chosen consul, made himself master of Salapia, where Hannibal lost 500 of his best Numidian horse. Hannibal now found himself inserior in horse; but his affairs were nevertheless somewhat retrieved, by a victory gained over a Roman squadron by the Tarentines, and an advantage gained by himself in Apulia over Fulvius Centumalus.

In Spain, the young Scipio began the campaign with the at-New Cartack of New Carthage, the capital city of the Carthaginian do-thage minions in that country. As the garrifon was not very nume-taken by rous, and there was no army near to affift the befieged, he took Scipio. the place by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his foldiers. He found here great wealth in gold, silver, and brass, besides immense quantities of provisions and military stores. The Carthaginians, for some time, endeavoured to suppress the news of the reduction of New Carthage; but not being able to conceal so remarkable a blow, they at last pretended that the conquest was of little importance. The humanity and generosity of Scipio to some Spanish prisoners of note, was of more consequence to the Roman affairs in Spain, than even the taking of Carthage. Almost all Spain began to revolt from the Carthaginians, who saw their former allies now join the young Scipio.

Hannibal, after the defeat of Fulvius, whom he routed with Hannibal the loss of 13,000 men, burnt the city of Herdonia, the inha-still formibitants of which had meditated a revolt to the Romans. He dable in put to death all those nobility whom he found to have kept a Italy. secret correspondence with Fulvius, and transported the body of the citizens to Thurium and Metapontum. Marcellus soon after came up with Hannibal near Numistro in Bruttium; and a

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battle ensuing, both parties fought till night parted them, without any confiderable advantage on either fide. Hannibal declined the engagement the next morning, and decamping the following night, was followed by the conful, who fpent all the rest of the campaign in endeavouring to draw the Carthaginians to a battle.

Syphax, about this time, fent an embaffy to Rome, notifying to the fenate certain advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians. About the same time Hamiltar, with a Carthaginian fquadron of 40 gallies, ravaged the coasts of Sardinia about Olbia and Caralis; and the Sicilian banditti, not only destroyed with fire and sword a good part of Bruttium, but laid

fiege to Caulonia.

Marcellus gains an nibal.

Tarentum

betrayed

mans.

In the beginning of the following campaign, Marcellus, to prevent Canufium from falling into the hands of the Carthagiadvantage nians, marched thither against Hannibal, and foon found means over Han- to draw him to a battle. Marcellus, after an obstinate dispute, was obliged to retire with the loss of 2700 men. Next day. however, after reproaching his foldiers with their cowardly behaviour, he renewed the action, and drove the Carthaginians, with the loss of 1000 men, to their camp. He himself lost above 3000 men in this battle, and had almost all the rest wounded; fo that though Hannibal retreated into Bruttium, he was not able to pursue him. During these transactions, the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volscentes submitted to the conful Fulvius; and Q. Fabius, the other conful, having taken Manduria, a city of the Salentines, by ftorm, where he made 4000 prisoners, fat down before Tarentum. The place was foon betrayed into his hands by the leaders of the Bruttians, who composed part of the to the Ro- garrison, and the inhabitants were treated by the Romans with the greatest severity, all those who escaped the sword being sold for flaves, to the number of 30,000. Hannibal, about this time, obliged the Sicilian banditti, in the neighbourhood of Caulonia, to furrender at discretion. Arriving too late to the relief of Tarentum, he marched to Metapontum, and there contrived a stratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to Fabius. He fent two of the inhabitants to the conful with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius was prevented by the augurs from marching thither, and Hannibal, impatient of his delay, fent new emissaries; but these being arrested and threatned with severe punishments, confessed the fecret.

Asdrubal defeated mans.

The Carthaginians had still three separate armies in Spain, Scipio, however, had entirely gained the affections of the Spaby the Ro- niards, who joined him in great numbers, and enabled him to attack the camp of Ajdrubal, which was fituated near Bætula, or, as Polybius calls it, Bæcula. After an obstinate engagement, he forced the entrenchments of the Carthaginians, whom he totally routed, killing, according to Livy, 3000 of them, and taking 12,000 prisoners, among whom were 2000 horse. Afdrubal with-

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Aldrubal, accompanied by Massinissa, fled towards the Pyrenees, with the remains of his shattered army, having fent his elephants that way before. Scipio, notwithstanding the victory he had obtained, thought proper to return to Tarraco, which gave the other two Carthaginian commanders an opportunity of joining Afdrubal, and fettling with him the future operations of the campaign. It was agreed that Asarubal, the brother of Hannibal, should march into Italy with all the Spanish forces he could draw together; that Afdrubal, the fon of Gifco, should take the command of all the Carthaginian troops in Spain; and Mago, the other general, should go to the Balearic islands to make new levies there. Massinissa had likewise a choice detachment of 3000 horse assigned him, to support the Carthaginians in hither Spain. The following year, which was the 11th of the second Punic war, the Carthaginians, threatning to ravage the coasts of Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily, with a fleet of above 200 fail, Scipio detached 50 gallies to protect the coasts of Sardinia.

In the mean time the new confuls, Marcellus and Crifpinus, resolving to besiege Locri, ordered thither a body of troops that were encamped near Tarentum. Hannibal routed this detachment, with the loss of 2000 men killed, besides 1200 prisoners. Not long after, he decoyed the two confuls, with a small escort Marcellus of 220 horfe, into an ambuscade; by which Marcellus was slain, and killed, and Crispinus, who made his escape, was mortally his col-wounded. Hannibal, by making use of the ring of Marcellus, legue attempted to get possession of Salapia; but the Salapians, being mortally informed of the death of the conful, turned the artifice of the wounded Carthaginian against himself. They admitted 600 of his men, by the who were Roman deferters, into the place, and then fuddenly Carthagipulling up the draw-bridges, cut them in pieces. Hannibal, nians. being thus deceived, marched to the relief of Locri, and forced the Romans to abandon the fiege with precipitation. About this time Valerius Lævinus, the Roman admiral, after ravaging the coalts of Africa, attacked a Carthaginian squadron of 80 gallies off Clupea, and defeated them, with the loss of 18 gallies, which he carried in triumph to Lilybæum.

During these transactions, Astrubal had passed the Pyrenees, Astrubal though Scipio had detached a body of troops to oppose him. As enters liathe filver mines near Bacula had supplied him with a very con- by with an siderable quantity of treasure, he not only prevailed upon the army. Gauls to grant him a passage through their country, but like-wife to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The Ligurians received him in the fame manner; so that he arrived at Placentia sooner than the Romans, or even Hannibal, expected. Sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of found policy, and continuing the fiege of it, he gave the Romans an opportunity of affembling all their forces to attack him; and thus not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the Gallie nations, who had so greatly expe-

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dited his march into Italy, but likewife totally ruined the Car-

thaginian affairs in that country.

Hannibal, in the beginning of next campaign, fent a body of troops to ravage the country of the Salentines; but the Romans entirely defeated this detachment, and killed 4000 of them Hannibal upon the spot. Hannibal, not long after, having reinforced his army by feveral garrisons, advanced to Grumentum, where by the Ro- he was attacked and defeated by the conful Claudius Nero, who, with the loss of only 500 men, killed 8000 of the enemy, and took 7000 prisoners. Upon this defeat he quickly retreated. but was attacked again at Venusia, and lost 2000 men, which obliged him to retire with precipitation to Metapontum, where

he was joined by Hanno.

Asdrubal, in the mean time, being obliged to raise the siege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria, where he defired his brother to join him. His letter to Hannibal, however, being intercepted, Claudius, at the head of 7000 chosen men, marched with the utmost dispatch to join his collegue Livius Salinator, who was appointed to act against Asdrubal. Having taken proper measures to prevent any interruption in his march, he foon arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Afdrubal, perceiving that the Romans were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a fatiguing march, came to the Metaurus, a river in Umbria. As the Romans pressed hard upon him, he found it was impossible to avoid an engagement, and therefore disposed his army to the greatest by the Ro- advantage. His troops being quite spent with hunger and want of rest, were not able to resist the Romans, who were superior to them both in numbers and resolution. Astrubal, seeing the total defeat of his army, threw himself into the midst of a Riman battalion, and died fighting. According to Livy, 56,000 of Asarubal's men fell in this bloody action, and near 6000 were taken prisoners; though Polybius makes the whole loss of the Carthaginians not to have exceeded 10,000 men. The Romans are faid by some writers to have lost 8000 men in the battle, but others reduce them to 2000.

Hannibal tected with this lofs.

The first news of this defeat which Hannibal received was greatly af from Claudius, who arriving fix days after at his camp near Canusium, sent several Carthaginians, whom he had taken prisoners, to Hannibal in chains, and ordered Asarubal's head to be thrown into the Carthaginian intrenchments, or, as some say, to be fixed on a pole near them. Hannibal, struck with horror at this fight, cried out, O Carthage! unhappy Carthage! I am sinking under the pressure of thy fate. He then retired to the extremity of Brutium, where, affembling all his forces, he remained for a confiderable time in a state of inaction, the Romans not daring to diffurb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck. It was a difficult thing, fays Livy, to determine whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. The people of Carthage, who were folicitous of preserving their possessions in Spain,

Aldrubal defeated and flain mans.

Bef. Ch. 194.

Spain, concerned themselves as little with the affairs of Italy, as though Hannibal had met with an uninterrupted series of success.

Hanno was sent from Carthage to succeed Asarbal in Spain, The Carand joined the troops he brought with him to those commanded thagians by Mago. Not long after his arrival he was deseated and taken unsuccessful prisoner by the Romans. Mago, who made his escape with the sul in cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, joined Asara-Spain. bal, the son of Gisco, who continued for some time in the neighbourhood of Gades. Lucius Scipio, the brother of Cornelius, took Aurinx, a city of importance, on the confines of lower Batica, and soon after set out for Rome with the news of these successes, which concluded the operations of this campaign in those parts. Valerius Lavinus, in the mean time, had made a descent on the coast of Africa; and having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about Carthage and Utica, returned to Lilybaum, deseating in his passage a Carthaginian squadron of

70 gallies.

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The next year Lucania submitted to the Romans; but Hannibal nevertheless gained some small advantages over the two confuls in the plains of Confentia, who, during all the rest of the campaign, durst not attack him. Mean time, Mago and Scipio Aldrubal, having affembled an army of 50, or, according to gains a fome, of 70,000 foot, and 4500 horse, ventured an engagement victory in with Scipio on the confines of Bætica, and were entirely de-Spainover feated. Astrubal retired to his camp, which he was at great the Carpains to fortify; but several bodies of Spaniards deserting to the thagi-Romans, he foon after abandoned his camp. In his retreat he nians. was overtaken by the Romans, who killed and dispersed all his men, excepting 7000, with whom he gained an advantageous post, where he entrenched himself. Astrubal and Mago, finding that numbers of them deserted, thought fit to abandon them, and escaped by sea to Gades. Massinissa, after their de-Massinissa. parture, entered into a private treaty with Silanus, who had abandons been left by Scipio, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, to block the Car-up the Carthaginians. The Numidian king, having now thaginin changed his party, by the connivance of Silanus, passed over interest. into Africa with some of the leading men of the Massyli, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. Having soon prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the design he had formed, he hastened back to Gades, to confer with Mago and Aldrubal, who had no fuspicion of his new engagement.

Scipio soon after passing over into Africa, persuaded Syphax, Syphax king of the Masæsyli, to abandon the Carthaginians, and to likewise enter into are alliance with Rome. Upon his return, he leaves the marched in person to besiege Illiturgis, and sent the brave knight Cartha-Marcius to reduce Castulo, both which cities had revolted from ginians. the Romans. The former was taken by assault, and all the inhabitants put to the sword; but the latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. Marcius, after the reduction of Castulo,

marched against Astapa, which was the only considerable city in Vol. III. Spain,

Spain, except Gades, in the possession of the Carthaginians,

The Spanish prin-Scipio.

Having cut off almost all the inhabitants in a fally, he took poffession of the empty town. Notwithstanding the melancholy fituation of the Carthaginian affairs in this country, Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as some Spanish troops, made the proper dispositions for still supporting the interest of his republic. A report of Scipio's death being published, had occasioned a considerable revolt among the Roman allies in Spain, which gave the Carthaginians some hopes of retrieving their affairs: 8000 legionaries, on this news, also mutinied, and chose two common foldiers to conduct them; but these troops being, by a stratagem, reduced and punished. Scibio foon after routed the Spanish rebels, with the loss of ces de-feated by racy being discovered at Gades, for betraying the city to the Romans, Mago fent the principal conspirators on board a galley to Carthage, and took fuch precautions, that the Romans found the design of attacking the city impracticable. Scipio, however, being informed that Massinissa, who was at Gades, earnestly desired to have an interview with him, to conclude the alliance betwixt him and the Romans, marched thither with a small body of troops; and Massinissa prevailing on Mago to send him with a detachment to the continent, had a conference with the Roman general, and fettled every thing with regard to the alliance, Mago foon after being ordered to abandon Spain, and to hasten with all his forces to the affistance of Hannibal in Italy, before he left Gades, not only obliged the citizens to bring all their gold and filver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his passage to Italy he made an attempt upon New Carthage, but was repulsed with the loss of 8000 men. This misfortune obliged him to put into the Balearic islands, where he continued during the winter, and reinforced his troops with 2000 men

Gades fub- from those islands. The Gadetani, after his departure, submits to the mitted to the Romans, who were now mafters of almost all

Romans. Spain.

Mago, next fummer landing in Liguria with an army of Mago lands with 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, surprized Genoa, and afterwards the town and port of Savo, where he stationed 10 of his gallies, an army fending back the rest to Carthage, upon a rumour that Scipio, in Italy. who had been recalled from Spain, and was created consul, intended to invade Africa. Mago, soon after his arrival, was joined by great numbers of Gauls and Ligurians; but did not, however, venture for some time to leave that coast. The armies in Brutium, in the mean time, continued inactive, both

of them being afflicted with a severe pestilence.

The following year advice was brought to Carthage, that some Spanish princes, who, after the departure of Scipio, had revolted from the Romans, in hopes of rendering themselves independant both of them and the Carthaginians, had been entirely defeated by the Roman generals, who were masters of that whole country. About the fame time they were greatly alarmans.

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ed with the news, that the Romans had made a descent near Lalius Hippo-Regius, and were plundering all the neighbouring coun-invades The fad revolution that had happened in their affairs, the Africa. destruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of Syphax, Maffinista, and all their other allies, together with the fickleness of the Africans, afforded them a most dismal prospect, now they imagined that they were threatned with a fiege. Hearing, however, that it was only a small body of Romans under Lælius, who had landed at Hippo, they recovered from their pannic, and began to make the necessary dispositions for their defence. They fent an embassy to Syphax, and to several other African Reguli, solliciting their friendship and affistance. They remitted 200 talents of filver to Philip of Macedon, in order to engage him to make a diversion either in Italy or Sicily; and they fent Mago a reinforcement of 6000 foot, 800 horse, 7 elephants, and 25 gallies, together with a large fum of money to make new levies. Lalius having had a conference with Massinissa, returned to Sicily with an immense booty, and about the same time Mago received the reinforcements from Carthage.

Scipio, being prevented by the senate from carrying a formi-Scipio dable army into Africa, sailed with a sleet to Locri, and having takes Loreduced that place partly by treachery, returned to Sicily, where cri.

he continued his preparations for his African expedition.

The Carthaginians, in the mean time, were under continual Syphax reapprehensions of being invaded by the Romans, and had posted news his parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the sea, to alliance give them notice of the first appearance of the enemy. To with the draw off Syphax from their alliance, Asarabal, the son of Gisco, Carthagiwaited upon him, and offered him in marriage his daughter nians. Sophonisha, a lady of exquisite charms. The alliance was accordingly concluded, and Syphax entered into an offensive and defensive league with the Carthaginians. This young lady, Appian says, had been formerly promised in marriage to Massimissis, but he being afterwards dispossessed in marriage to Massimissis, Asarbal now thinking him inconsiderable, broke his word to him. This prince afterwards became their most formidable enemy, and contributed not a little to the ruin of their republic.

Scipio, in the mean time, though Syphax had informed him of Scipio the new alliance he had entered into, nevertheless persisted in lands in his design of invading Africa, which was now countenanced by Africa. the senate, and soon after landed with a formidable army at the fair Promontory. The news of his arrival struck the Carthaginians with the greatest terror; they shut their gates, posted detachments upon the ramparts, ordered parties to patrole through the city in the night, and made such dispositions, as though the place had been already invested. Their only commander of repute was Asarabal, the son of Gisco, who had been deseated by Scipio in Spain, and their raw undisciplined troops were incapable of opposing the Roman legionaries. Scipio im-

mediately

mediately, upon his arrival, ravaged the country to the very gates of Carthage, and possessed himself of an oppulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made 8000 of its principal inhabitants prisoners. These successes greatly heightened the terror and confusion at Carthage, especially when it was known there, that Massinissa had joined Scipio with a body of 200, or, as some say, 2000, Numidian horse. Asdrubal, in the mean time, hearing that Scipio intended to invest Utica, advanced to that place at the head of 20,000 foot and 7000 horse, or, according to some, 30,000 foot and 3000 horse; his son Hanno, who attempted with 1000 horse to throw himself into Utica, was intercepted and taken prisoner by the enemy, the greatest part of his detachment being cut in pieces. Syphax now openly declaring for the Carthaginians. and joining Asdrubal with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, Scibio was obliged to raise the siege of Utica, after he had continued it forty days; and retiring to a promontory near his fleet, there stationed his troops in a fortified camp during the winter.

Hann bal defeated by the Romans.

In Italy, Hannibal this year gained an advantage over the conful Sempronius; but was himself soon after defeated by that general, with the loss of 4000 men, which forced him to retire with his army to Croton. The other conful Cethegus, in the mean time, kept the Etrurians in awe, and prevented Mago from approaching his brother Hannibal. The Brutians, hearing of the great success of Scipio in Africa, for the most part abandoned the Carthaginian interest; some of them expelled the Carthaginian garrisons, others put them to the sword, and those who durst not openly declare for the Romans, found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the Carthaginians. Hanhibal, hearing that the Peteleans had fent deputies to Rome, put the principal inhabitants under arrest, and disarmed the citizens. He treated other cities with greater feverity, and in particular, gave up Thurium and its district to be plundered, sparing only 3000 citizens and 500 peafants, whom he transplanted to Croton, where he fixed his head-quarters.

Syphax, during the winter, having in vain offered his mediation for a peace between the two republics, Scipio, in the fpring, moved from his entrenchments; and having, in the course of the negotiation, informed himself of the neglect of discipline in the Carthaginian and Numidian camps, he furprised them both in the night, and setting fire to the tents, totally routed both armies. The two commanders escaped only with 2000 foot and 500 horse; but soon after rallied the remains of their shattered armies, and formed a confiderable body of troops. This defeat threw the Carthaginians into the greatest consternation; some of the senators proposed to recal Hannibal, and others to ask a truce from the enemy; but the Barcinian faction, which was for pursuing the war, and continuing Hannibal in Italy, prevailed. Hanno, the fon of Hamilear, was appointed to command the troops in the room of Asdrubal, who was sentenced to die, but

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Scipio routs Syphax and Afdrubal.

by the favour of the troops he avoided that punishment. The Carthaginians and Syphax, both reinforcing their armies with the utmost diligence, again took the field with 30,000 men. Scipio, in the mean time, had advanced to the walls of Carthage, but not being able to draw the citizens to an engagement, again invested Utica. Hearing that Asarubal and Syphax were at no great distance, he turned the siege into a blockade, and marched against them. In a few days he came up with them, and totally routed them, and ordering Lælius and Massinissa to pursue those who fled, he himself, with the main body of his troops, reduced Tunis, and most of the towns in the neighbourhood of

Carthage.

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Immediately after this defeat, the fenate and fuffetes of Carthage came to a resolution to recal Hannibal from Italy; and, to prevent Scipio from laying fiege to their capital, they fent Hamilear with 100 gallies to burn the Roman fleet, that lay at one of the promontories on their coast. Scipio, however, reaching the place before the Carthaginian fleet, drew his gallies as near shore as he could, and repulsed the enemy, who nevertheless took fix of his veffels. Syphax, in the mean time, being de-Syphax tofeated and taken prisoner by Massinissa, who had also reduced tally dehis capital, the Carthaginians had no other resource than to sue feated by for peace to Scipio, who had again returned to Tunis, within Massinista. fight of their capital. They therefore deputed 30 of their prin- The Carcipal fenators to wait upon Scipio, who being introduced into thaginians his tent, threw themselves prostrate on the earth, and kissed his sue to They then accused Hannibal and the Barcinian faction as Scipio for the authors of all their calamities, and begged that their city, peace. which had twice merited destruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of Roman clemency, promiling at the fame time an implicit obedience to his commands. Scipio offered them peace on the following terms: he required, 1. That they should deliver up all the Roman prisoners and deserters to him. 2. That they should recal their armies out of Italy and Gaul. 3. That they should never again set foot in Spain, and should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa. 4. That they should deliver up all their ships to the Romans, 20 only excepted. 5. And should give to the Roman republic 500,000 bushels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 5000 talents, or, according to some, 5000 pound weight of The Carthaginians feigned a compliance with these terms, and a truce being granted them, they immediately fent deputies to Rome, and at the same time dispatched an express to Hannibal, to hasten his return to Africa.

During these transactions, Mago was defeated in Insubria, by Mago de-M. Cornelius and P. Quintilius Varus. Mago diftinguished him- feated in felf greatly throughout the whole action, but being wounded in 1 Jubria. the thigh, and carried out of the field, his troops were put to flight, with the loss of 5000 men. The Romans lost 2300 men, besides the best part of the 12th legion. Mago, after having made an excellent retreat, by the favour of the night, returned

to the coasts of Liguria, where he received orders to return forthwith to Carthage; but he scarce reached the island of Sardinia, when he died of his wounds.

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Hannibal recalled Bef. Ch. 190.

Hannibal, in the mean time, was pent up in a corner of Brutium; but when the messengers from Africa informed him. from Italy, of the senate's pleasure, he exprest the utmost concern and indignation, groaning and gnashing his teeth, unable almost to refrain from tears. "Hannibal," he exclaimed, "is not van-" quished by the Romans, but by the senate of Carthage." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to Africa; and accordingly embarked them without delay, causing some Brutian troops, that refused to accompany him, to be cruelly massacred. Never banished man, according to Livy, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses upon himself, if we will credit the same author, for his not having, after the battle of Cannæ, advanced to the walls of Rome.

The Romans gave but a very indifferent reception to the Carthaginian ambassadors, and suspecting their sincerity, referred them to the decision of Scipio. They were confirmed in their fentiments, upon being informed, that the Carthaginians had violated the truce, by seizing some Roman ships, which had been driven by a storm before their harbour, and attacking those envoys whom Scipio had sent to demand them back.

He arrives

Hannibal landed with his troops at little Leptis, near Adrumein Africa. tum, after he had been absent from Africa about twenty years. Upon his landing, he entered into a league with the prince of the Areacidæ, a Numidian tribe not far from Adrumetum, and was foon after joined by 4000 of Syphax's horse, which deserted from the service of Massinissa. As he did not think it proper to repose any confidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and distributed their horses among his troops. The second son of Syphax, and another Numidian prince, likewise joined him with a very confiderable body of horse. Having reduced most of the fortresses in Massinissa's kingdom, either by force or capitulation, and being joined by another Numidian prince with 2000 horse, he advanced to Zama, a town about five days march from Carthage. Some of his spies having been seized, kindly treated, and dismissed by Scipio, he was so charmed with this noble behaviour, that he fent a messenger to desire an interview Hasacon, with him, which, by means of Massinissa, he obtained, in an open plain, their guards keeping at a diffance on both fides. Hannibal, having flattered Scipio in the most refined and artful manner, proposed the cession of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and of all the islands between Italy and Africa, as the terms of peace. Scipio, however, replied, that he offered nothing but what the Romans already possessed, and that his republic, from the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, thought proper to impose more rigorous

ference with Scipro.

rigorous conditions upon them, which if they did not fubmit to. the decision of the dispute betwixt them must be left entirely to

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This conference, between two of the greatest generals the world ever produced, thus ending without success, they both retired to their respective camps. Next morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle, representing to them, that victory must decide whether Rome or Carthage should give law to the world. The engagement was for a long Is defeattime most bloody and obstinate, the Roman legionaries being ed by him many times repulsed by the Carthaginians, who were at last at Zama. broken and routed. The phalanx of Hannibal for a long time withflood the utmost efforts of the Romans; but at length, being attacked in the rear by Lælius and Maffinissa, who had returned from the pursuit, they were put into disorder, and almost all cut to pieces. Hannibal, according to Appian, first engaged Scipio, and afterwards Massinissa, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. After having greatly fignalized himself by his conduct and bravery, he was obliged to fave himself by flight; and escaping to Thon, a small city in that neighbourhood, from whence he fled, with one man only in whom he could confide, to Adrumetum. The loss of the Carthaginians on this occasion is, by Livy and Polybius, reckoned 20,000 men killed, and as many taken prisoners; others reckon 25,000 killed, and 8000 taken prisoners. The Romans lost only 2000 Hannibal, returning to Carthage, pressed his or 2500 men. countrymen immediately to conclude a peace. To this they were the more strongly excited, by the news they received of the overthrow of their ally, the fon of Syphax, who was routed with the loss of 15,000 men flain, and 1200 made prisoners. They accordingly fent thirty of their chief fenators to Scipio, A peace who, that he might have the honour of concluding the war, concluded was also desirous of a peace, and at their second audience, pro-between posed to them the following conditions: 1. The Carthaginians the Romans shall be governed by their own laws, and remain in possession and Carof all their African dominions. 2. The Carthaginians shall de-thaginians. liver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, priso- Bef. Christ ners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal forced to follow him, within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 3. They shall also deliver up all their ships of war, except 10 triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those animals for the service. 4. The senate and people of Carthage shall not engage in any war without the consent of the Romans. 5. They shall supply the Roman legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors they shall fend to Rome. 6. They shall pay the Romans, in the space of fifty years, 10,000 talents, at equal payments. 7. They shall deliver up to Scipio 100 fuch hostages as he shall chuse. ther the peace nor truce shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans the ships and effects taken from them during the last truce. 9. They shall restore to Massinista all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter

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into an alliance with him. 10. They shall never, for the future, make any levies in Gaul or Liguria. 11. They shall affift the Romans both by sea and land, whenever they are called upon so to do. 12. The Roman armies shall leave Africa within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. These terms appeared fo intolerable to the populace of Carthage, that they threatned to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility; but Hannibal, having affembled a body of 6000 foot, prevented an infurrection, and by his influence completed an accommodation. He represented to the senators the importance of uniting in their fuffrages, intimating that it might be of fatal consequence to the state, if, by their divisions, they should throw more weight into the popular scale, which already did but too much prepon-The fenate therefore, accepting the terms proposed by Scipio, fent deputies to his camp, and made fatisfaction for the ships and effects taken from the Romans during the last truce, the sum amounting to 25,000 pounds weight of silver. The senate and people of Rome having confirmed the articles granted by Scipio, the Carthaginians, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered up to that general above 500 ships, all of which he burnt in fight of Carthage. They likewise delivered up into the hands of the Romans all their elephants, all the flave deferters, and prisoners of war. The public funds of Carthage being exhausted by fo long and expensive a war, the senate found it vastly difficult to raise a sum sufficient for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty, which threw them into a melancholy filence, and many could not even refrain from tears. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, laughing on this occasion, was reproved by Asdrubal Hædus, of Hanno's faction, for infulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he infinuated, was owing to his conduct. The money was raised, by laying a tax on all the citizens of Carthage. Thus ended the second Punic war, which, according to Livy and Polybius, was terminated eighteen years after the first hostilities committed against the Romans by Hannibal.

The following year an army of Gauls and Ligurians, headed by one Hamilear a Carthaginian, having ravaged the territories of the allies of Rome, the Roman fenate threatned to renew the war with the Carthaginians, if they did not deliver up Hamilear. What answer the Carthaginians returned to this menace is not mentioned; but the death of Hamilear, who was soon after killed in an engagement, put an end to this dispute between the two republics. Massinish in the mean time, at the instigation of the Romans, had unjustly seized on part of the Carthaginian

The Car- two republics. Massinisa in the mean time, at the instigation thaginians of the Romans, had unjustly seized on part of the Carthaginian are forced dominions in Africa, under pretence that those territories forby the Ro- merly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, being commans to a strained to accept of the Romans as mediators, were obliged to gree to a cede those territories to that ambitious prince, and to enter into dishonour- an alliance with him.

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not being good, the quæstors refused it. Upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian minifters were obliged to borrow a fum of money at Rome to make up the deficiency. According to Appian, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to flourish, notwithstanding all their shipping had so lately been in a manner destroyed. This is a strong proof of the surprizing genius of that people for commerce, even in their most depressed and miserable condition. Not long after these transactions, Livy tells us, that one Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of Gauls; but was defeated, and taken prisoner by Cethegus. What influence this event had on the Carthaginian affairs hiftory Hannibal, in the mean time, still kept up his informs us not. credit at Carthage, and obtained the command of an army, defined to act against some neighbouring African powers; which gave such offence to the Romans, that, notwithstanding the Carthaginians had made them a present of a golden crown, and thanked them in a most polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refused to release the Carthaginian prisoners, fill detained in Italy; declaring, that they could not release them, as long as Hannibal, their most avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in Africa. The Carthaginians, upon this remonstrance, recalled Hannibal home, and conferred upon him the office of prætor, in which post he behaved so as to gain universal applause. He regulated the finan-Hannibal ces in fuch a manner, that confiderable favings were laid up reforms yearly for the public fervice. As fuch a laudable conduct must several have been founded upon a reformation of many abuses, it un-abuses at doubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many persons concerned Carthage. therein. He not only put the management of the public revenues upon a good footing; but also rectified those irregularities that had crept into the administration of justice. To prevent the rapacity and arbitrary proceedings of the judges, he procured the passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually, and that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly irritated the nobles, but extremely pleased the populace of Carthage. Hannibal having detected the frauds of the officers concerned in the public revenues, as well as the collusions of those possessed of other lucrative posts, they exerted their utmost malice to ruin him, by exciting the Romans to pursue him to destruction. Accordingly, C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culeo arrived at Carthage, to accommodate, as it was pretended, the difference between the Carthaginians and Massinissa; but in reality to ruin Hannibal, whom they accused of carrying on a lecret intelligence with king Antiochus, to the prejudice of the Romans. Hannibal, knowing the disposition of his countrymen, He is othought it prudent to fubmit to the necessity of the times; and bliged to having made all the proper dispositions for his departure, went leave the out of the city in the dusk of the evening, in a foreign dress, city. attended only by two companions, ignorant of his delign,

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Having previously stationed horses at different places on his route, he quickly arrived at a little castle of his own near Thap. fus, and embarking on board a vessel that waited for him, sailed over to the island Cercina. The populace of Carthage, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city, some thinking he had fled, and others that he had been affaffinated by the Roman faction; but in a few days the truth was discovered. Hannibal pretended at Cercina, that the republic of Carthage had fent him their ambassador to Tyre, and accordingly fet fail for that city; where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit. Having a conference foon after with the fon of Antiochus at Daphne near Antioch, he from thence posted to Ephefus, where he met with a most kind reception from that prince himself, and fixed him in a resolution to declare war against The Carthaginians, being apprehensive that by Hannibal's intrigues they might be embroiled with the Romans, thought proper to fend them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of Antiochus. This news not a little alarmed them, and the king might have turned fo lucky an accident greatly to his ad. He presses vantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it. Han-Antiochus nibal pressed the king to carry his arms into Italy, and offered to invade to fail to Carthage, not doubting but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of 100 thips, and a body of 11,000 land forces. Antiochus at first vours also approving very much of this proposal, Hannibal dispatched one Aristo, a Tyrian, to Carthage, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. As Aristo associated chiefly thaginians with the members of the Barcinian faction, the other party fulagainst the pecting his design, seized him, and called upon him to clear What he alledged in his justification not giving satisfaction, some of the members of the senate were for treating him as a fpy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as no evidence could be produced against him. The determination of the affair being deferred till next day, the crafty Tyrian in the mean time made his escape; but before his departure, left in the public hall, where justice was administred, a writing that fully declared the reason of his coming to Carthage. The

fenate, to shew how religiously they intended to observe the

last treaty, immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

Hannibal not long after had several conferences at Ephelus with P. Sulpitius, one of the Roman ambassadors, who had come to Antiochus. Sulpitius affected to shew him a particular esteem on

all occasions; but his chief aim, by all his infidious behaviour,

was to render him suspected, and to lessen his credit with the

king, in which he succeeded. Some authors relate, that Scipio

history? He replied, Alexander, king of Macedon; because,

rence be- was also joined in this embassy, and that he likewise visited twixt Han- Hannibal. Scipio, it is faid, in one of his conversations, defired nibal and Hannibal to tell him, who was the most celebrated general in

with an inconfiderable body of troops, he had extended his conquests into countries so widely distant. Being then asked who was the next to him, he answered Pyrrhus, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage. Scipio then demanding of him whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Scipio here not being able to refrain from laughing, added, "What would you have said if you had vanquished me?" "I would," replied Hannibal, " have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and "all the generals the world ever produced." Plutarch relates this story in a different manner, and says, that Hannibal gave the first place to Pyrrhus, the second to Scipio, and the third to himself; but the relation of Livy is more spirited and more conformable to Hannibal's character.

Antiochus having entertained a suspicion of Hannibal on account of his conferences with the Roman ambaliadors, would not for some time admit him into his councils. Hannibal at first took no notice of this slight; but at length entreated Antiochus to discover to him the cause of his late coldness. Having learned the reason, he soon satisfied the prince of the falsehood of his suspicions, by declaring to him, that in his tender infancy he had fworn at the altar always to bear an implacable enmity to the Romans. Hannibal being restored to favour, preparations were made to execute the scheme he had formed; however, foon after Antiochus, by the intrigues of his ministers, and the malicious suggestions of Thoas the Etolian, was prevailed upon to drop the defign, and purfued other measures,

which proved fatal to himself.

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Some time after, the Carthaginians offered to supply the Ro- The Carmans with a million of bushels of wheat, and 500,000 bushels thaginians of barley, as a free gift. They also proposed to equip a fleet offer affisat their own expence for their service, and to remit to Rome tance to at once the whole remainder of the fum imposed upon them by the Rothe late treaty. The Romans gave their ambassadors a kind re-mans. ception, but refused to accept of their offers. From this incident, we may form some idea of the incredible industry of the Carthaginians, as well as of their furprifing genius for trade. For tho' they had been exhausted by a most ruinous war, stript of almost all their dominions, deprived of their ships, and feemingly reduced to the extremest misery, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, again to become wealthy and powerful.

Antiochus, some time after, finding the bad success of his own schemes, again had recourse to Hannibal; who forgetting the ill ulage he had met with, most willingly gave his advice to the distreffed prince, tho' his counsels were again neglected. After a series of misfortunes, Antiochus was obliged to ask a peace of the Roman generals upon any terms; and they infifting, as the chief article, that Hannibal should be delivered up to them, he was obliged to condescend to their demand. Hannibal, however,

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Hannibal foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the island of Crete. It appears from Scipio Nasica's speech in Liv, that Hannibal was a general in the Syrian army at the battle of Magnesia; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe that he was present in all the principal actions that happened between the Romans and Antio-Hannibal, upon his arrival among the Gortynii in Crete, was afraid of being robbed of his riches; and therefore filled feveral veffels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and filver, and placed them for fecurity, as he pretended, in the temple of Diana, at the same time concealing his treaand from fure in hollow statues of brass. From Crete he retired to the thence to court of Prusias king of Bythynia, with whom he found means Bythinia. to unite several neighbouring princes and states in a league against Eumenes king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. During the war, which foon after commenced betwixt them, Hannibal is faid to have given Eumenes several defeats, and to have reduced him to great straits, more by force of genius than superiority of strength. The Romans sending ambassadors to Prusias, and complaining of the protection he afforded Hannibal, that ungrateful prince resolved to deliver him up, and fent a party of foldiers to furround his house. Hannibal, having before discovered that no confidence was to be reposed in Prusias, had contrived seven secret passages from his house; but guards being posted on these, he found it imposfible to escape, and had recourse to poison, which he had long referved for this melancholy occasion. Having drank the poison, he expired at 70 years of age, his death reflecting an eterfons him- nal ignominy upon the Romans, whose insatible thirst after empire had extinguished all generous fentiments and heroic virtue in their minds. Polybius seems to make Hannibal a pattern for all fucceeding commanders; and Livy, notwithstanding his partiality, owns himself aftonished at his wonderful conduct after the defeat of his brother Asdrubal. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, composed of such a variety of nations, differing in language, manners, genius, and other particulars, even after fortune had declared against him, and when they were in want both of money and provisions, was a full demonstration of his confummate abilities. Polybius observes, that it would have been much more fatal to the Carthaginians to have loft him, than any of the armies he ever commanded. What we have already observed of his facetious disposition and love for the muses, is confirmed be Gellius and others. He ex-

pressed a great reverence for the gods; and was distinguished for his continence, temperance, uncommon wisdom, and contempt of riches. He feems, however, to have had little humanity in his disposition, and not to have been much swayed by the rules of justice and probity. Polybius, as an apology for his defects, thinks that it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with

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which he was obliged to struggle, during the course of so long and burdensome a war, than to his own natural disposition *.

After Hannibal's slight to Antiochus, the Romans began to

After Hannibal's flight to Antiochus, the Romans began to look upon the Carthaginians with a suspicious eye; tho' to prevent all distrust, the latter of these states had ordered two ships to pursue Hannibal, confiscated his effects, razed his house, and by a public decree declared him an exile. They likewise no-Disputes tified to the Romans the commission of Aristo, the emissary of betwixt Hannibal; complaining at the same time to the Roman senate Massinisa of the unjust encroachment of Massinissa, who had seized upon and the part of a maritime territory called Emporia, which was situ-Carthagi-

ated near the lesser Syrtis, and was extremely rich and fruit-nians. ful. The Romans sent deputies to examine the matter upon the spot; but these returned without coming to any resolution, Massinissa being still less in possession of what he had seized.

About ten years after, Massinissa over-ran another province

that his father Gala had taken from the Carthaginians, and Syphax from him, from whom it had returned to its former mafters thro' the charms and endearments of Sophonisba. Romans were again appealed to by both parties; but left the affair for some time undecided. At length they effected an The Roaccommodation between Massinissa and the Carthaginians, con-mans fafirming the former in the possession of his unjust acquisitions, your the and restoring to the latter 100 hostages whom they had till that Massinissa. time detained. Massinissa grasping at farther conquests, endeavoured foon after to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans, concerting measures with the Roman ambassadors in Africa for that purpose. The latter affirmed, that the senate of Carthage had affembled by night in the temple of Æsculapius, to confer with some ambassadors sent to them by Perseus king of Macedon, with whom the Romans were about to engage in a war. Massinissa at the same time afferted, that the Carthaginians had dispatched ministers to Perseus to conclude a treaty with him. This, tho' denied by the Carthaginians, was believed to be true. Not long after Massinissa made an irruption Massinissa into the province of Tysca, and possessed himself of above 70, commits or as Appian will have it, 50 towns and castles. The Cartha- new hoginians, upon this, applied with great importunity to the Ro-stilities man senate for redress. The representations of the Carthagi- against nian ambassadors at Rome making a deep impression upon the the Carsenate, Gulussa, Massinissa's son, who was then present, was thaginians. called upon to vindicate his father's conduct. The young prince making but a lame excuse for the proceedings of his father, the senate declared that they would maintain the Carthaginians in the possession of their just territories, and desired him to fet out for Numidia, to acquaint his father that he must

fend

^{*} Aul. Gel. Noct. At. l. v. Polyb. l. xi. Liv. l. xxviii. & alibi paf. Just. l. xxxii. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. Corn. Nep. & Aur. Vict. Plut. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. Val. Max. &c.

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fend deputies to Rome to clear up the dispute. The Roman acted in this evalive manner partly from their implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, and partly in hopes of receiving fuccours from Massinissa in the Macedonian war, which they were

just going to enter upon.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding the lamentable slavery under which they groaned, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, and offered to transport immediately a million of bushels of wheat, and 500,000 bushels of barley into what part of the Roman territories the senate should appoint. Massinissa's ambassadors not only offered the same quantity of corn, but likewise to add 1200 horses, and 12 elephants, to those reinforcements which they had already fent to the Roman army. The abject and meanspirited behaviour of the Carthaginians, was far from making the Romans their hearty friends. The Roman senate, however, affected to shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour, and fent Cate, a man famous for committing enormities under the specious pretext of public spirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt Massinissa and the Carthaginians. The latter refused to submit to his mediation, and appealed to the treaty concluded by Scipio; which so incensed Cato, that upon his return home, he pressed the senate in the most absurd and at the same time most virulent manner, to destroy Carthage.

censed against the Carthaginians. Massinissa

Cato in-

Some years before this period, Carthage was miferably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the Romans was supports a headed by one Hanno; that in the interest of Massinissa by faction in Hannibal Paffer; and that formed of the populace by Carthalo Carthage. and Hamiltar Sannis. Two powerful parties succeeding these, struggled for the dominion of the city. The popular faction prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees and their adherents, and expelled forty of the fenators, who retiring to the court of Massinissa, excited him to a war with the Carthaginians. Massinissa sent two of his sons to Carthage, to solicit the return of the exiles; but the Carthaginians would not admit them into their city, and even pursued them and cut off some of their retinue. This occasioning a fresh rupture, Mallinga befieged Oroscopa; which Asdrubal, a Carthaginian general, at-He defeats tempted to relieve. His army, which confisted of 25,000 foot the Car- and 400 horse, was reinforced by 6000 men, under the com-

thaginians mand of two Numidian captains who deferted from Maffiniffa. under Af- Afdrubal being decoyed by Massinissa into a barren plain, was drubal.

there defeated by him, and obliged to fue for peace. The Carthaginians, in order to terminate their contests with this prince, offered to yield up to him the territory of Emporium, to pay down 200 talents of filver, and to remit 800 more at a stipulated time. But Massinissa infisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. The Roman deputies, who arrived in the Numidian camp foon after the battle, had orders to infift upon a peace if the Carthagimans had obtained the victory; but in case Massinissa was victorious, to assure him of the continuance of their friendship; omans e ha-

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and to push him on to the war, which continued for some time longer with great animofity. The Carthaginians at length were The Carblocked up in their camp, where they were foon diffressed with thaginians a famine, which produced a plague that fwept off great num-routed hers of their men; fo that they were obliged to submit to the again by terms prescribed by Massinisa, who, among other things, forced Massithem to pass under the yoke unarmed and half naked. Gulussa, nisa. however, not fatisfied with this revenge, fell upon them with his Numidian horse, and cut them almost all to pieces, only Aldrubal, and some other officers of distinction, escaping out of 58,000 men.

The Carthaginians being fully apprifed of the enmity of the Romans, and being now apprehensive of their refentment, they impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war waged with the king of Numidia. They also fent a deputation to Rome, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct; offering all kinds of fubmission, and even leaving it to the fenate to propose their own terms. ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. The Carthaginians now believing their destruction resolved upon, were filled with the utmost despair; especially when they heard of the great preparations making at Rome, and that the populous and flourishing city of Utica had entered into an alliance with the Romans, and voluntarily submitted to them.

The new confuls, in the mean time, formally declared war The Roagainst Carthage; and having embarked their troops, proceeded mans deto Lilybaum in Sicily, from whence it was proposed to transport clare was them to Utica. The Carthaginians, to avert the impending against danger, dispatched to Rome other ambassadors, with full pow- the Carers to act as they should think fit for the good of the republic, thaginiand even to submit themselves without reserve to the pleasure ans, of the Romans. The fenate of Rome feemed to be in fome meafure fatisfied with this absolute furrender, and promised them their liberty and the enjoyment of their laws, on condition that they fent 300 hostages to the confuls at Lilybæum, and who comply with all their orders. The Carthaginians being abso-agree to lutely incapable of coping with fo formidable an enemy, and give 300 at this juncture in want of almost every thing, one of their hostages fenators exhorted them for the present to obey. No scene can to the be conceived more moving than that exhibited at Carthage confuls. when the hostages were delivered up. As the ambaliadors delivered them to the confuls before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of foftening their hardhearted enemy: but the conful only told them, that upon their arrival at Utica, they should learn the farther orders of the republic. The confuls, upon their arrival at Utica, were again waited upon by the Carthaginian ambassadors, who defired to know the real intentions of the Roman senate. They were

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The Carall their arms to the Ro-

mans, mand them to abandon

The Ro- received with great pomp by the confuls; who did not think it expedient to communicate all the commands of their repub. vertheless lic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the Carthaginians would have refused a compliance with them. They therefore first demanded a sufficient supply of corn for Bef. Christ the subsistence of their troops: then, that all their triremes should be delivered up, and afterwards their military machines, and lastly their arms. The Carthaginians found themselves enthaginians fnared by these excessive demands; but not being able to redeliver up ject the last of them, obeyed with the utmost reluctance and concern.

Censorinus the consul, now imagining the Carthaginians not capable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as Zonaras will have it, to demolish it, permitwho com- ting them to build another 80 stadia from the sea; but without walls or fortifications. The embassadors, thunder-struck with this decree, in vain endeavoured by their entreaties and tears to excite the compassion of the Romans. When this last cruel their city. command was mentioned in Carthage, the citizens were fruck with despair, and for some time behaved in a frantic and furious manner; but when their first transports of grief were over, and their passions began to subside, they unanimously refolved to die upon the spot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the Romans, whose baseness and perfidy on

this occasion cannot be too greatly detested.

The Car-*baginians resolve to defend themfelves.

The Carthaginians being animated by despair, took the malefactors out of prison, gave the slaves their liberty, and incorporated both with their troops. A pardon was then granted to Asarubal, who was invited to employ the 20,000 men he had raised in defence of his country. To supply themselves with arms, men and women were continually employed in all the public buildings as in so many work-houses, and every day made 144 bucklers, 300 fwords, 1000 darts, and 500 lances and javelins. When iron and brafs were wanting for their larger machines, they made use of gold and filver, melting down the statues, and vases, and even the utenfils of private families, the most covetous on this occasion becoming liberal. As they were deftitute of materials for making ropes, the women, even those of the first rank, cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

Carthage invested by the Romans.

The confuls not being under any apprehensions from Carthage, as it was now difarmed, made no great hafte to march against the city. The Romans, when they invested the place, proposed immediately to take it by florm; but to their great aftonishment found the ramparts well guarded with armed men, and were repulsed with loss. Asdrubal, in the mean time, having greatly encreased his army, came and encamped in their neighbourhood, and foon reduced them to great straits by intercepting their foraging parties. The garrison likewise repulsed the Romans in all the attacks they made; and by their vigorous fallies, destroyed most of their works and battering engines. Cexforinus,

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frinus, we are told by Appian, played one vast ram against the walls with 6000 foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers. The Carthaginians, however, repulsed the Romans, when they attempted to fform the breach made by their rams, and afterwards repaired it in the night. After a very unfuccessful campaign, in which the Roman army had met with several defeats, and part of the fleet had been burnt by the besiegers, one of the consuls was recalled to Italy. The Romans having imprudently attacked Asdrubal, their whole army would have been cut off, had not Scipio Æmilianus, who was then only a military tribune, with great intrepidity covered their retreat. Scipio having greatly raised his reputation by his bravery and conduct, Massinissa, who was on his deathbed, fent for him to confult him about regulating the fucceffion of his three fons, whom he left joint heirs of his domi-The Romans, about the fame time, took feveral strong holds belonging to the Carthaginians; and Scipio, upon his return from Numidia, prevailed with Phameas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, to defert to the Romans with 2200 of

The next campaign the conful Calpurnius Pifo, and his lieu- The Cartenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Cartha-thaginians ginians were fo strong this year, that they obtained several adgain sever vantages over the Romans; and towards the close of it, obliged ral advanthem to raise the siege of Hippo Zaritus, which they had cartages over ried on the whole summer. The siege of Carthage seemed for the Rothe present to be suspended; and the Roman generals, after mans. having spent the whole campaign in fruitless expeditions, returned, in the beginning of winter, with their sleet and army to Utica. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, having encreased their troops, daily got new allies, and applied for assistance to the counterseit Philip, who passed for the son of Perseus

king of *Macedon*, and was then at war with the *Romans*, promiting to supply him with money and ships.

The following spring, having put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence, they sent ambassadors to two of the sons of Massinssa, who had hitherto remained neuter, and to the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the Romans. About this time Asdrubal, the general of the Carthaginian army, being desirous also of commanding in the town, falsely accused another Asdrubal, who was commander of the garrison, of a design to betray the republic; and the innocent person being instantly dispatched without any just process, he obtained his desire.

Not long after Mancinus, who had the conduct of the fiege, while the consul Calpurnius marched against the inland towns, took post in part of the town, which, on account of its rocky situation, had been neglected by the Carthaginians. The befieged not only prevented any ill consequences from this lodgement, but even cut off the retreat of the Romans, who were soon reduced to great difficulties. Scipio Æmilianus at this time Vol. III.

ted to Scipio.

The con- landing in Utica in quality of conful, immediately failed to ducting of their relief, and brought them off fafe in his ships. Soon afthe fiege ter, having ordered Calpurnius to join him with his troops, he commit- marched to Carthage, and in the night-time attacked that part of the city called Magalia, which after an obstinate resistance he took by ftorm, the Carthaginians, in great consternation, retreating to Byrsa, being followed by the forces that were encamped without the town. Asdrubal was so enraged at the loss of Magalia, that next morning, either to gratify his revengeful temper, or to render the besieged desperate, he ordered all the Roman prisoners taken during the war to be massacred.

Whilst he was thus venting his fury upon the Roman captives, and even murdering many Carthaginian fenators who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, Scipio drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation across the isthmus, and entirely cut off the communication of the city with the land. Having compleated this work, the conful next blocked up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, which he accomplished with vast labour. The besieged, instigated by despair, set all hands to work, and with an industry scarce to be paralleled, dug a new bason, and opened a communication with the sea. They equipped with great diligence a fleet of 50 quinqueremes, with a vait number of other veffels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. These amazing works were fo fecretly carried on, and fo fuddenly compleated, that the Romans were confounded when they faw their fquadron appear at fea; and fo great was their furprize, that Appian believes the Carthaginians might have totally ruined the Roman fleet, had they immediately attacked it; which indeed feems very probable, as they would have found the Roman veffels, destitute of rowers, soldiers, and officers. The Carthaginians imprudently deferred the engagement for two days; which gave the Romans leifure to prepare for an action, which tho' very bloody, was indecifive. The following morning the battle was again renewed, and continued with great obstinacy till late at night; when the Carthaginians were obliged to retire, and fail for shelter to the city. Amilianus next morning attempted to make himself master of a terrace which had been thrown up against the walls towards the sea, for the convenience of loading and unloading goods. The befieged repulfed him with prodigious flaughter, and at night many of them Iwimed out to fea, and fet fire to the engines that had been erected on his gallies. A few days afterwards, however, he took the place by affault, and erected a wall upon it close to the walls of the city, and of equal height with them. Winter approaching, he fuspended all further attacks upon the city till the return of good weather.

In the mean time he marched against the Carthaginian army that was encamped near Nepheris, and from thence fent convoys of provisions by sea to Carthage. After a desperate attack he forced their entrenchments, the whole Carthaginian

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army, which confifted of 84,000 men, being either cut to pieces He defeats or taken prisoners, except 4000, who dispersed themselves in the Carthe neighbouring villages. Asarubal, disheartned by the loss thaginian of the army, offered, in the name of the Carthaginians, to army, submit to what conditions the Romans pleased, provided they would only spare the city: but the consul absolutely refused to recede from his instructions with regard to the demolition of Carthage. Early the following spring Scipio again returned to the fiege, and ordered Lælius, his lieutenant-general, to attack the Cothon, while he made another attack upon Byrla. Lalius forced the wall that furrounded the Cothon, and being joined by Scipio, threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it. Next morning, having received a reinforce. ment of 4000 men from their camp, they attempted to force their way through the streets to the citadel. The Carthagini- and takes ans having been greatly weakened by a famine, infomuch that Carthage they had been obliged for some time to feed upon human flesh, by storm. and having scarce strength to handle their arms, Scipio in fix Bef. Christ days effected this; but in the contest lost a vast number of men. Having fet hire to that part of the city next to Byrfa; he afterwards levelled the rubbith, and appeared with his whole army before the citadel. The Carthaginians, who had fled thither for refuge, were so terrified, that first of all 25,000 women, and foon after 30,000 men, came out of the gates and begged for life; which Scipio granted to all who were in Byrla, except the Roman deserters, whose number amounted to 900. Afdrubal also basely deserted his wife and children, whom he would not allow to join the supplicant women, and went, in a cowardly manner, and threw himself at the feet of the conful. This instance of perfidiousness so affected his wife, that she threw herfelf and children into the flames of the temple of Esculapius, which the Roman deferters had set fire to.

Thus fell Carthage, after it had subsisted about 748 years, given laws to many distant provinces, and for the space of 118 years rivalled Rome itself. Its destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its The treasure carried off by Emilianus, exclu- He carries villainous rival. live of the plunder of the foldiers, was so immense, that it ex- an imceeded all belief. Pliny makes it amount to 4,470,000 pounds mense weight of filver. According to Salust, Æmilianus preserved plunderto from the flames feveral valuable libraries, which he prefented Rome. to the grandsons of Massinissa. The Romans ordered Carthage never again to be inhabited, and denounced dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it. Nevertheless, about 24 years Carthage after, C. Gracchus, tribune of the Roman people, undertook to rebuilt by rebuild it, and to that end conducted thither a colony of 6000 the Ro-Roman citizens. The workmen, according to Plutarch, were mans. terrified by many unlucky omens, on which account the fenate would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, little af-

fected

fected with superstitious fears, continued the work, which he finished in a few days. From hence, it seems probable, that only a flight kind of huts were erected, as Velleius tells us that Marius, after his flight from Italy, lived in a poor condition amidst the ruins of Carthage. According to Appian, Julius Cæsar, on account of a dream he had upon his landing in Africa, formed a defign of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth, which he noted down in his pocket-book; but he was murdered before he could put it in execution. However, Augustus Casar, his adopted fon, he fays, finding this memoir among his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which antient Carthage stood, which he called by the same name. This ther he fent a colony of 3000 men, who were foon joined by confiderable numbers from neighbouring towns. According to Strabo, however, both Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Julius Cæsar; and the same author affirms, that, in his time, that is, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Carthage was equal, if not superior, to the largest city in Africa; which can scarce be admitted, if we suppose it to have been built by Augustus after the conclusion of all his wars. Plutarch follows Strabo, and Pliny mentions it as a very confiderable colony in his days. After the commencement of the Christian Æra, it was looked upon as the capital of Africa for several centuries. In the reign of Constantine, Maxentius laid it in ashes; and Genseric king of the Vandals took it in the year 439. About a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the Roman empire by that renowed commander Belifarius; but at last the Saracens, towards the close of the 7th century, fo completely destroyed it, that scarce any traces of it are now to be discovered *.

Is razed by the Saracens.

^{*} Appian in Lybic. Strabo, 1. xvi. Plut. in Grach. & Cæs. Dio. Cass. l. xliii. Plin. 1. v. Solin. c. xxvii.

BOOK X.

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The History of the MACEDONIANS, including the History of ALEXANDER'S Successors.

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CHAP. I. SECT. I.

A Description of MACEDONIA.

HIS country, in antient times, was called Emathia, The anfrom one of its provinces so named. Afterwards it ob-tient name tained the name of Macedonia, from Macedo, one of its of Mace. kings, as fome think; but according to Cluverius, by an alte-donia, ration of Mygdonia,, the name of one of its provinces. Its bounds are not easily affigned, it having been at some times esteemed larger and at others less, according to the fortune of its princes. Antiently it was bounded on the east by the Ægean Its bounsea, on the south by Thessaly and Epirus, on the west by the daries. Adriatic or the Ionian sea, and on the north by the river Strymon, tho' afterwards by the river Nessus, or Nestus. On its eaftern coasts, while the power of the Macedonian kings was confined to very narrow limits, the Athenians, Corcyrians, and Corinthians, for a long time held very large districts, and in different parts of it other states had also established themselves. Pliny affirms, that no less than 150 different nations were seated Inhabited in this country; and according to Mela, it had as many na- by differtions as cities. On the coasts of the Adriatic were seated the ent na-Taulantii, within whose territory stood the city Epidamnum; tions. which name the Romans looking upon as unlucky, changed into Dyrrachium. It was originally a colony of the Corcyrians, and is at present called Durazzo. In the confines of this people also stood Apollonia, on the river Laous, seven miles from the fea, a city remarkable for it excellent laws, and under the Romans, celebrated as a feat of learning. South of the Taulantii, on the Adriatic coast, lay the country of the Elymiotæ, whose chief cities were Elyma and Bullis, both sea ports. To the east of the Elymiotæ lay a small inland district, called the kingdom of Orestes, so called from the son of Agamemnon, cf that name, who, it is faid, settled here after he had slain his mother. This people, tho' for some time subject to the Macedonian kings, yet preserved such privileges, and vindicated R_3

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their liberty with fuch firmness, that the Romans even allowed them to maintain the form of a commonwealth, acknowleging the Roman protection, but not the jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates. Their capital was Gyrtone. Between this people and the Taulantii lay the Eordians; and to the north of these lay the territory of the Dassaretæ, whose chief cities were Lychnides and Evia. East of this country lay Emathia, which stretched itself quite to the Sinus Tharmaicus, and contained several famous cities, particularly Ægæa, or Edessa, the antient capital of the Macedonian kingdom, and Pella, feated at the mouth of the river Actius, famous for being the birthplace of Philip and his fon Alexander. South-east from Emathia, on the shore of the gulf of Saloniotis, lies the little country of Pieria, famous for its being the region of the muses. Its chief cities were Pydna, Phylace, and Dion or Dium. To the north of Emathia lay the country of Mygdonia, in which were the cities of Antigonia, Leta, and Terpilus. East of this the region of Amphaxitis was fituated, in which stood the noble city of Thessalonica, at this day the most considerable place in Macedonia under the name of Salonichi. In this province also stood Stagyra, the birth-place of Hipparchus the philosopher, and of the celebrated Aristotle. On the fouth-east of this country lay Chalcidica, in which were the towns of Augæa, Singus, and Acanthus. Next to this lay the country Paraxis, in which were the cities of Palena; Potidæa, a colony of Corinthians, now called Cassandria; Torone, and Olynthus. In the northern part of Macedonia the Bisaltæ held a small country; and north-west from them lay the region of Edonia, in which stood the cities of Amphipolis, Scotufa, and Berga. These are some of the many nations who inhabited this country.

Macedonia lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and extends in longitude about 4 degrees. From north to fouth it is about 160 miles, and from east to west about 220. It is advantageously situated between the Agean and Ionian seas; which advantages, however, were never greatly re-

garded by the Macedonians.

Its chief mountains,

The chief mountains in this country were that great ridge running across its northern boundary called the Scordian mountains. In this part of Macedon also stood Pangæus, noted for its woods and valuable mines. In the Chalcidian region flood Athos, now Monte Santo, one of the most celebrated mountains of the world. It is joined to the continent by an isthmus about a mile and a half broad, and stretches many miles out into the sea. It was a received opinion, that it never rained upon its fummit, as the ashes that remained on the altars there were always found as they were left, dry and unfcattered, The later Greeks, ftruck with its fingular fituation, erected fo many churches, monasteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees. On the fouthern confines stood the famous Olympus, supposed by the poets, on account of its height, to have supported Heaven, and to have been been the feat of the gods; but Xenagoras the philosopher found, upon measuring it, that it did not much exceed an English mile in height.

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Among the chief rivers of Macedonia may be reckoned the and rivers. following: Panyasus, after a winding course of 100 miles, discharged itself into the Adriatic near Dyrrachium. The Apfus discharges itself within ten miles of the Panyasus. The Laous and Celydnus also empty themselves into the Adriatic, the latter being reckoned the boundary between Macedonia and Epirus. The chief rivers running into the Agean fea are the Aliacmon, the Erigon, the Ascius, the Strymon, and the Nestus. The air of Macedonia is, generally speaking, clear, sharp, and wholefom, and the foil is in most places fruitful, on the fea coast especially, abounding with corn, wine and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be defired either for the use or convenience of men. The chief riches of the country confifted in its mines, of which it had many, of almost all kinds of metals, but of gold particularly, which enabled Philip the father of Alexander to obtain the fovereignty of Greece.

SECT. H.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, laws, and manners of the MACEDONIANS.

THE inhabitants of that part of Macedon, which in process The Maof time gave laws to the whole country, and even to all cedonians Greece, were originally Argives. Caranus the fon of Temenus, originally and grandson of Hercules, led them thither, and procured a Argives. fettlement for himfelf and them by force. They afterwards, by their valour, but chiefly by their prudence and condescension, greatly enlarged their dominions; for after their victories they took away all distinctions, and gradually reduced various tribes into one nation.

Tho' the Macedonians had always kings, yet under their ad- Their goministration they preserved as great, or greater, liberty, than vernment. was enjoyed under most of the Grecian commonwealths. The people, under their kings, enjoyed great privileges; on which account Lucian, in one of his dialogues, calls them freemen. In cases where the punishment was capital, the causes was The throne heard and judged by the army or by the people. was hereditary, and continued in the race of Caranus till the flaughter of Alexander's family; but the Macedonians do not feem to have been very strict as to the fuccession, so the prince was of the royal house. The antient kings of Macedon were The movery modest in the ensigns of their dignity, being only distin-deration guished from their subjects by splendid armour, and a chair of of their state. The people were remarkable for their loyalty, and were kings. R 4

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zealously addicted to the service of their prince. Instead, however, of imitating the Persians, and paying idolatrous submisfion to their princes, they, on the contrary, conversed with them freely, and faluted them with a kifs. The Macedonian kings, in point of marriage, feem to have allowed themselves greater liberties than the Greeks; for it appears from history, that they had frequently feveral wives at once, and concubines not a few. In the education of their children they were exceedingly strict, their sons being brought up under the best mafters in the love and knowlege of all things great and glorious, their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous, The Macedonian kings did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends, and admitted all forts of persons into their presence, attending closely to business, and making themselves at once necessary and agreeable to their They were, generally speaking, learned, or favourers of learned men. They heard causes in person, and suffered those who pleaded before them to speak with the utmost freedom.

The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counfellors, and were fo not in name only, but in reality; for *fustin* informs us, that they were not only companions in war, but associates in empire. They were allowed to wear purple, had the unlimited command of armies, and in the flourishing state of the Macedonian power were appointed governors of kingdoms, with the court and state of The king's life-guard, which confifted but of a small number, was a post of high honour. Besides these there were other household troops, which with their commanders were all honourable persons. The king's seal, which was on his ring, remained generally in his cuftody, whatever was fealed with it being held most facred and inviolable. Sometimes, however, for special purposes, it was entrusted to one of his friends. The royal physicians were highly considered by the Macedonian kings, and were treated by them as if they had been their intimate friends.

The religion of the Macedonians.

In point of religion, the *Macedonians* followed the opinions embraced by the rest of the *Greeks*, worshiping many gods, among whom *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Diana* were the chief. As they were strict in their morals, so, according to the mode of those times, they were very religious, and their princes, on special occasions, acted as priests, and offered sacrifices for themselves and their people. Like the other heathens, they were greatly influenced by omens, and were very superstitious.

Their manners and cuftoms.

In their ordinary manner of living, the *Macedonians* were remarkably temperate; but when they feasted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well and drink hard. The young men, as soon as they had killed a wild boar with their spears, were admitted to their feasts; but no women were ever allowed to appear there; and it was an invariable rule with them, that nothing said at their banquets should be repeated. Their captives

tives they made use of as their concubines, but it was held dishonourable to marry them; tho' Alexander broke thro' this custom, and numbers followed his example. The Macedonians were particularly fond of hunting; and besides this, they were addicted to all the Grecian exercises, particularly wrestling and boxing, for which sports there was a place set apart in all their camps.

The punishments among them were of different kinds; fometimes the criminals were thrust thro' with darts, at other times crucified with their heads downwards, and sometimes thrown chained into rivers. These, however, seem to have been either foreign customs, or punishments inflicted in extraordinary cases. That which was most frequent, and seems consequently to have been legal, was stoning to death; wherein the army, as

they had been made judges, were executioners.

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The Macedonian year, according to the learned Usher, con-Their tained twelve months; namely, seven of 30 days each, and five kalendar. consisting each of 31 days. The first month, Dius, contained 30 days, the first of which answered to the 24th of September.

2. Apellacus, consisted of 30 days.

3. Audynæus, contained 31 days.

4. Peritius, 30 days.

5. Dystrus, 30 days.

6. Xanthicus, contained 31 days, the first answering to the 22d of February. In this month there was a lustration solemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called Xanthica.

7. Artemissus was also 31 days.

8. Daesius contained 30 days. As this month was looked upon as unfortunate, Alexander changed its name, and ordered it to be called Artemisus II.

9. Panemus consisted of 31 days.

10. Lous of 30 days.

11. Gorpiacus of 31 days. And, 12. Hyperberetaes of 30 days.

Every fourth year, however, this last month consisted of 31 days, which supplied the place of our leap-year*.

The Macedonian kings drawing great wealth from their mines, coined great variety both of filver and gold pieces. Of the latter fort were the Philipics, fo called from bearing the buft of Philip the father of Alexander, which were for a long

time the most current money in Greece.

The language of the *Macedonians* differed very much from Their the *Greek*, as is evident from *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, but especilanguage. ally from *Curtius*. It is clear from his account of the proceedings against *Philotas*, that the natives of *Greece*, who served in *Alexander's* army, were not able to understand a discourse delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue.

The Macedonians were remarkably diffinguished for their military discipline, which raised them from a mean and obscure litary dispeople, to be lords of Greece. They had, for a long time, pow-cipline erful enemies on every side to struggle with; which by degrees and laws. they overcame. By these contests they were inured to hard-ships, and war at length became in a manner the business of

^{*} Usher. Differt, de Maced, & Asian, anno Solari.

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the whole nation. After the Macedonian kings became confiderable, they formed their army, 1st, Of their natural born subjects; 2dly, Of their allies; 3dly, Of mercenaries. The natural Macedonians served at their own expence, and contented themselves with the spoil of their enemies. The allies were composed of the respective quotas of the dependant provinces, as also of the auxiliary forces furnished by Greece after the kings of Macedonia were elected captains general. The mercenaries were soldiers of fortune, who chiefly minded their pay.

Their troops were composed of three forts; namely, the light armed; the peltastæ, who were better armed; and the heavy armed foldiers, of whom the phalanx was composed, which were generally drawn up in the centre of the army. Polybius tells us, that the phalanx confifted of 16 in flank. and 500 in front, all pikemen, the foldiers standing so close, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. As the pikes of the last ranks could not, according to this disposition, be used as weapons, the hinder-most ranks leaned them on the shoulders of those who stood before them, and locking them fast, pressed briskly against them when they made the charge; by which means its shock was generally irrefistible. Their kings, who in all their wars were commanders in chief, never affected to diffinguish themselves from the other commanders, either by a large train or pomp of habit; but, on the contrary, fared as meanly as any of their foldiers, and exceeded them in all their labours.

The Macedonians, at first, used only targets made of wood or wicker; but in process of time they had them of leather and brass. The heavy armed troops had a large strong shield, called in Greek Aspis; and the peltastæ, or targeteers, wore a small light buckler called Pelte. Besides their swords, which were made both for pushing and cutting, they also used daggers. Their spears were of two kinds; namely, long and short. The former were used by the soldiers composing the phalanx, and were sometimes 16, at least 14, cubits, or 21 feet in length. The shorter spear was used by the light armed troops. The head-piece was made of a raw ox's hide, that is, untanned; and their breast-plates of sine linen quilted to a proper thickness. The horse wore the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and smaller, and their spears

fhorter.

All authors are agreed as to the hardiness, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops. Tho' their strictness was in some measure relaxed, when *Alexander* distributed amongst them the spoils of the east; yet, by degrees, the antient rules were restored; so that the very last *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. They fortssed their camp with a good ditch and rampart; and when they were to remove, they levelled part of the entrenchments that they might march in order. Their tents were small, holding two soldiers; and being made of skins, they made use of them

them fometimes in passing of rivers. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were inflituted, wherein rewards, both honorary and lucrative, were bestowed. Their kings, after victories obtained, rewarded all fuch as particularly distinguished themfelves; and those who died in the service, were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute. The foldiers, when the time limited for their fervice expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of ferving, were dismissed, with ample provision for themselves and families, that by living in peace and ease, they might excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead.

SECT. III.

The History of the MACEDONIAN Kings.

THOUGH the early period of the history of the Macedonians is very obscure, yet the series of their antient kings is pretty well fettled. The first of their monarchs was Caranus Caranus, a descendant of Hercules, according to some in the first king 11th degree, but according to others, in the 16th from that of Macehero. When he refolved to fettle a new colony, he confulted donia. the oracle about his intended enterprize; and was answered, Bef. Ch. that he ought to follow the direction of the goats. Probably he could affix no meaning to this answer; however, pursuing his first intention, he arrived with a considerable body of Greeks at the little kingdom of Emathia, at that time governed by king Midas, and drew near to its capital, then called Edeffa. On a fudden a great ftorm arifing, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city; which bringing to his remembrance the answer of the oracle, he followed them closely with his men, and furprizing the city, possessed himself first of it, To perpetuate the memory and after of the whole kingdom. of this extraordinary event, he painted a goat in his standard, and called the city Egea, and his people Egeates. Caranus, by degrees, subdued such of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of his reign; but the most received opinion is, that he founded this kingdom about 17 years before the first Olympiad.

Caranus, after reigning 28 years, was succeeded by his son Canus. Canus, of whom nothing remarkable is related. After a reign of 23 years, he left the throne to his fon Thurmias, or Thyrmas, Thurimas, concerning the transactions of whose reign, which lasted 45 years, historians are wholly filent.

His son Perdiceas I. was no less remarkable for his vast abi- Perdiceas. ities than for his great success. He performed many great ac-

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tions, and extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. He is faid, when near his end, to have shewn his son the place where he defired to be buried, exhorting him also to order his own body to be laid there, and those of his posterity; affuring him, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to fit upon the throne.

Perdiccas, after a reign of 48 years, was succeeded by his fon Argæus, who was a prince of great affability and goodness, and at the same time wise and valiant. The Illyrians, a fierce and barbarous nation, having invaded the Macedonians, Argaus marched out against them, and drawing them into an ambus. cade, routed them with great flaughter.

He reigned 32 years, and left the kingdom to Philip the First, who was also a prudent and valiant monarch. He was engag. ed in wars with the Illyrians, by whom he was slain in battle in the 35th year of his reign, leaving the crown to his fon Æropas, an infant in the cradle.

During the infancy of Eropas, the Illyrians and Thracians ravaged all his country, and were continually fuccessful in their battles against his subjects. The Macedonians, persuaded that the presence of their king would ensure success, caused the young Eropas to be carried into the midst of the battle in his cradle, and on that occasion fought with such obstinate refolution, that they entirely defeated the Illyrians, and forced them to retire. No other transactions of his reign are mentioned by historians. After reigning 42 years, he was succeeded by his fon

Alcetas, who was contemporary with the great Cyrus, and reigned 28 years. Historians are also filent as to his exploits.

Amyntas succeeding his father Alcetas, received an embassy of feven Persian noblemen from the general Megabyzus, requiring him to acknowlege king Darius. The ambassadors demanded, in mits to the the name of Darius, earth and water from Amyntas; who not only gave them what they required, but received them for his guests; and having prepared a magnificent feast, entertained them with great humanity. When the Persians were beginning to drink after supper, they said, "Macedonian friend, our manner in Persia, when we make a great feast, is to "bring in our concubines and young women to the company; we, therefore, fince you have received us so affectionately, "The invite you to imitate our custom." Amyntas answered, "The manner of our country is quite different; nevertheless, be-" cause you are our masters, we will do as you desire." The women were accordingly introduced, and placed themselves on the other fide of the table. The Persians, not satisfied with this compliance, prevailed with Amyntas, tho' contrary to his inclination, to order the women to fit down among the men; which, when they had done, the Persians, full of wine, began to handle their breafts, and some would have proceeded to kisses. Amyntas, from politic views, stifled his indignation; but his fon Alexander, who was prefent, being a young man,

Argæus.

Philip I.

Aropas.

Alcetas.

Amyntas.

He sub-Perfians.

and unacquainted with adversity, was not able to endure their insolence, and said to Amyntas, "Father, consider your age, " and leave the company to retire to your rest. I will stay "here, and furnish these strangers with all things necessary." Amyntas, perceiving that his fon had some rash delign to put in execution, charged him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the ambaffadors, and leaving the company, retired to reft. After his departure, Alexander told the ambassadors, that they might use the women as they pleased, but it was proper they should allow them first to go out to bathe. The Persians applauding the propofal, Alexander fent away the women, and foon after introduced a like number of smooth young men in women's habits, furnished every one with a poniard, who, sitting down beside the Persians, instantly dispatched them whenever they began to carefs them. This was the fate of these Perfians; and their attendants, together with the chariots, and all the baggage, presently disappeared. After some time, Megabyzus fent Bubaris, with a confiderable body of troops to Macedon to enquire after the ambaffadors. Alexander put a stop to the enquiry, by giving a confiderable fum of money, and his fifter Gygea, to Bubaris, who adjusted all things to the fatisfaction of Amyntas. Thenceforward the kings of Macedon became dependant on the Persian emperors; but were always regarded by them as faithful allies.

When Xerxes, the successor of Darius, marched with his Alexander army into Macedonia, in his way to Greece, the diligence and affifts fidelity of Amyntas and his subjects, appeared in so fair a light Xerxes to the Persians, that he thought fit to add to the Macedonian and his kingdom the country lying near mount Hæmus and Olympus. generals. After the famous battle of Salamis, the Macedonians, with some of the neighbouring states, sent 200,000 men to Mardonius, who was left behind in Greece with an army of 400,000 men. The Potidæans, however, and the Pallenians and Olynthians, absolutely refused to send any succours to the Persians. nius, to put a stop to any further defection, sent Artabazus with 60,000 men to reduce these rebels. Artabazus, after a short siege, took Olynthus, and put most of the inhabitants to the fword. He also reduced Pallene, and then encamped with his whole army before Potidæa, which made a most vigorous detence, but was almost betrayed into the hands of the Persians. After Artabazus had continued the fiege three months, the fea broke into his camp; upon which he raised the siege, and marched off with the utmost expedition; but the waters overtaking him, and the Potidæans also in their boats, the greatest part of his troops were either cut off or drowned. A few months after, Alexander, at the defire of Mardonius, went to Athens, to draw off, if possible, the Athenians from the general alliance; but his journey proving ineffectual, Mardonius marched into Attica, and a second time destroyed Athens. Returning from thence

into Bæotia, and encamping on the river Æsopus, he was followed thither by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Aristides and Pausanias, who defeated him at Platæa, and cut

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off himself and almost his whole army. A few days before that memorable battle, Alexander went in the night to the Athe. nian camp, and informed the Greek commanders of the refolution of Mardonius. There is nothing else related of Alexander, who, after his father Amyntas had reigned 49 years, succeeded to the throne, and reigned 43 years, leaving behind him three fons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip. Perdiccas succeeded his father on the throne; but his brother

Perdiccas II.

Philip keeping up pretensions thereto for a long time, thereby created great difturbances in the kingdom. At this time, the encreasing power of the Macedonians was looked upon by the Thracians, and other barbarous nations, with an envious eye, The Persians treated them as vasfals, and the Athenians, by encreafing their colonies and alliances on the fea coaft, rendered themselves very formidable neighbours. Perdiccas, in the beginning of his reign, foon discovered great presence of mind and forecast, and finding that the Athenians treated him with an air of fuperiority and haughtiness, he resolved to check their progress on his frontiers. A war breaking out betwixt the Corcyrians and Corinthians, on account of their pretentions to Epidamnum, the Athenians declared for the former, and the latter, in refentment, vails with prevailed with the Potidæans to revolt from Athens. Perdicas feized that opportunity of diffreffing the Athenians on the coast of Macedon, and persuaded the Chalcidians to abandon their seaports, and to fortify the city of Olynthus. The Athenians fent a fleet and army to befiege Potidaa, and to reduce the Chalcidians; but the troops being infected with the plague, were obliged to return, without effecting any thing of consequence. Those who remained, however, so straithed the Potidizans, that a few months after they were obliged to furrender at discretion. The next year the Athenians made war upon the Chalcidians, but with ill fuccess: Perdiccas, judging that the Athenians in the end would prove too ftrong for him, made a shew of seeking an accommodation, being affifted by Sytacles king of Thrace, a powerful prince, and one who fought to augment his dominions The Athe- at the expence of his neighbours. The Athenians, however, fuspecting Perdiccas, prevailed with Sytacles to make war upon him, under pretence of placing Amyntas, the fon of his brother Philip, upon the throne of Macedon. Sytacles accordingly invaded Macedon with an army of 100,000 foot and 50,000 cavalry, and took poliefion of the principal cities of that territory, which formerly belonged to Philip. He wasted Mygdonia, Guftonia, and Anthemus without opposition; but in several skirmishes he received considerable damage from the Macedoman Perdiccas did not venture to hazard an engagement, but was chiefly attentive to defend the principal cities. At length, having entered into a correspondence with one Seuthes, a near relation of the Thracian king, he promifed him his fifter Stratonica, with a vast fortune, in case he should bring about a peace. Seuthes, accepting of the offer, foon prevailed with Sytacles to

return to his own dominions, and had his wife given him with

dæans to revolt from Athens.

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the Poti-

nians stir up the king of Thrace against Perdiccas. a large fum of money, Amyntas being left in the fame melan-

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Perdiccas now wanting to be revenged of the Athenians, fol-Perdiccas licited the Lacedæmonians their enemies to attack their fettle-entersinto ments on the Macedonian coasts. The Lacedæmonians gladly an alliance agreed to this proposal, which was made in the eighth year of with the the Peloponnessan war, and sent Brasidas thither with a well pro-Lacedævided army. Brasidas, having marched through Thessay with-monians out opposition, arrived at Dion, a small city near Olympus, when Perdiccas declared openly against the Athenians, and owned that he had called the Lacedæmonians to expel them out of his own country and Thrace.

Though he gave out, that he only fought to protect his own dominions and the Chalcidians, who had been perfuaded by him to revolt from the Athenians, yet he had formed a defign of subduing the Lyncestheans, a bold and warlike people, very trouble-fome to him. Arrhibæus, king of the Lyncestheans, however, declaring himself the friend of Sparta, Brasidas resused to attack him, which greatly offended Perdiccas, who, though he had before furnished half the expences of his army, now would only furnish a third. About this time Seuthes, the brother-in-

law of Perdiccas, succeeded Sytacles.

Brasidas, in the winter following, blocked up Amphipolis, an important city in the possession of the Athenians, which some time after was obliged to surrender. Perdiccas then joining him, they together made many other conquests. Having reduced almost the whole country about Athos, they marched against Torone, a strong city in Chalcidia, possessed by the Athenians, which Brasidas surprized in the night without fighting. The Athenians soon after procuring a truce, made use of the time afforded them, thereby to put their affairs in Thrace into better order.

Perdiccas, in the mean time, neglected nothing which might tend towards establishing the Macedonian power so effectually, as to leave him for the suture without apprehensions either of Greeks or barbarians. He accordingly prevailed with Brasidas to march against the Lyncestheans, who had neglected to perform their promises to that general. Arrhibæus assembled an army to defend his dominions; but being defeated, his troops were obliged to take shelter in their fortresses. Perdiccas would have pursued them thither, but Brasidas would not consent, because his heart was set upon a speedy return to the sea coasts. In the mean time, a body of Illyrians deserting from Perdiccas to the enemy, the Macedonians were struck with such a pannic, that they sted in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without so much as suffering him to confer with Brasidas, who made his retreat not without great difficulty and loss.

^{*} Thucyd. 1. ii. Diod. Sic. lib. xii.

Perdiccas

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From this time there was no right understanding between that general and the king, who, looking upon all the Greeks as allies that principally regarded their own interest, without much regard to the affairs of those in alliance with them, resolved to all in the same manner. He accordingly now concluded a peace concludes with the Athenians; and by his interest in Thessaly, prevented a body of Spartans from passing through that country to reinforce Brasidas, who was soon after killed in an engagement Atbenians, with the Athenians before Amphipolis.

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The Athenians, not long after charging Perdiccas with coldness in their affairs, posted troops in such a manner that he had no communication with the sea. The following year they even made several inroads into Macedonia, when the Lacedæmonians, from a defire of checking their power, ordered the Chalcidians to affift Perdiccas. The Chalcidians, however, already dreading the power of the Macedonians, did not think fit to act as they were directed. From this time we meet with very little concerning Perdiccas in the Greek historians: however, it is faid. he maintained himself in a state of independancy, and not withstanding he had to struggle both with the power of the Athenians and Lacedamonians, and was not supported by the Persians, he left his kingdom in a better condition, and larger in extent. than he found it.

Archelaus fucceeds Perdiccas.

Perdiccas, after reigning twenty-three years, was succeeded by his fon Archelaus, who, it is faid, was only his natural fon, and obtained the kingdom, by throwing his brother, who was the lawful heir, into a well, and paffing it upon his mother, that he tumbled in by chance as he was purfuing a goofe. He was a prince of great abilities and application. In the beginning of his reign he fortified fome of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horse, and who could eafily draw affistance from Athens, might meet with some interruption, if they should invade his kingdom. He likewise took other measures for raising the courage of his people, and the reputation of the Macedonian monarchy. The inhabitants of Pydna, alarmed by his proceedings, folicited the aid of the Athenians, and declared against him, upon which he invested their city. The Athenians fent a fleet and army to the relief of the befieged; but having no opportunity to act, they were He makes obliged to return. Archelaus, making himself master of the place, forced the inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs from the sea. Archelaus was greatly distinguished for his love of learning and learned men, many of whom he maintained at his court with a generofity worthy of a prince, converfing freely with them, as if they had been his equals. He is faid to have strongly follicited the friendship of Socrates; but that philosopher, on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, declined corresponding with him. Euripides the tragic poet was his guest, and lived in the greatest intimacy with him. He was murdered in the 14th year of his reign

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reign by his favourite Craterus, who was put to death four days

Orestes, the son of Archelaus, succeeding to the crown when Orestes. a child, Eropus, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, Eropus. and by degrees affumed an absolute power. During his government, Agefilaus, returning from Asia to Greece, desired the liberty of passing through Macedonia; Eropus answered his mefsengers, that he would consider of it; which answer being reported to Agefilaus, Let him consider, said he, but let us march, and accordingly he advanced into Macedonia. Æropus did not think proper to oppose him, but ordered him and his army to be treated with the utmost civility. After a troublesome reign of fix years, he was fucceeded by his fon Pausanias, who, be- Pausanias. fore he had reigned a year, was cut off by Amyntas, who seized the crown.

Argaus, another fon of Eropus, upon the murder of his Argaus. brother, began to intrigue with the Macedonian nobles and with the neighbouring princes, by whose affiftance he raised a numerous army, with which he entered Macedonia, and Amyntas not being able to face him, was forced to abandon the threne. Argaus remained in possession of Macedon about two years, when he was in his turn dethroned by Amyntas, who was Amyntas. affifted by the Thessalians. Amyntas, soon after his restoration, was engaged in a quarrel with the Olynthians, to whom, upon his former departure, he had ceded part of the Macedonian territories, which he now unjustly demanded back. The king, perfifting in his demand, applied for affiftance to the Lacedæmonians, who fent Phæbides with 10,000 men to support him. The Olynthians having defeated Amyntas and his allies, the Spartans sent a fresh body of troops to Macedon under Tallutius, the brother of king Agefilaus. This general, before the Olynthians were ready to take the field, wasted their country; but was foon after defeated and flain by them, with the loss of 1200 Spartans. The Lacedamonians fent a third army to Macedon, which they entrusted to their king Agestopolis, who died the following year, and, was succeeded by Polyndas. This new ge- The Olynneral gained feveral victories, and at length befieging Olynthus, thians obliged the Olynthians to agree to a peace prescribed by Amyntas. obliged to The Macedonian king also procured the friendship of the Athe- submit to mans, by infinuating that Amphipolis belonged to them, and a peace that he would do all in his power to put it into their hands. He with likewile, by good offices, bound the Theffalians to his interest; Amyntas, and after a reign of 24 years, died much respected by all the Grecian states. He left behind him three legitimate sons, Alex-

ander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and several illegitimate ones. Alexander, who succeeded his father, was a prince of great A'exanparts, but of little probity. Having promised his affistance to der II. the Thessalians, who were in danger of being enslaved by Alexander of Phera, that tyrant invaded Macedon; but was defeated by Alexander, who marched directly to Larissa, the capital of

Thesaly, where he was received with great joy by the inhabitants. Their example was followed by many other confiderable VOL. III.

cities in that country, the king promising to restore them all to their liberty. He, however, neglecting his promise, and puting garrisons in every one of them, the Thessalians found that they had only exchanged one tyrant for another, and applied to the Thebans to be delivered from both. Pelopidas being ordered to march with a body of Thebans to the relief of the Theffalians, the king of Macedon, upon this news, immediately began to execute the treaty he had made with the Thessalians, and to eva. cuate their towns; and the tyrant of Pheræ also began to all

time began to raise commotions in the kingdom of Macedon,

with greater moderation. Ptolemy, one of the bastard brothers of Alexander, about this

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and prevailed with many of the nobles to favour his party. He is af Alexander applying to Pelopidas, that great general came to Macedonia, and having there accommodated both parties, left the Pelopidas throne to Alexander, and carried Philip his younger brother, against his with several young Macedonian noblemen as hostages to Thebes. Pelopidas was no fooner gone, than Alexander was flain, after he had reigned two years, and his brother Perdiccas mounted the throne. Immediately after his fuccession, the throne was murdered. claimed by one Pausanias, a prince of the royal house; and he was fo agreeable to the people, that the whole family of Amyntas were in the utmost danger. What were the original sources of these disputes is not mentioned; but it is most likely that the present factions forung from those which disturbed the kingdom before the reign of Amyntas. Iphicrates, the Athenian, about this time arriving with a small fleet on the Macedonian coast, Eurydice, the mother of Perdiccas, prevailed on him to espouse the cause of her family. He accordingly drove out Pausanias, and restored Perdiccas, who foon after was again diffurbed by his baftard ed on the brother Ptolemy. This pretender by degrees wrought himself throne by into fuch favour with the people, that he assumed the royal en-Iphierates figns, and discharged the functions of a king, a very small part the Athe- of the country owning the authority of Perdiccas, who folicited in vain the affiftance of the Athenians and Spartans. Pelopidas at length generously raised a small body of mercenaries, and came to the affistance of Perdiccas. Though his troops basely deferted him at the perfuasion of *Ptolomy*, yet the pretender was fo awed by him, that he laid down his arms, and fubmitted to his decision. He settled Perdiccas on the throne, and took Ptolemy's fon, and 50 others of his faction, as hostages. Philip, the king's brother, who the year before had been carried to Thebes, was committed to Epaminondas, who had in his house a Pythagorean philosopher of great reputation. Under his care he learned the principles of philosophy, and making Epaminondas his pattern, learned from him his military skill and activity, which were the least parts of that great man's excellencies; but of his temperance, justice, magnanimity, and clemency, Philip possessed no share at all, either from nature or imitation. A few years after Ptolemy had ceded his pretentions to the throne,

He is killed in a battle

with the

Illyrians.

Perdiccas was engaged in a war with the Illyrians, by whom he

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1 wit was defeated and flain in a great battle, leaving behind him a

fon named Amyntas, then in his infancy.

Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, upon the news of his death, His bromade his escape from Thebes, and came to Macedon. Upon his ther Philip arrival, he found his countrymen in the greatest consternation. assumes The kingdom was threatned with an invation from the Illyrians, the admiwho were affembling an army for that purpose; and the Pao- nistration nians were actually ravaging the eastern frontiers. The throne of the gowas possessed by an infant, and at the same time claimed by two vernment. powerful competitors; Pausanias supported by the Thracians, Bef. Ch. and Argæus by the Athenians. Philip, though but twenty-two years old, was far from being discouraged by those impending clouds of mischief; but on the contrary, by his intrepidity and eloquence, wherein he excelled, he revived the drooping spirits of the Macedonians.

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He applied himself directly to reform the military discipline, and, by his courteous and affable behaviour, fecured the affections of the people. Observing that the Athenians declared for Argaus, merely in hopes of receiving affiftance from him against Amphipolis, he declared that city free, by which step he in a manner attached the Amphipolitans more strongly to his interest, even by disjoining their city from his kingdom, and frustrated the Athenian defigns in that quarter. By making confiderable presents to the chief men of Pæonia, his ambassadors, whom he fent thither, procured a peace from the Paonians. He likewise prevented any diffurbances from Paufanias, by bribing the Thracian king, who had promifed to affift him.

The Athenian admiral, in the mean time, fending Argaus with a body of mercenaries to Ægæ, he in vain endeavoured to prevail with the inhabitants to espouse his cause. In his retreat to Methone, where he had left the Athenian commander, he was overtaken by Philip, and cut off with a confiderable body of his men. Philip, contented with the victory he had gained, thought it prudent not to irritate the Athenians too much, and granted an honourable capitulation to the remains of their troops, whom he had furrounded, allowing them full liberty to retire. Immediately after, he fent ambassadors to Athens, and giving up all pretensions to Amphipolis, prevailed on the Athenians to agree

His active and indefatigable pains, joined to his good fortune, He is deso charmed the Macedonians, that they set aside the infant son clared of Perdiccas, and declared Philip king, an oracle being then king. mentioned, which foretold that Macedonia should flourish greatly under one of the fons of Amyntas. Soon after the conclusion He reof the peace with the Athenians, the king of Paonia dying, duces the. Philip immediately invaded the territories of the Paonians with Paonians. a powerful and well disciplined army, and soon reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit to

him, and become his subjects.

Having then encouraged the Macedonians to revenge the injuhe they had received from the Illyrians, he invaded that coun-

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try with an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horse. Bradylis, king Obliges the Ilyri- of Illyria, had endeavoured to prevent this invalion, by offering ans to give to conclude a peace, on the condition that each should keep up all their what he then possessed: but this offer being rejected, he affemconquests bled an army of 10,000 men and 500 horse to oppose Philip, in Macc- who entirely defeated him, and slew 7000 of his men. The Illyrians, after this defeat, folicited a peace, which they obaon. tained, by delivering up all the cities they held in Macedon.

Philip was now greatly honoured and respected by all the Macedonians, who faw their kingdom already in a flourishing flate by his politic and enterprizing genius. As the cities on the coast were wealthy, and claimed to be independent, Philip formed a resolution of reducing them; and, without regarding his late declaration in favour of Amphipolis, he fuddenly invested that city. The Amphipolitans, alarmed by the late successes of the Macedonians, offered themselves and their city to the Athenians, if they would defend them from the enemy. The famous Demosthenes, who was already suspicious of the ambitious designs of Philip, warmly urged the Athenians to fuccour Amphipolis; but Philip's agents giving out that he intended to deliver the city to the Athenian republic when taken, they gave themselves no trouble about his enterprizes. He foon after took the place by ftorm, and having put to death or banished such as were not in his interest, he treated the rest of the inhabitants kindly. He quickly after reduced Pydna and Potidaa, in the last of lis, Pydna, which was an Athenian garrison, which he dismissed with all the marks of honour. As he did not think himself powerful enough to attack the Olynthians, he pretended to be their friend, and entering into an alliance with them, gave them Pydna a d Potidaea, acting according to his maxim, That those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome.

The Athenians now faw themselves not only stript of part of the country be- their territories, but of their allies in those parts, yet were netry be- vertheless lulled into security by the agents of Philip, who, tween the being fensible he had nothing to fear from them, turned his arms rivers Stry- northwards, and conquered from the Thracians all the country between the rivers Strymon and Neffus, in which were many gold mines. Philip, who looked upon gold as the best weapon, and the best servant of the world, resolved to secure the possesfion of this country, fortified Crenides, and changing its name into Philippi, made it the capital of his dominions. He likewife gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, by which means he drew from them a yearly revenue of 1000 talents.

Philip, in the fourth year of his reign, being then in the field, The birth of Alexan- received advice that his wife Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolomus, king of Epire, was brought to bed of a fon at Pella. At der the the same time news arrived, that his chariot had gained the Great. Bef. Christ prize at the Olympic games, and quickly after a third courier came, with an account that Parmenio had beaten the Illyrians. 356. This furprising run of good fortune is said to have affected Philip

Makes himself mafler of and Potidæa. Bef. Ch.

358.

Subdues mon and Nellui.

Bef. Ch. 357.

fo much, that he wished it might be tempered with some slight mishap, from an apprehension that his fortune might decline as swiftly as it had risen.

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All the states of Greece were at this time in confusion, occa- Philip exsioned by the Phocian, or facred, war, so called from the facri-tends his lege of the Phocians, who had plundered the temple of Delphi. conquests Philip seized this opportunity of extending his frontiers, and the in Thrace. city of Methone having given him some offence, he invested that place. It is faid, that one After, a most excellent archer, was at this time recommended to him, with this commendation, that he could strike the swiftest bird in its slight; Very well, replied Philip, we will call for him when we make war with starlings. This fo flung the archer, that he entered the belieged city, and when Philip was one day viewing the place, discharged an arrow at him with this inscription, For the right eye of Philip, which it accordingly struck and put out. The king shot back the same arrow with this inscription, Philip, when the town is taken, will cause After to be hanged, which he accordingly performed *. Philip's misfortune was in some measure alleviated by the skill of his surgeon, who preserved the form of the king's eye from fuffering any disfigurement. After an obstinate defence the in-Reduces habitants of Methone furrendered, on condition of having liberty Methone. to quit the place; which being granted them, Philip razed the city, and divided its territories among his foldiers.

Philip, after the reduction of Methone, was invited by the Marches Aleuadæ, or Thessalian chiefs, into their country, against Lyco- into Thesphron, the brother and successor of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, saly. who had been murdered by his own wife and brethren. Lyco- Bes. Ch. phron, sinding himself too weak to oppose Philip and the Thessalians who had joined him, upon his entering their country, obtained a reinforcement of 7000 Phocians, under the command of Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus; but was nevertheless defeated by the Macedonians, who drove the Phocians out of Thessaly. He is Onomarchus immediately marched with all his forces to support twice de-Lycophron, and defeated Philip in two general engagements, seated, and obliging him to retire out of Thessaly in great distress.

Philip, convinced that the reduction of Thessaly was absolutely leave that necessary to his proposed empire, applied himself with all dilicountry. gence to the recruiting of his troops, and not long after again entered Thessaly, where many Thessalians joining him, his army amounted to 20,000 foot and 3000 horse. Onomarchus arriving He at last with 20,000 foot and 5000 horse to the assistance of Lycophron, a defeats general battle soon ensued, in which Philip gained a complete the thest victory, 6000 Phocians with their general being slain, and 3000 salian ty-taken prisoners. Philip caused the body of Onomarchus to be rant. hung up with ignominy, and denied suneral rites to all the Phocians who were slain, looking upon them as sacrilegious persons. Lycophron, and his brother Pitholaus, now resigned their

Suidas in voce radav. Plin. nat. hift. lib. vii.

principality, and delivered up the city of Pherea to Philip, who. as he had promised, restored all the Thessalian cities to their liberty. Having thus secured the friendship of the Thessalians, he attempted to pass the straits of Thermopyla, to carry the war into the country of the Phocians; but the Athenians, who were allies of the Phocians, marched to Thermopylae with the utmost expedition, and obliged Philip to lay aside his design. Philip, from this time, resolved to undermine the power of

He meditates the Athenian power.

He re-

folves to

the Athenians, who, he perceived, were the only people of ruin of the Greece capable of defeating his projects. He therefore fitted out a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and encreasing his army by new levies, projected the destruction of the Athenian colonies in Thrace. Mean while, in Athens he bribed feveral of the eminent orators, who charmed the people with delusive hopes of peace, or pretending a zeal for the war, frightened them with very expensive estimates. Demosthenes was the only man in Athens who had a just idea of the dangerous defigns of Philip, and who had likewise capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness. He advised his countrymen to transport 2000 foot and 200 horse into Macedonia, assuring them, that if they had once an army there, how small soever, the enemies of Philip would advance it to a formidable greatness. Philip, being informed of this advice, which was neglected by the Athenians, provided with greater vigour, being determined at all events to have neither state nor prince, within the limits of Macedon, independant of himself. Though in the beginning of his reign he had concluded a peace with the Olynthians, and had even given them certain cities and territories, this was only to lull them asleep, and to save himself the expence of garrisons, when it fuited not his circumstances to maintain them. As his power was now firmly fixed, and very formidable, he refolved to fubdue make war the Olynthian republick, which had been hitherto an overmatch on the O- for Macedon. The Olynthians, as foon as Philip advanced towards lynthians. the Chalcidian region, put themselves on their guard, and solicited the affistance of the Athenians. Demosthenes failed not to espouse their cause, and having shewn the danger of allowing the Olynthians to be overpowered, urged that a confiderable fuccour should be instantly sent to them. Demades, and the rest of the orators, who were corrupted by Philip, opposed this propofition with all their eloquence; but as they neither had truth on their side, nor a power of speaking equal to Demosthenes, the Athenians followed his advice. Philip, in the mean time, having taken and razed Zeira, a town in the Chalcidian region, marched against Mycaberna and Torone, both of which he subdued. After this he openly attacked the Olynthians, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city. As the Athenian succours consisted of mercenaries, their fidelity

was suspected by the Olynthians, who again applied to the Athemians for affiftance, entreating that it might be of their natives. Demosthenes ardently seconding this motion, the Athenians sent

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17 gallies, and a land army of 2000 foot and 3000 horse, all citizens of Athens. This reinforcement gaining some small advantages, the Athenians grew so elate, that Demosthenes could not prevail on them to take any further care of the war. Philip in the mean time, persevering in his design, was so successful as to corrupt two of the principal magistrates of the city, Euthy- He recrates and Lasthenes, who basely betrayed their country, and duces opened the gates to the Macedonians. Philip gave up the houses Ohnthus. of the Olynthians to be plundered, and exposed their persons to Bef. Ch. fale, acquiring thereby an immense treasure, and at the same time ridding himself of his implacable enemies. He then celebrated Olympic games in honour of his conquest, causing splendid shews to be exhibited, making magnificent feasts, and giving great rewards to fuch as had fignalized themselves during the fiege. The king, on this occasion, observing Satyrus a player, whom he admitted to great familiarity with him, appearing infensible of the general joy, asked him how he came to look so dull; and why he would not fuffer himself to be obliged as well as other people? He answered, I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any slight on your presents; on the contrary, I should be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls, pointing to two young women among the captives. They are the daughters of a man in whose house I lodged, and I would wish to give them such portions as may procure them honest husbands. Philip commended his generofity, granted his request, and loaded him with prefents of great value *. About the same time Euthycrates and Lasthenes, complaining against the Macedonian soldiers for calling them traitors, Philip gave them this answer: You must never mind what such fellows fay, they are a sort of clownish people, who will call a spade a spade +.

The Phocian, or facred war still continuing, Philip was folicited by the confederates on both fides to espouse their cause. He politicly held both parties in suspense, and though in his heart he favoured the alliance against the Phocians, which he judged would best serve his own interest, yet he treated the amballadors of the opposite party with great complaisance, particularly those of the Athenians, from which republic ten plenipotentiaries arrived, to treat of a full and lasting peace with him. Philip immediately named Antipater, Parmenio, He conand Eurylochus to confer with them. Demosthenes, who was one cludes a of the deputies, being obliged to return to Athens, recommen peace ded it to his collegues not to carry on their negotiations with with the Philip's ministers, but to proceed with all diligence to court; Athenians. they however, instead of following his instructions, suffered themselves to be put off by the arts of Philip and his ministers. The king, in the mean time, took from the Athenians such

places in Thrace as might best cover his frontiers, assuring the

Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

⁺ Plut. in apothegm.

A GENERAL HISTORY

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Athenian deputies, that his good will should be as beneficial to their state as ever their colonies had been. When a peace was at last concluded, the ratification of it was deferred, till Philip had possessed himself of Pherea in Thessaly, and saw himself at the head of a numerous army. Demosthenes still insisted, that Philip ought not to be implicitly trusted, but the Athenians, who were desirous of quiet, and addicted to pleasure, were influenced by the other orators, especially as Phocion, the worthiest man in the republic, did not declare against Philip, from a persuasion that his countrymen were no longer fit for great undertakings.

Philip paffes Thermopylæ, and puts Bef. Ch.

346.

The Athenians thinking it now needless to watch the motions of Philip, allowed him to pass the straits of Thermopylæ with his army, without knowing whether he would fall on Phocis or Thebes. He soon put an end to their conjectures, by commandan end to ing his foldiers to put on crowns of laurel, thereby declaring the facred them the troops of Apollo; and causing the Phocians to be declared facrilegious persons, entered their territories with an air of triumph, which struck them with such terror, that they immediately submitted. He remitted their sentence to the Amphyctions, or grand council of Greece, who ordained, that the Phocians should be deprived of their double voice in the council. which should be given to the Macedonians; that they should only inhabit in villages, pay a yearly tribute of 60 talents, and neither make use of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the tem-ple of Apollo the money they had facrilegiously carried from thence. Other regulations were made for refettling the affairs of religion and flate throughout Greece, which Philip executed with great exactness and moderation, and then retired peaceably with his army to Macedon.

> The Athenians, who had been allies of the Phocians, and had received large subsidies from them, were far from being pleased with this expedition of Philip. They now perceived, that in consequence of their late peace, the Phocians had been ruined, Philip had become mafter of Thermopyla, and had raised his interest in Greece. They seemed inclined to question Philip's election into the council of the Amphiciyons, and even to proceed to an open war; but their unseasonable resentment was checked by Demosthenes, who told them, that though he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it, and that it would be the heighth of imprudence to think of opposing not only Philip, but all those states who concurred with him in the late tranfaction.

He extends his conquests

Philip, having now rendered himself respectable all over Greece, turned his arms against the Thracians, and by his conquests in that country terribly incommoded the Athenians. in Thrace. Diopithes, the governor of their colonies in those parts, perceiving well what end Philip had in view, did not flay for inflructions from home; but assembling a body of troops, made an incursion into the Macedonian territories, while Philip was absent with his army. Philip, rather than divide his army, and hazard l to

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hazard a defeat, fent no relief to the provinces that were ra- The Athevaged by the enemy; but made complaints at Athens against nians in Dispithes. Many of his partifans exclaimed vehemently against that counthat governor; but Demosthenes defended him, and undertook try invade to shew that he deserved the praise, and not the censure of the his terri-Athenians. He therefore moved, that instead of disowning tories. what Dispithes had done, they should send him recruits, and An. Chr. shew the king of Macedon that they knew how to protect their 344. territories, and maintain the dignity of their state as well as their ancestors. His discourse had such an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion. The cause of this rupture is not clearly narrated by historians; fo that it is doubtful which of the parties were the aggressors. Chersobleptes, the fon of Cotys king of Thrace, finding himself unable to oppose Philip, had given up the Chersonese to the Athenians, referving only the city of Cardia, which stood on the isthmus. Philip, in this campaign having dispossessed Chersobleptes of his kingdom, the Cardians voluntarily furrendered to him, rather than fall under the Athenians, which gave Diopithes a pretence for beginning hostilities.

While affairs stood thus between Philip and the Athenians, He sudthe Illyrians harraffed the frontiers of Macedon next to them, denly inand threatned a formidable invasion. Philip, by quick marches vades Ilarriving on the borders of Illyrium, struck the barbarians with lyrium. such a pannic, that they were glad to compound for their for-

mer robberies at the price he was pleased to set. Most of the Greek cities in Thrace were now prevailed upon to feek the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence.

About this time the effect of Philip's negotiations in the Peloponnese began to appear. The Argives and Messenians applying to Thebes for protection against the oppressive government of the Spartans, the Thebans fought to open a passage for Philip into the Peloponnese. Philip proposed to procure a decree from the Amphietyons, directing the Lacedamonians to leave Argos and Messene free; and if the Spartans refused obedience to that sentence, he was resolved to enforce it by arms. The Athenians, on this occafion were folicited both by the Spartans, the Argives, and Mef-Jenians, and Philip, to use his own expression, was outwrestled by Demosthenes, who, by a vehement harangue, not only determined the Athenians to become the avowed enemies of the king, but also made the Argives and Messenians not over fond of him for an ally.

Philip therefore laid aside this enterprize, the affairs of Eu- He enbaa appearing to him more interesting. This island, which gages in was separated from Greece by the narrow strait called Euripus, the difwas full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic; putes of but, to preserve its independancy from the rest, courted the Eubæa. friendship sometimes of the Athenians, and sometimes of the Thebans and Lacedæmonians. In some late disputes in the island, one of the parties had solicited the affistance of Philip, who sent

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a body of troops thither and demolished Porthmos, the strongest city in those parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom Demosthenes calls tyrants. The Macedonians, not long after, took Oreus, which was left under the government of five magistrates. Plutarch of Eretria, one of the most considerable persons in Eubæa, went to Athens, to solicite the affistance of the Athenians; and Demosthenes warmly recommending his cause to the people, they sent a very slender army thither under the command of Phocion. This general, by his prudent conduct, foon obliged Philip to drop the profecution

of his defigns in Eubæa.

The enterprizing king only retired in one quarter, to become more formidable in another. Having formed a defign of extending his conquests in Thrace, he made extraordinary preparations for the campaign; and encreasing his army considerably by new levies, appointed his son Alexander regent of the king-He befieg- dom during his absence. When the season of the year permitted, he began his march with 30,000 men, and advancing northwards, invested Perinthus, one of the most considerable cities on the coast of the Propontis, and faithfully attached to the Athenians. The fiege was hardly formed, when he received advice that some of his neighbours had taken arms; Alexander but quickly after news arrived, that Alexander, who was not then above 15 years of age, had marched with fuch fecrecy and expedition against the invaders, that being routed by him, they had retired with the utmost precipitation. Philip fearing that this fuccess might make his son too adventurous, and that fortune might not always prove so favourable, sent for him to the camp.

es Perinthus.

defeats the Illyrians.

> Perinthus being strongly fortified both by nature and art, its inhabitants made a most gallant defence. Philip, on his side, pressed it closely, both by his battering rams and moveable towers, and by fapping. The Athenians, at the solicitation of the Perinthian ambassadors, and the persuasions of Demosthenes, fent succours to the besieged, but unfortunately gave the command of those troops to Chares, who was vain, luxurious, infolent, haughty, and unjust; and tho' very indifferently skilled in military affairs, yet full of promises of what he would perform. His profligate and rapacious character was fo well known, that the Perinthians, straitned as they then were, refused to admit him into their port. Philip, irritated by the proceedings of the Athenians, and apprehensive left their engaging in a war should revive that spirit of ambition and appetite for glory which had in former times rendered their republic fo powerful, wrote them a long letter, in which he recapitulated all the grievances he had to complain of against them, and pretended to infer, that they ought not to intermeddle or interest themselves with his transactions. He justly accused them of feveral arbitrary proceedings, and intermixed in his account of these, other facts which he wanted to be considered in the same view; expatiating at the fame time upon his own moderation and strict observance of treaties; so that the Athenians, in all probability, would have been deterred from acting any further,

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further, if Demosthenes, the constant adversary of Philip, had not undertaken to open their eyes. He warmly represented to them, that the king's defign was only to suspend their judgements, and to hinder their taking any vigorous resolution, till he had fubdued fuch places in the country, where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehensions from that quarter. News arriving about this time at Athens that Chares was excluded the ports of the allies, great debates arose in the popular affembly, till Phocion represented, that the insult was not offered to the Athenians, but to their rapacious admiral; and that if they would fend back the fuccours under a man of honour, they would retrieve their reputation. This motion being highly approved, Phocion himself was named admiral; which command he readily accepted.

Philip, by his uninterrupted prosperity, had alarmed the king of Perha as well as the Greeks. When, therefore, he led his troops against Perinthus, the great king, as he was stiled by the Greeks, ordered the governors of his maritime provinces to supply the place with all things in their power. In confequence of this order, they filled it with troops, granted fubfidies in ready money, and fent befides great convoys of provifions and ammunition. The Byzantines also concluding that they would be the next who would fuffer, fent to Perinthus the flower of their troops, and all necessaries for an obstinate defence. The difficulties which Philip had to struggle with in this enterprize, only ferved to stimulate his ambition. As foon, therefore, as he faw a small breach made in the wall, he ordered a general affault; but after a great flaughter on both sides, he was obliged to retreat. Finding it impossible to gain Philip bethe place by force, he left it blocked up, and marched with fieges By-the greatest part of his army against Byzantium; which being zantium, exhausted by the succours sent to Perinthus, would have quickly fallen into his hands, if Phocion had not very opportunely but is arrived. Philip now feeing all hopes of fucceeding taken away, railed both his fieges, and marched off with an army exceffively obliged to haraffed, and not a little dispirited. Phocion soon made him- retire self master of such places as the Macedonians had garrisoned in from that those parts, took many of their ships, and by frequent descents city, and raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of Perintbus.

Macedonia. Philip having concluded a peace with those states, to reco-339. ver the reputation of his arms, turned them instantly against a Scythian prince, who fought to take advantage of his misfor-Makes tune. Having routed the Scythians, and enriched his army with war on the their plunder, he, in his return, attacked the Triballi, who re-Scythians, fuled him a passage, unless he would share his plunder with and dethem. This engagement had well nigh proved fatal to Philip; feats the for being wounded in the thigh, and his horse killed under Triballi. him, he was trampled on the ground, and furrounded by the enemy. The young Alexander observing his danger, flew immediately to his affiftance, and covering his father's body with

Bef. Chr.

his shield, repulsed the barbarians. Philip being remounted, gained a fignal victory, and on his return to Macedon, was received with loud acclamations; tho' in himself he was much diffatisfied. He found himself greatly distressed by the Athe. nian fleets, which continually infested his coasts; and that re-

public itself now shewed no inclination to a peace.

As he found it absolutely necessary, for the success of his ambitious schemes, that the Athenian power should be suppress. fed, he formed a project for invading Attica, tho' he had no fleet to transport his troops, and suspected that both the Thes. falians and Thebans would oppose his passage thro' the straits of Thermopylæ. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to Athens itself, where, by means of his partizans, he procured the orator Aschines to be sent their deputy to the Amphietyons, A question being proposed in this council, whether the Locrians had not been guilty of facrilege in plowing the fields of of Cyrrha in the neighbourhood of Delphi? Æschines proposed a furvey, which was accordingly agreed to. The Amphietyons, as they were furveying the fields, being affaulted by the Locrians, decreed that an army should be raised to punish the delinquents. The Greek states paying but a small attention to this decree, and neglecting to fend their quotas of troops to the rendezvous, Æschines, in a long and eloquent harangue, represented the necessity of having their decrees reverenced, and moved that they should elect Philip for their general, He is cho- and pray him to execute their decree. This motion being approved of, it was decreed that ambassadors should be sent to ral by the Philip in the name of Apollo and the Amphietyons, to notify to him, that the states of Greece had unanimously chosen him their general. Thus, of a sudden, Philip, by this roundabout method, acquired all that he fought, and immediately marched with his army to execute the commands of the Amphicityons in appearance, but in truth to fulfill his own defigns. Having entered Greece, instead of medling with the Locrians, he seized Elatea, a great city in Phocis on the river Cephisus, it being one of his base maxims, that an advantage gained by policy, or, what meant the fame thing with him, by treachery, was more glorious than a conquest by arms.

The Greeks, instead of running to arms, stood amazed at his proceeding; and the Athenians, who were in the utmost confernation, called an extraordinary affembly, and demanded advice of Demosthenes by name. That great orator exhorted them to fend ambaffadors throughout all Greece, but especially to the Thebans, to engage them to rife at once, and oppose the Macedonian torrent before it bore down all. Demosthenes, with some other ambassadors, were instantly sent by the Athenians to Thebes; and he having prevailed with the Thebans to join in an alliance against Philip, concerted with them the proper measures to be taken. Philip finding his ambassadors flighted by the Thebans, fent deputies to Athens to treat of peace, and is faid to have engaged the priestess of Delphi to prophely

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nothing but destruction to those who opposed him. Demos-The Atherians prevailed with the Atherians to reject the propositions nians and made to them by Philip, and ridiculed the oracle, by telling Thebans them that Pythia philippized. The Atherian and Theban troops enter into accordingly joined at Eleusis, and prepared for a battle, which an alliase we days after was fought at Cheronæa, where Philip gained ance to a compleat victory. This success, which established the pre-oppose eminence of Macedon, so affected Philip, that he danced about him. like one distracted with joy. He caused the decree of Demos-They are thenes to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptibly of the deseated powers of Greece, and insulted his prisoners, till Demades, an by him at Atherian prisoner, by a severe reproof, checked his indecent Cheronæa, transports. He instantly returned to his usual moderation, ordered Demades and all the other prisoners to be released, and at their request even returned them their baggage. He carried his moderation still farther; for he concluded a peace with the

Thebes, did the rest of the Bestians no manner of hurt.

Philip having now established himself as sovereign of Greece, did not distrub his countrymen, whom he had enslaved, with the rattling of their chains, tho' he did not spare to shew them, when there was a necessity, that he was, and would be, their master: Having convoked a general assembly of the Greeks, he He is cho-

Athenians on their own terms; and leaving a good garrifon in

was therein declared generalissimo, and appointed their leader sen geneagainst the *Persians*, with full authority. By virtue of his new ralissimo commission, he settled a general peace among the states, and of the appointing the quota which each of them should furnish for the *Greeks* war, he returned into *Macedon*, and began to make great pre- against

parations for his Afiatic expedition.

The Greeks, from the time of Xerxes' invasion, had projected fans. a return of his vifit, with a view of making an absolute conquest of the *Persian* dominions, or at least of so much of them as might fuit them best. One of the Spartan kings before Ageplaus, Herodotus tells us, gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpose; and Agefilaus, with a small army, actually made a confiderable conquest in Asia, being encouraged to that expedition by the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks under Xenophon, who forced their way thro' the greatest part of the Persian empire in spite of all opposition. An Asiatic expedition, it is faid, was also meditated by Fason of Thessaly, a little before his death. The present design of Philip seems to have been well matured, and formed upon very folid principles of policy. The weakness of the Persian empire was well known all over Greece, and the riches of its provinces were a great bait to the Greeks. The whole power of Greece was now centered in Philip, who besides saw himself at the head of a numerous army of well disciplined and veteran troops, under experienced and brave officers. The different provinces of his kingdom were now formed into a focial union, which prevented it from being any longer a prey to factions or foreign invaders; and the administrution of affairs was committed to faithful ministers of great capacity.

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capacity. The chief of these was Antipater, whose character Philip summed up in a few words; for having rifen one morning later than usual, he faid, rubbing his eyes at his levee, I have Slept foundly to-day; for I know Antipater was waking. Alexander afterwards described him more fully; for one observing to him, that all his lieutenants, except Antipater, wore purple, True, said he, but Antipater is all purple within.

Diffenfions in Philip's family.

Philip, notwithstanding all his victories and conquests, was far from enjoying that happiness which prosperity is generally thought to afford. In his family he was not only uneasy, but even miserable. His wife Olympias was a woman of great abilities, and fine address; but of an high and turbulent spirit, much artifice, and loofe manners. Her influence with her hufband feems at one time to have been very great; for Philip not only raised her father Neoptolemus to a participation of the throne of Epire with his brother, but afterwards gave the fole possession of that crown to Alexander the brother of Olympias, to the prejudice of the fon of the elder brother. For feveral years past, however, there had been a great misunderstanding between her and Philip; but what were the real grounds of it, might even in those days have been impossible to discover. What-He divor- ever was the cause, the king was so extremely offended with ces Olym- her, that he proceeded to a divorce, and married Cleopatra, pias, and the niece of Attatus. Alexander, on account of this behaviour to his mother, and in refentment of some other slights, con-Cleopatra. ceived a warm diflike of his father, which he was at no pains to conceal; fo that the whole court knew and observed it. At the nuptial feast, Attalus, the uncle of Cleopatra, was so unpolite as to tell the king, in the hearing of his fon, that his Macedonians hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. What then, said Alexander, rascal, do you take me for a bastard? and with these words he threw a flaggon at his head. Attalus returned the compliment in the fame way. The king, extreamly provoked at the diffurbance, drew his fword, and forgetting that he was a cripple, hastily made towards his fon, but in his passage fell down; which gave the courtiers time to get between them. Alexander rising from his seat quitted the room; but, forgetting the respect due to his father and his king, before he went out faid, The Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another without hazarding his neck. After this ipeech, he rightly conjectured that it would not be proper for him to remain in Macedon, and therefore retired with his mother into Epire.

Quarrels with his fon Alexander.

marries

Not long after Demaratus the Corinthian, who had been Philip's hoft, came to make him a visit. Philip asking him if all things were quiet in Greece; he answered, You have reason, Sir, to trouble yourfelf about the peace of Greece, you who have filled your own family with quarrels and diffentions. The king received your own family with quarrels and diffentions. this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up acter

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the breach betwixt himself and his son Alexander, and recalled Is reconhim to court, Olympias also being allowed to return.

Some time before, Philip in an engagement with the Illyrians, his fon. had been in great danger of his life, when Paufanias, a comely He difoyoung nobleman, threw himself before him, and received those bliges weapons into his body which were directed against the king. Pansa-Before he expired, he told Attalus, the uncle of Cleopatra, that nias, who he had been prompted to this desperate action by the insult of resolves to another nobleman named Paufanias, who had reproached him murder with having a vicious intimacy with the king. Attalus, upon the him. return of the army to Macedonia, invited the other Paufanias to a feast, and when he had intoxicated him with wine, exposed him to the brutality of his grooms, who abused him according to their beaftly appetites. Paufanias, when sensible of the outrages he had suffered, frequently applied himself to the king for justice against Attalus. Philip not chusing to proceed against the uncle of his queen, endeavoured to pacify Paulanias, by bestowing on him many rich gifts, and appointing him a captain of his guards. The denial of justice only served to irritate the refentment of Paufanias, which was also kept alive by the partizans of Olympias and Alexander, who represented to him, that Philip, by refusing to punish Attalus, rendered himfelf an accomplice in his guilt. Alexander himself is accused of practifing these arts, and of spurring Pausanias on to the ampleft revenge*. The emissaries of Persia seem also to have leized this favourable opportunity of forming a conspiracy against the life of Philip, of which Pausanias was the principal instrument, tho' several other persons were concerned, among whom were the four sons of Eropus, Alexander, Amyntas, Heromenes, and Arabæus +. Pausanias, while his mind was glowing with refentment, happened one day to ask Hermocrates the fophist the following question: "What must that " man do who would be famous?" " He must," replied Hermocrates, "kill him who hath atchieved the greatest actions; "thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who " flew him, and both descend together to posterity." nias being confirmed in his defign by the fophist's maxim, prepared every thing for the execution of his detestable purpose.

Philip, in the mean time, was fully bent on forwarding his He pre-Affatic expedition, and he ordered Attalus and Parmenio to march pares for before him into Affa with some forces, to free the Greek cities his Affatic there from flavery. About the same time he sent to consult the expedioracle of Delphi concerning the event of his great design, and tion.

received the following answer:

The priest is ready, soon the ox shall bleed.

^{*} Plut. in Alex.

Makes fumptuat Ægæ.

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Paula-

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nias.

dered by

This doubtful oracle Philip construed to his own advantage; concluding, that the Persian king was marked out as a victim to be facrificed to the Grecian gods. He therefore, without delay, offered most costly and magnificent sacrifices; and to put an end to all domestic disturbances, gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Alexander king of Epire, the brother of Olympias. His queen Cleopatra being a few days before delivered of a fon, Philip refolved to celebrate both these joyful ous enter- events by solemn games and festivals at Ægæ, whither he intainments vited the deputies of all the Grecian states, and all his particular friends throughout Greece; defiring also his courtiers to fend invitations to all their acquaintances. The concourse of people was most numerous and splendid, and many crowns of gold were offered to Philip by the noblemen and the deputies from the Greek states. The day being spent in feasting, the entertainments of the theatre were to be exhibited next morning; on which account great numbers of people crowded thither before day-break. The shews began with a splendid procession, wherein the images of the twelve superior deities of Greece were carried, as also the image of Philip habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. Soon after came Philip alone, crowned and cloathed in a white robe, his guards being at a confiderable distance, that the Greeks might fee he placed his safety not in them, but in the affections of the people. As he approached the entrance of the theatre, Paulanias, who had chosen this opportunity for the execution of his revenge, and flationed himself there, made up to him, and fuddenly stabbed him in the left fide with a dagger, so that he fell dead at his feet. The affaffin inftantly fled to the gates, where horses were waiting for him; and would have escaped, if the twig of a vine had not catched his shoe and thrown him down; which gave Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus time to come up with him, by whom he was quickly dispatched.

Philip was flain in the 24th year of his reign, and the 47th year of his life. He was a prince of boundless ambition, to gratify which paffion he scrupled not to employ deceit, craft, falsehood and perjury. His life was polluted with every kind of vice, and he abandoned himself to all the various debaucheries which the most sensual wits could devise. His great abilities, and his indefatigable spirit, have, however, rendered him the object of admiration. He was, without dispute, the greatest warrior and statesman of his time. He was secret without affecting referve, very eloquent, affable, and obliging in his deportment; and preserved great moderation when he was spoken to, even in shocking and injurious terms. He was also

learned, and a great patron and lover of learning *.

By his first wife Olympias, Philip had Alexander his succellor, and Cleopatra. By an Illyrian he had a daughter named Cyna,

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who was married to Amyntas the lawful heir of the Macedonian crown, being the fon of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother. By a Thessalian he had Nicæa, who became afterwards the wife of Cassander. By Cleopatra, the neice of Attalus, he had a son named Caranus, and a daughter, Europa, both flain by Olympias, the last in her mother's arms. By a dancer of Larissa he had Aridaus, who was for a while titular king of Macedon, but was afterwards put to death by the cruel Olympias. Arfinoe, one of his concubines, he gave in marriage to Lagus when she was big with child; which child proved a fon, and was the famous Ptolemy king of Egypt.

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On the death of Philip, Alexander his fon, then twenty years Alexander of age, succeeded to the throne of Macedon. Alexander, in his succeeds early youth, began to discover very folid talents. When a per- to the fect boy, he entertained the Persian ambassadors in the absence throne. of his father, with much civility and politeness. Instead of asking questions about the hanging gardens, the splendid palaces, His natuor other marks of grandeur for which the Persian court was fa- ral capamous, he enquired about the road leading to the Upper Afia, city. the forces which the great king could raife, their discipline, and in what part of the line of battle the king generally fought. Whenever he heard that Philip had taken any town of importance, or gained any fignal victory, intread of rejoicing at the news, he would tell his companians, that his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities

of performing great and illustrious actions. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent educa- His strict tion, and all forts of mafters were given him according as his education years and improvements required them. Over his preceptors under the and tutors, Leonidas, his mother's relation, and a man of fe-care of vere morals, presided. Afterwards Aristotle became not only Leonidas his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in respect and Ariof politics. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from stotle. the fanciful; in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his studies he was chiefly attentive to what could improve his mind. He applied himself to metaphyfice and natural philosophy, but morality especially pleased him, and the knowlege of the duties which are effential to focial life. In order to understand these he studied Homer, which Aristotle was at great pains to explain to him; not enlarging upon the beauty of the composition, or the sublimity of the verle, but remarking the different characters naturally painted, by which virtue was in a manner animated and rendered more The turbulent transactions in the middle of Philip's reign, served as a school of war to Alexander, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the interests of Greece.

The first act, as a king, was the punishing his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive; namely, to thew affection to Philip's memory, which he always honoured, and to VOL. III.

punishes murderwipe away the imputation of being concerned in his death.

which, according to Plutarch, was not eafily done.

Mean while, the neighbouring nations hearing of Philip's The Greeks en-death, began to think of disclaiming the authority of Macedon. The respective states of Greece longed to throw off the yoke, confede- and at Athens, Demosthenes, by his example, drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negoracy atiations against Alexander, whom he stiled a giddy boy, unfit gainst for empire. Attalus, who with Parmenio had the joint comhim. mand of the Macedonian army on the frontiers of Afia, aspired

to the crown, and fought to debauch the foldiers. The Macedonians reflecting on the precarious fituation of affairs, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and to recover, by gentle methods, the barbarians, who had taken arms. Alexander, however, would not liften to these timorous counsels, but re-

folved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and mag-To prevent the designs of Attalus, he sent Heca-He causes nanimity. Attalus, teus with a reinforcement of troops to the army in Asia, with who pre- orders to bring Attalus a prisoner to Macedonia; or if he could tended to not effect that, to put him to death. About the same time he thethrone, marched into Theffaly, and affembling the Theffalian princes, to be put made a long and eloquent oration to them, infifting on their to death. common descent from Hercules, the kindness between their an-

cestors, and the victories they had won together; by which he fo charmed them to his interests, that they declared him general of Greece as succeffor to his father. The neighbouring states he drew over in the same manner, partly by awing them with his army, and partly by the force of his eloquence. Attalus, in the mean time, finding it impossible to draw the army to favour his defign, professed great loyalty to Alexander, and fent to him a letter which he received from Demosthenes; but

was nevertheless put to death by Hecateus.

He defeats the Tribaltions and Iliyrians.

To quell the barbarians towards the north, Alexander, the following fpring, marched into Thrace, acting according to the principle he had laid down, that the power of Macedon was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which it had been attained. After a march of ten days from Amphipolis, he reached mount Hamus, which post the barbarians had fortified. Alexander, however, forced their entrenchments, and feized their camp, which was full of women, children, and cattle. He passes Three days after he reached the river Ister, or the Danube, and

the Ister, transporting part of his army over the river on the skins which and oblig-ferved to cover their tents, marched against the Getæ, who fled es the bar-at his approach. Having taken possession of one of their chief barians to cities which they had abandoned, he razed the place, after submit. having collected the spoil, which he ordered to be conveyed to the fea. Here he facrificed to Jupiter Soter or the Saviour, to Hercules, and to the Ister, for affording him a safe passage. Having then transported his whole army over the Danube, ambaffadors came to him from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him. Deputies came also from the Celtes, a

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resolute and high-spirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; and concluding that his name had ftruck some of those nations with terror, he asked the deputies of the Celtes, What, of all things, they feared most? They boldly answered, That they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the fly and flars. Pleased with this answer, Alexander granted them his friendship, and adjusting his differences with the rest of the neighbouring nations, prepared for his return into Macedonia. Clytus king of Illyria, in the mean time, renounced his dependance on Macedon, and entered into an alliance with Glaucias king of the Taulanti, and with the Autariata, to defend themselves against the Macedonians. Alexander, before his return to Macedon, surprized Glaucias and Clytus in their camp, and after making a great flaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for shelter to the mountains.

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In the midst of these victories, Alexander received advice that The Theall Greece was in commotion, Demosthenes having prevailed on bans take several states to enter into a confederacy against him. A false arms areport prevailing in Greece that he was dead in Illyria, the The- gainst the bans put two of the commanders of the Macedonian garrison to Macedodeath in their market-place, and befieged the garrison in the nians. citadel. Alexander, upon this news, marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and in thirteen days entered Boodtia; which the Thebans looking upon as impossible, they at first persuaded themselves that it was some other body of Macedonians under another general. This fudden march prevented the rest of the Grecian states from aiding the Thebans, tho' they were actually affembling forces for that purpose, and so alarmed the Athenians, that they applied themselves wholly to provide for their own defence; answering exactly what Alexander had faid when he entered Bæotia, Demosthenes called me a child when I was in Illyricum, and a youth while I was in Thessaly; but I will convince him when I approach the walls of Athens that The Thebans having rejected the offers of accom- Alexander modation made to them by Alexander, he took the city by takes form, put above 6000 inhabitants to the fword, and fold the Thebes, relt, to the number of 30,000, for flaves, sparing only the priests, and razes fuch as had a right of hospitality with the Macedonians, the it to the descendants of the famous poet Pindar, and those who had op-ground. posed the revolt. The city was then wholly razed, except the temples, and the house of Pindar.

This example of feverity, which Alexander endeavoured to palliate, by alleging, that he acted in obedience to a decree of the Amphietyons, struck a terror into all the Greek states. Eleans restored their exiles because they were his friends, the Atolians deprecated his wrath by a most submissive embassy, and the Athenians fent ambassadors to him, begging pardon for The Athenot having sooner owned his sovereignty. Alexander required manscourt the Athenians to deliver up to him ten of their orators, whom his friendhe accused of being the authors of all the disturbances in Greece ship. for several years. At the intercession of Demades, however,

Alexander waved this demand, and only infifted that Charide. mus the orator should banish himself. He not only pardoned the Athenians, but advised them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance; because in case of his death, they probably would be the arbiters of Greece. Plutarch tells us, that he often repented of his severity to the Thebans, and that his remorfe had fuch an influence on his temper, as to make him afterwards less rigorous to many others.

Alexander having now broke the Grecian confederacy, pro.

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He vifits Diogenes.

cian depu-ceeded to Corinth, where in a general affembly of the states ties at Co- of Greece, a war with Persia was unanimously decreed, and the rinth de- king of Macedon declared generalissimo. While he staid there, clare him many statesmen and philosophers came from all parts to visit generalif- him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the same compliment from Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived in a fuburb of Corinth; but finding that philosopher took no notice of him, he went to vifit him, attended by his courtiers. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground balking himself in the sun. The philosopher, when the crowd furrounded him, looked up at Alexander; who after faluting him, asked him, with his usual civility, if he wanted any thing? Yes, replied he, I would have you stand a little out of my sunthine. Alexander was so affected at this answer, and so surprised at the greatness of the man's foul, that as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that if he were not Alexander, he would wish to be Diogenes; intimating, that the next thing to possessing all things, was to bring his mind to fuch a frame as to want nothing.

Alexander returning to Ægæ, there held a grand council to deliberate about his expedition into Afia. The gravest of his counsellors, particularly Antipater and Parmenio, advised him to marry before he engaged in the Persian war. Alexander disliked this, and indeed every motion of delay. He therefore facrificed to Jupiter Olympius, and to the Muses, consecrating a day to each muse. Having then entertained his friends with magnificent feafts, he distributed amongst them all the crown lands and the rest of his revenues; giving to one a farm, to another a village, and to a third the customs of a port. Perdicus asked the king, what he reserved for himself? My hopes, answered Alexander. Let us then, said Perdiccas, who are to share with you in your dangers, share with you in your hopes also. Perdicas therefore refused to accept the estate he had assigned to him,

and some others of his friends did the same.

expedition.

His army being then affembled, which, according to fome out in his accounts, confisted of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, and according to others, of 34,000 foot and 4000 horse, he began his march from Amphipolis for Asia, and in twenty days reached Seftos. His fund for paying his army, according to Aristobulus amounted only to 70 talents; but Onesicritus, who attended him in the expedition, fays that he was 200 talents in debt

The government of Macedonia, during his absence, was com-

mitted to Antipater, with 12,000 foot and 1500 horse.

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Having passed the Hellespont without opposition, Alexander He passes proceeded to Ilium, a small city near the ruins of Troy, where the Helleshe facrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, espe-pont. cially to Achilles, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having Patroclus for a friend, and Homer to record his actions. As he approached the city of Lampsacus, which on account of its adhering to the Persians he determined to destroy, Anaximenes, an eminent historian, well known in the court of Philip, met him to intercede for his townsmen. The king suspecting the business he came upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you would destroy Lampsacus. Alexander sinding himself thus entrapped by his own oath, was obliged to spare the city.

The Persians, upon the news of his entering Asia, assembled an army on the Granicus, which, according to Diodorus, confisted of 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot. When Alexander arrived at the river, he ordered his troops, without delay, to pass over, tho' the stream was very rapid, and the opposite bank, which was very steep, was lined by the enemy. The Persian He deseats horse, which were drawn up in a line before their foot, made the Pera most surious attack; but the Macedonians, animated by the stans at the behaviour of Alexander, who passed with eagerness into the Granicus. greatest dangers, advanced in the midst of a shower of arrows and darts, and in a very short time put the enemy to slight. The victory was chiefly attributed to the personal bravery of

and 2500 horse, were killed on the side of the Persians. Of the Macedonians there fell only 115.

Alexander, in consequence of this victory, obtained the possession of all the western coast of lesser Asia, which he constituted into a province, ordering the fame tribute to be paid to him as heretofore had been exacted by Darius. Being put in Sardis and pollession of Sardis, and of the royal treasures contained in the Ephesus cattle, he granted to the Sardians and other Lydians, the pri- submit to vilege of being governed by their antient laws. At Sardis he him. built a temple to Jupiter Olympius; and hearing that the Persians had abandoned Ephesus, he proceeded thither, where he was received with great joy. He restored the democracy, and ordered the tribute that had been paid to the Persians, to be applied to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana. His favours encouraged the Ephefians to fall upon some persons of note, who had been formerly in the administration of affairs, and to drag them from the temples to the market-place, where they stoned them. These men being guilty of very flagrant oppressions, Alexander did not interpole to fave them; but immediately after their deaths he issued out an edict, forbidding any farther enquiry into the conduct of the former magistrates, by which he T 3

Alexander, and the Thessalian cavalry. Twenty thousand foot,

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He reduces Miletus,

gained the favour of all degrees of people, the nobles at the fame time acknowleging him as their preferver. By another edict he ordered the popular government to be restored in all the Greek cities, and then advanced with his army against Miletus, which was defended by Memnon the Rhodian, one of the best officers of Darius, who had fled thither with part of the army after the battle of the Granicus. After a most obstinate defence, the city was obliged to capitulate; but Memnon, with part of the mercenaries, retired to Halicarnassus. After the reduction of Miletus, Alexander dismissed his fleet, as he had not money to pay the failors, and was afraid to trust his fortune in an engagement at fea. Being determined also to take posfession of all the sea-ports on the Asiatic coast, he concluded that the Persian fleet would be thereby rendered useless. From Miletus, Alexander proceeded to Halicarnassus, which was most gallantly defended for a long time by Memnon, who was at last, however, obliged to abandon the place, carrying off on board his fleet the greatest part of the inhabitants with their wealth, leaving the city in ruins to the Macedonigns, Alexanand Tral-der razed the place, and also laid the city of Tralles level with From thence he marched into Phrygia, leaving the ground. Ptolemy, with 3000 foot and 200 horse, to keep the country of Caria in obedience.

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Halicar-

nasjus,

His kindness to Adaqueen of Garia.

Upon Alexander's arrival in Caria, Ada, the fifter and widow of Idreus, who had succeeded to Artemisia, presented him with the keys of Alinda, the only place which was then in her poffession, she having been dethroned some years before by Pixodorus, and the throne being then held by his fuccessor Orontobates. As a farther mark of her respect, she adopted Alexander for her fon; which honour he received very kindly, and after reducing Halicarnassus, made her governess of Caria. She, to shew her kindness, sent him every day many curious dishes and sweetmeats, and would have furnished him with such cooks and makers of pastry, as were excellent in their kind; but he refused them, and told her, That he wanted none of them, his preceptor Leonidas having formerly given him the best; namely, long morning marches to give him a stomach for his dinner, and slender dinners to create an appetite for his supper. By this conduct of Alexander to the queen of Caria, many of the princes of leffer Asia were induced to revolt from the Persians, and put themselves under his protection. In the number of these was Mithridates king of Pontus, who upon visiting Alexander, conceived such a love for him, that he accompanied him in his Perfian expedition.

A.exander concluded the campaign with attacking the Marmarians, a people in the mountainous parts of Lycia, who had attacked the rear of his army, and cut a great many of his men in pieces. Having stormed their city, which was seated among rocks, for two whole days together, the young men found they could not defend the place, and therefore put to derth all the old men, women, and children, and to the number of 600, forced the Macedonian guard, and made their escape to the mountains.

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Alexander, in the beginning of the winter, sent home, under The new the command of three officers, all the new married soldiers in married his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives. men sent As this was a proceeding exactly conformable to the law of back to Moses, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that Macedo-Aristotle had learned it of some few in Asia, and recommend-nia. ed it to his pupil: tho, perhaps, it was only suggested to him by his own prudence, as he could not take a more effectual way to raise an ardour among the Macedonians and Greeks of sollowing him in all his enterprizes. Parmenio, and some other general officers, were also sent some into Europe, and some into Asia, to raise recruits.

During the winter, Alexander son of Eropus, who was gene- A conspiral of the Thessalian horse, entered into a treasonable corre-racy dissolution of the Amyntas, then in the service of Darius. Amyn-covered. tas sent letters to this Alexander by Assines, a Persian, promising him the kingdom of Macedonia, and 1000 talents of silver, if he would murder the king. Parmenio, upon some suspicion, seizing Assines, and discovering the treason, gave intelligence of it to the king, who immediately caused the traitor to be seized.

Alexander, early the following spring, sent part of his army Pamphylia thro' the mountainous country to Perga, and led the rest by conquered the sea-shore, taking his route by a certain promontory where by Alexthe way is altogether impassible, except when the north winds ander. blow. Upon the king's arrival, the south wind, which had held a long time, suddenly changed, and blew so violently from the north, that he and his followers declared they had obtained an easy passage by divine assistance. Alexander, in his letters, however, speaks of this passage in plain and simple terms; and Strabo tells us, that the beach at the foot of the mountain is dry at low water, but that Alexander was so eager to pass, that he ordered his men to march when the water came up to their middle.

The Aspendians, about this time, submitted to him, and obtained, that no garrifon should be fent to their city on condition of their paying 50 talents, and fending to his camp the fame number of horses which they were wont to furnish to Da+ They, however, after having fortified their city, which was founded on a high and steep rock, refused to fulfil this treaty, which obliged Alexander to march against them. Macedonians having quickly taken possession of part of the city at the bottom of the hill, the Aspendians began to despair of detending themselves, and entreated Alexander to accept of the The king confidering the strength of the former conditions. place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long fiege, leemed not averfe to an accommodation, but infifted now that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages, that the number of talents should be doubled, that they should admit a garrison of Macedonians, and pay an annual tribute.

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He also reduces Pisidia gia.

Soon after he had conquered the Pisidians and Phrygians, he proceeded to Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, where he intended to reaffemble all his troops, having fent orders to the recruits and and Phry- new married men, who were now returned from Macedonia, On his march he met with deputies from Athens, who befought him to difmifs fuch of their citizens as he had taken fighting in the service of the Persians; but from this the king defired to be excused till the war was over.

He unties the Gor-

Finding himself under a necessity of remaining some time at Gordium, till his army should be united, he viewed the chariot dian knot, of Gordius, famous for the knot in the harness, which no perfon as yet had been able to untie, tho' according to a tradition of the inhabitants, whoever should untie it, would enjoy the empire of Asia. Most authors relate, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it because the ends of it were secretly folded up within it, cut it afunder with his fword; but Aristobulus, who attended him in his expedition, relates, that he very eafily untied the knot, by only pulling from the beam the pin which faitened it to the yoke, and afterwards drawing out the yoke itself.

Paphlagonia and Cappadohim.

Paphlagonia foon after submitting to him, he reduced Cappadocia as far as the river Halys, and then marched on to posfess himself of Cilicia, which was encompassed by very high cia alfore- mountains, except on the fouth, where it was washed by the Three narrow passes led into this province, duced by Mediterranean. one on the north, called the Gate, and on the east the pass of Amanus; and the pass of Syria. The northern pass was seized by the Persians; but upon Alexander's approach they imprudently abandoned it, fo that he entered it without opposition, when he admired his good fortune, owning that a fmall number of resolute men might have stopped him with great ease,

with no other weapons but stones.

During these transactions, Darius, by the advice of Mentor, had resolved to carry the war into Macedon, and appointing him commander of his fleet, had fent him to Greece with a confiderable body of forces. That great general accordingly reduced the islands of Chios and Lesbos, except the city of Mitylene; but dying while he was employed in the fiege of this place, the prudent measures he had proposed were thereby de-The Persian king being now at a great loss how to act, was advised by Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served long under Philip of Macedon, but was now a refugee at his court, not to hazard himself in the field, but to commit the war to an expert general, allowing him 100,000 troops, one third of which should be mercenaries. Darius approved of this advice; but his courtiers maliciously inveighing against it, and charging Charidemus with treachery, as tho' he fought the command of the army to betray it to the Macedonians, the king then suspected him, and ordered him to be put to death. Charidemus, when he was hurried to his execution, faid aloud, Darius will very soon repent of his cruelty towards me, when by

the loss of his kingdom, he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life. Darius indeed repented in a few days, but in consequence of the advice of his Persian counsellors, assembled an army of several 100,000 men, which he led in person

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Alexander, upon the news of Mentor's death, resolved to carry the war into upper Asia, and with that design entered Cilicia. Soon after, by a sudden march, he took possession of Tarfus, arriving at the instant the Persians were setting fire to the place, which he quickly extinguished. Alexander, by fav- His daning this city, had well nigh loft his life; for either thro' the gerous excessive fatigue of marching, or, as others relate, by bathing, sickness. when very hot, in the river Cydnus, the waters of which, as they run thro' thick shades, are exceeding cold, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers by thought After fainting away he was carried to his he was dying. tent, and the news of the fad difaster threw the army into the greatest consternation. Alexander, after recovering his senses, finding himself excessively weak, bitterly lamented his hard fate that confined him to his tent, while the *Persians* were advancing under *Darius* to give him battle. He defired the physicians to give him some powerful remedy; but they, senfible that they should be answerable for the event, scrupled to undertake his cure by violent means, especially as Darius had published, that he would reward, with 1000 talents, the man who should kill Alexander. Philip of Acarnania, however, offered to give him a medicine that would work a speedy cure. While Philip was preparing the medicine, the king received a letter from Parmenio, advising him, that Philip was suborned by Darius to take away his life. Alexander, however, took the potion from Philip, and putting Parmenio's letter into his hands, drank off the mixture, without discovering the least suspicion or uneafiness. Philip, upon reading the letter, shewed not the least figns of fear, but confidently defired the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest. The potion, tho' falutary, had a very violent effect; but the king was so relieved by it, that three days after he shewed himself to the army, testifying afterwards an extraordinary gratitude to the author of his cure.

Soon after his recovery, being informed that Darius was ad-Darius ad vanced within two days journey of the eastern straits of Cilicia, vances to he marched to meet him; but while he proceeded southward Issus, along the coast to Myrandrus, Darius imprudently entered the pass of Amanus, and surprising Issus, put most of the Macedonians he found there to the sword. Hearing that Darius had entered within the straits, he hastened back to Issus, where the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the Persians, who had not room to extend themselves, were defeated with great slaughter. The first line, in which Darius sought, being soon put into disorder, he was obliged to say; and leaving his chariot, with his bow and his royal mantle, escaped over

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where he the mountains on horseback. Of the Persians, there fell 100,000 Alexan-

is totally foot and 10,000 horse, a great many of whom perished without routed by a stroke of the enemy. But the Macedonians lost only 300 foot and 150 horse. When Alexander returned from the pursuit of Darius, he found his men busy in pillaging the Persian camp, Bef. Chr. which was exceeding rich, tho' Darius had left the greatest part of his baggage behind him at Damoscus. The tent of Da. rius was prepared for the reception of Alexander, who putting off his armour, faid, Come, let us cleanse and refresh ourselves in Darius's bath. No, cried one of his attendants, call it rather Alexander's, for the goods of the vanquished belong to the vider by the law of arms. Having here beheld the utenfils all of gold curiously wrought, and fmelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and being afterwards magnificently entertained in another spacious apartment, he turned to those about him, and said, This, it seems, it is to be a king. The day after the battle, Alexander went with Hephastion to comfort the mother, wife, and daughters of Darius, who were taken prisoners. Hephastion being much of the fame age, but taller than Alexander, Sifigambis, the mother of Darius, fell down at his feet, supposing him to be the king; but fome captive eunuchs shewing her Alexander, she immediately fell proftrate before him. He feeing her in some confusion, took her by the hand and raised her up, saying, Do not be uneasy, mother, you were not mistaken, for he too is Alexander. Arrian feems diffident of the truth of this story, but adds, that there is fo much worth and beauty in the action, as ought to incline us to wish it true. It feems, indeed, contradicted by a letter of Alexander to Parmenio, mentioned by Plutarch, in which he fays, that he had not so much as seen, or desired to see, the wife of Darius.

Alexander advancing into Cælesyria, encouraged the provinces and petty princes to submit themselves voluntarily, treating all that did fo as old and hereditary subjects, neither burdening them with foldiers, nor oppressing them with tribute. Parmenio having gone with a detachment of troops to Damafcus, that city was basely betrayed into his hands by the governor. In this city there were 30,000 prisoners taken, among whom were very many persons of distinction, besides as much

rich booty as loaded 7000 beafts of burden.

The king of the island Arados being at this time absent with all his naval forces, acting in conjunction with the Perfians, as Alexander approached his dominions on the Continent, his fon Strato went and submitted to him, and presented him with a crown of gold, being graciously received by the conqueror. Alexander remaining for some time at Marathes, a city on the Continent under the dominion of Arados, he reto treat of ceived a letter from Darius, who in a very imperious stile de-peace. fired him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of the royal captives, and offered to decide the dispute for empire by one general battle; advising him, however, to content himself with

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with his own dominions, rather than unjustly invade those of another. Alexander fent back the Persian ambassadors, and wrote also to Darius. After enumerating the many injuries and calamities which the Greeks and Macedonians had suffered from the Persians, he alledged, that they were the aggressors, especially as they had hired affassins to murder his father. He offered to fet the royal captives at liberty, if Darius would come in a suppliant manner, and defire their freedom.

As Alexander approached the city of Sidon, the Sidonians, in Sidon Subopposition to Strato their king, submitted to him. Alexander, mits to having deprived Strato of the crown, gave his favourite, He- Alexander. phastion, leave to bestow it on whom he would. Hephastion offered the royal dignity to one of the chief citizens, in whose house he then lodged; but he, with a noble disinterestedness, refused it, and named for that honour one Abdolonymus, of the blood royal, who then supported himself by cultivating a small kitchen garden in the fuburbs. Alexander accordingly gave him the palace, furniture, and private estate of Strato, and even

added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom *.

The Tyrians, after the battle of Iss, had fent deputies to fubmit themselves to Alexander, who received them very graciously; but when he told them that he intended to come to their city, to facrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, they fent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he should command them; but that they could not confent to his coming, and facrificing in their city, or allow any Macedonians to enter their gates. This refusal highly provoked Alexander, who having represented to his officers, that it would be imprudent to carry on the war in distant provinces, till they had reduced Tyre, which would render them masters of the fea, marched his army thither to beliege the place. After Tyretaken a most laborious siege, which lasted seven months, he at last and burnt made himself master of the city, which was burnt to the ground, by him. almost all the inhabitants being either slain or made slaves, as we have related in the history of the Phænicians. While he was engaged in this fiege, he received a fecond letter from Darius, who now condescended to give him the title of king, and offered him new terms of peace, which were rejected by Alexander. After the reduction of Tyre, Alexander marched to- He wards ferusalem, with the design of chastising the fews, who marches had highly offended him during the fiege; for when he fent to to ferudemand of them provisions for the subsistence of his troops, salem. they answered, that they were the subjects of Darius, bound by oath not to supply his enemies. The Jews, upon the news of the approach of the Macedonians, were under the greatest terror, and implored the protection of God by prayers, particular fasts, and other solemn acts of devotion. God was at

length

^{*} Curt. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Julin. lib. xi. See the hiftory of Phoenice.

length pleased to answer their petitions, by commanding Jad-

Jenus.

dua the high-priest in a vision, to array himself in his pontifical habit, to direct the priests to put on their proper garments, and folemnly to advance with the people clothed in white, to meet the Grecian prince. The Jews accordingly went out of their city in this folemn manner to meet Alexander, who, the moment he perceived the high-prieft, hafted towards him, bowed himself before him, and saluted him with a religious veneration. The Macedonians were feized with inexpressible furprize; but the Syrians and Phanicians, who, out of mere hatred to the Jews, had taken part in this expedition, were filled with forrow and discontent. Parmenio taking the liberty of asking the king why he adored the Jewish high-priest, he answered, that he did not adore the priest, but God, whose minister he was; for when he was at Dium in Macedonia, and much troubled in his mind about his Afiatic expedition, this very person in his pontifical robes appeared to him in a dream, and exhorted him to lay afide doubts and fears, and pass beldly into Asia; for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the Persians. On seeing therefore this person, he was convinced, that what he did was by the express affistance of the Deity, who, he doubted not, would protect him in all His kind- his future expeditions. Alexander then, embracing the highweis to the priest and all his brethren, walked in the midst of them to Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices in the temple. The high-priest afterwards shewed him the passages in the prophet Daniel relating to himself. Alexander, filled with joy and admiration, before he lest Jerusalem, assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceltors had left them, and to be exempt from their usual seventh year's tribute, in which they neither plowed nor fowed. Alexander granted their request; but when the Samaritans, who had affisted him at the siege of Tyre, soon after applied to him for some favours of the fame kind, he dismissed them with an unfatisfactory answer, and proceeded to Gaza, which still held for Josephus is the only antient author who mentions Darius. Alexander's journey to Jerusalem. As there are some contradictory circumstances in his account, and as all other authors say that the Macedonians marched directly from Tyre to Gaza, some modern critics have imagined that the story of Fosephus is a mere fable *.

Gaza.

Bætis, the governor of Gaza, having been at great pains to provide every thing necessary for a vigorous defence, refused, when fummoned, to deliver up the place, upon which Alexander caused it to be immediately invested, although his council He takes looked upon the place as impregnable. After a most obstinate fiege of two months, during which he himself had received two to of the im, ble ere ere rty he ofe all the ere all the ere of the im, afk was effort for sicay me ere ere ere ere on the ere of the ere on the ere of the ere on the ere of th

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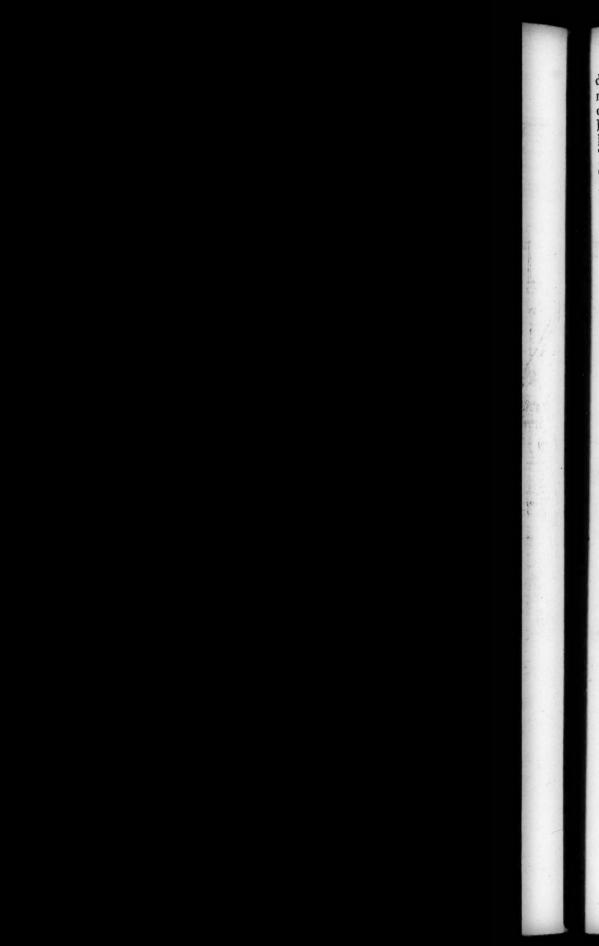


Wiew of old Alexandria with the Obelisk commo

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ommonly called the Needle of Cleopalra.



dangerous wounds, he took the place by storm, when, in a most inhuman manner, he ordered the faithful Bætis to be dragged round the city till he expired, by a rope put through a hole bored in his heels. The inhabitants were also treated by him with great cruelty, in resentment for their gallant defence. Though the loss of the Macedonians on this occasion is not specified, yet it is probable that it must have been very great; for Amyntas was sent to Macedonia for recruits, and Alexander soon after was at great pains to encrease his army by foreign soldiers. Upon the arrival of some recruits from Greece, Alexander left

a garrison in Gaza, and in seven days arrived at Pelusium, which he took possession of without any opposition, the Persian governor judging it in vain to make any defence, as the Egyptians now openly testified a great disaffection to his nation, in refentment of the indignities thrown upon their idolatrous religion by the Persians. Alexander was received by the Egyptians as He is joytheir deliverer, and upon his arrival at Memphis, offered pom-fully repous facrifices not only to the Grecian gods, but also to the ceived by Egyptian Apis. He likewise celebrated magnificent games, and the Egypfailing down the river from Memphis to the fea, he fixed upon tians; a spot, not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile, for building founds Aa magnificent city, which he called Alexandria, after his own lexandria; This city, which was built with great elegance by the architect, who had rebuilt the temple of Diana at Ephefus, and was most conveniently situated for commerce, became in after ages so rich and famous, that, in the time of Diodorus Siculus, there were on its rolls 300,000 freemen. Alexander himself now directed where every public structure should be erected, and fixed the number of temples, and the deities to whom they fhould be dedicated, affigning particularly a large and eminent fite for a temple to the Egyptian Isis.

Alexander, at this time, formed his extraordinary design of and visits visiting the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in the desarts of Libya; the temple but with what intention authors are not agreed, though it is of Jupiter generally supposed he was prompted thereto by his ambition and Ammon.

vanity. According to Arrian, he wanted to imitate Perseus and Hercules, both of whom, it is faid, confulted this oracle. Whatever were his motives, it is certain he hazarded himself and his army in the highest degree, by undertaking a march of near 200 miles through a barren waite, entirely destitute of water, and without any path, the fands being fo fluctuating, that they are moved by every wind, and sometimes so raised as to bury whole armies. From these impending mischiefs all authors agree that Alexander was miraculously delivered; for when the water brought on camels backs was spent, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and when their guides could no longer distinguish the road, great numbers of ravens, as most authors relate, flew before the army with a flow motion, and continued with them till they arrived at the temple, which was fituated in a most fertile spot, about five miles in circumference.

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This beautiful island, if it may be so called, is planted with groves of palm-trees, and watered with fountains and dews. There is also here a fountain, the nature and properties of which are very fingular. Its waters at mid-day are cool, towards evening they begin to be warm, and at midnight are boil. ing hot. A kind of fossile falt was dug up in the country, which the priefts of Ammon carried to Egypt in little boxes, and bestowed on the king, or some great men, as a present. It was transparent like crystal, and being purer than sea salt, was used by the Egyptians in their facrifices. Alexander, according to Arrian, confulted the oracle in person, and received its answer. which confifted, according to Diodorus, of three particulars, though other authors fay that it was kept fecret. The prieft, Diodorus fays, acknowledged him the fon of Jupiter Ammon, he also declared to the king that he should subdue the whole world. and affured him that the murderers of Philip were punished. From this time, in all his letters, orders, and decrees, he always wrote in the stile following: Alexander king, fon of Jupiter Ammon. His mother Olympias, however, was so offended with his propagating of these vain stories, that she sent to desire him to forbear embroiling her with Juno.

He fettles the goof Egypt,

and pu-

Samari-

tans.

Alexander, on his return to Memphis, received embassies of congratulation from most of the states of Greece, as also recruits vernment both of horse and soot. As he allowed the Egyptians to live under their own laws, he appointed Dolorpis, an eminent Egyptian, governor of the province, leaving garrifons, however, in all the places of strength under officers in whom he confided. These commanders were independent of each other, the province being thought of too great confequence to be committed to a fingle person, or to be trusted in the hands of men of high

quality.

These regulations being made during the winter, Alexander early in the fpring marched towards Tyre, where all his forces were ordered to affemble. On his way thither, he was informed that Andromachus, one of his favourites, whom he had left superintendant of Syria and Palestine, was murdered with his retinue in Samaria. Alexander was highly exasperated against the Sanishes the maritans for this cruel action, and having caused those concerned in the murder, who could be discovered, to be put to death, established a colony of Macedonians in Samaria, and gave part of its territories to the Jews. He also dismissed 8000 Samaritans who had ferved in his troops, and appointed them lands in

upper Egypt. Upon his arrival at Tyre, Alexander, at the request of the Athenian ambassadors who met him in that city, pardoned those Athenians whom he had found in the Persian service, and sent also a fleet to the coast of Greece, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in the Peloponnese. Having regulated some other affairs relating to his conquests, he began his march for Thapfacus, a city on the Euphrates. Statira, the queen of Darius, dying during this march, Alexander caused

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her to be buried in the most magnificent manner. Mazaus, Alexander who was left to guard the Euphrates with a great body of horse, passes the having wasted the adjacent country, and abandoned his post, Euchraces Alexander caused a bridge that had been broken down to be re- and the naired, and marched over with his army without opposition. Tierus, He then proceeded through Mesopotamia by an indirect road. which he took to avoid defiles, and for the easier procuring of provisions. Darius, who had affembled another numerous army, fent Satropates and Mazæus with 7000 horse to guard the pasface of the Tigris; but a little before their arrival the Mac domans had passed that river with great difficulty. The Macedomans having rested on the banks of the Tigris two days, the night before they intended to begin their march the moon was eclipsed, which threw them into the greatest consternation, so that in a mutinous manner they refused to proceed, exclaiming that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged, against the will of the gods, to the utmost extremities of the earth, merely to fatisfy the ambition of one man, who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a god. Some Egyptian soothsayers, however, who attended the army, declaring that this eclipse foreboded some great calamity to the Persians, as the moon was predominant in Persia and the sun in Greece, the hopes and courage of the Macedonians were quickly revived. As both armies were now within a few miles of each other, ambaffadors again came to Alexander from Darius with new offers for a peace; but Alexander refused to hearken to any proposals, unless Darius would acknowledge him as his lord and fovereign. The two armies, and total-

a few days after, came to a decifive engagement in the plains of ly defeats Gaugamela, or Arbela, on the east fide of the Tigris, where the the Persi-Persians, after an obstinate engagement, were at last totally ansatGaurouted. There is scarce any fixing of the number of the com-gamela. batants or of the flain. According to Arrian, the Macedonian Bef. Ch. army confifted of 7000 horse and 40,000 foot. Some historians make the number of the *Persians* upwards of a million; but, according to the smallest accounts, it was ten times as numerous as that of the Macedonians. According to Diodorus, there were upwards of 90,000 Persians slain, and 500 of the Macedomians, though there were many of the latter wounded. In the morning of the battle, Alexander, who had been fatigued the night before, fleeped fo long, that Parmenio was forced to awake him, and asking him how he could sleep so foundly, as if he were already victorious: So I am, faid Alexander smiling, Since I shall no longer be put to the trouble of following Darius hither and thither through a country already destroyed by the length of the

Mar.

Alexander, being informed that Darius was retired towards Media, thought it then unnecessary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him, and therefore began his march to Babylon. Arbela having surrendered to him a few days after the battle, he found there all the rich baggage of the Persian army, with 4000 talents.

He enters talents. Bab; lon.

As he approached Babylon, Mazæus, the governor of that city, who had behaved very gallantly in the late battle, put him in possession of the place. He probably concluded, that it would be impossible to defend the city, as the Babylonians, whose temples and idols had been destroyed by the Persians, were eager to revolt to Alexander. They welcomed the conque. ror into their city with the greatest acclamations, and having conducted him through their streets in a grand procession, made him presents of very high value. Alexander, in return, ordered all their temples to be rebuilt, offered facrifices himself to Belus, and fent for their priests and conversed with them. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the aftronomical observations which were faid to have been preserved, for a long tract of time, in that city, and caused the best account that could be got of them to be transmitted to his tutor Aristotle.

Antitater obliges quiet.

The conquests of Alexander were far from being acceptable to the Greek states, who dreaded, that if they did not secure the Greeks their liberties, before the Persian empire was absolutely deto remain stroyed, it would then be impossible to resist the conqueror, Accordingly, soon after the battle of Issus, hearing that Memnon, governor of Thrace, had rebelled, and that Antipater was preparing to march against him, they took arms under the conduct of Agis, king of Lacedamon. Antipater, composing matters in Thrace, marched against Agis, whom he defeated and killed, with 5300 of his men. Antipater himself lost 3500 men; but the Athenians and feveral others declaring for him, the other states were obliged to remain quiet.

Alexander fession of Sufa,

Alexander having staid thirty days at Babylon, where his takes pof- troops had indulged themselves in all manner of voluptuous pleasures, left Mazaus governor of the city; but gave the command of the garrison in the citadel to a Macedonian. He then proceeded to Susa, where he was put in possession of the treafures of Darius, amounting, according to Arrian, to 50,000 talents, though others fay that they were double that value. In this treasury, among other curiofities, were vessels filled with water from the Nile and the Danube, as monuments of the great extent of the *Persian* empire. About this time arrived a body of recruits under the command of Amyntas; they consisted of about 2000 horse and 13,500 foot, which he directly incorporated into his veteran army.

Leaving a strong garrison in Susa, Alexander, after a march of four days, passed the Passigris with 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entered the country of the Uxians. Madates, the governor, defended the chief city of the province with great refolution, and when it was taken, withdrew with some troops into the citadel, but was at length obliged to fubmit. Alexander, though greatly irritated at the opposition he had made, not only pardoned him at the intercession of Sifygambis, whose niece he had married, but left him as governor over the Uxians, whose territories he would not suffer to be plundered.

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The Uxians being reduced, Alexander ordered Parmenio to march with part of the army, together with the carriages and baggage, through the common open road, while he, with the Macedonian foot, the light armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the Persian streights, which he found guarded by Ariobarzanes with a small body of men. After an ineffectual attack, he was obliged to retire with confiderable lofs, many of his men having been killed by the stones thrown down by the Persians. While Alexander was anxious to advance, a shepherd was brought to him, who offered to conduct him to the top of the mountains by another pass. The king, leaving Craterus with the greatest part of the troops forces a in his camp, followed this guide, and marching during the passage to night 100 furlongs, and passing a river, arrived at the new Persepolis, road, which conducted to the top of the mountain, where he furprized Ariobarzanes; and Craterus at the fame time attacking the Persians from below, they were soon routed and dispersed. Alexander, being possessed of the straits, proceeded to Persis, and by long marches reached Persepolis, which, the day after, he, in a barbarous manner, allowed his foldiers to plunder, plunders when many of the inhabitants were most cruelly massacred. He the city, is faid to have found in this city 120,000 talents. During his flay at Persepolis he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, and in one of his drunken entertainments he fet fire to the Per- and fets fian palace, which was the most magnificent pile that, or per- fire to the haps any other, part of the world could boaft of. Some authors, royal pahowever, fay, that the palace was burnt deliberately, contrary lace. to the remonstrances of Parmenio; but all agree, that Alexander quickly repented of what he had done, and gave orders to have the fire extinguished.

Being informed that Darius was at Echatan in Media, with He goes an army of about 30,000 men, the following spring he left in pursuit Persepolis in pursuit of him, and marching near forty miles a of Darius. day, in fifteen days he reached Echatan. Upon his arrival, he was informed that Darius had retired from thence five days before, with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. Seeing it now in vain to hurry himself in the pursuit, he gave leave to the Thessalian horse to depart, and besides their pay ordered 2000 talents to be distributed amongst them. Many of them, however, upon his declaring that he would accept of any volunteers among them, again enrolled themselves. fent a body of horse as an escort to the rest, and ordered that they should be fafely landed in Eubæa, without any expence to themselves. He then directed Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia under a strong guard, which he left there. These treasures, according to Strabo, amounted to 180,000

talents, or 190,000 according to Justin.

Antipater, in the mean time, having obliged the Lacedæmo- The afmians to ask a peace, refused to come to any agreement, but on fairs of
condition that they sent deputies to Asia, to beg pardon of Alex- Greece.
ander. These services gave him a great interest in the heart of
Vol. III.

his prince, who fent instructions to keep always a guard about his person, and made him such remittances, as were sufficient to support the expence necessary for preferving the tranquillity of Greece. He likewise sent immense sums to his mother, and most magnificent prefents to his old friends and acquaintance. He never would allow his mother, however, to meddle with affairs of state or war, well knowing her turbulent and intriguing spirit, as he received repeated complaints against her from Antipater. One day, after reading a long letter from Antipater. full of complaints against her, he faid, Antipater feems not to know, that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as this.

Alexander, after regulating his affairs at Echatan, again purfued after Darius with a body of horse and light armed troops. and arrived on the 11th day, with only 60 horsemen, at Rages, where, being informed that Darius had passed the Caspian straits fome time before, he halted for five days. Having then advanced with his troops through these straits, upon his entering Parthia news was brought him, that Beffus governor of Bactria. Barzaentes prefident of Arachofia, and Nabarzanes a general of horse, had conspired against Darius, and made him prisoner, On this intelligence he advanced with a finall body of light armed horse, and by marching day and night, almost without any intermission, on the fifth day came up with Bessus, whose The death troops immediately fled and dispersed. While the Macedonians of Darius. were putting the stragglers to death, Darius was found in a cart mortally wounded, and expired before Alexander came up to him. Oxathres, the brother of Darius, was received into the number of Alexander's friends, and the body of Darius was fent with all the pomp suitable to his quality to Sisygambis.

Bef. Ch. 330.

Alexander reduces Hyrcania,

and the Marai.

Alexander, having collected his forces, and fettled the government of Parthia, entered Hyrcania, which quickly submitted to him. Here Nabarzanes the traitor furrendered himself. The Greek mergenaries, who had followed Darius till he was taken prisoner, now submitted, and were soon after taken into his service. From Hyrcania Alexander entered the country of the Mardi, who were also easily subdued. A party of them having carried off his famous horse Bucephalus, he ordered proclamation to be made, that if the horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and deftroy their whole country. Mardi immediately fent back Bucephalus, and fubmitted to Alexander, who appointed Antophrodates governor of their country. He then returned to the main body of his army, where his foldiers impatiently expected him, in hopes of having some bounds fet to their labours, and an end of the war at least proposed.

Alexander afterwards marched to Zeudracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, where, for fifteen days, he celebrated folemn games, and facrificed, with great magnificence, to the gods of Greece. He then entered Aria, and upon his arrival at the chief city of that province, Satibarzanes, the governor thereof, submitted to him. Alexander, affigning him a guard of Macedonian archers, continued out

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continued him in his government; and hearing that Beffus had assumed the title of king of Asia, he marched against that traitor. He had hardly left Aria, when Satibarzanes put the Mace-Satibarilonian guards to death, and affembled a great body of forces in zanes, the the neighbourhood of the chief city, called Aritoana. On this governor news, Alexander instantly marched back with a body of horse of Hyrcaand light armed troops, and travelling 70 miles in two days, nia recame up with Satibarzanes, who, instead of attacking the wea-volts. ried Macedonians, fled with all the expedition he was able to The re-Beffus. Alexander, having punished the chiefs in this rebellion bels are either with death or flavery, appointed Arfames, the fon of Ar-reduced. tabanus, governor of Aria, and then marched against the Zaranga, who had taken arms under the traitor Barzaentes. When Alexander drew near them, Barzaentes began to suspect their fidelity, and privately leaving the camp, fought protection among the nations beyond the Indus; but they, detefting his treachery, delivered him up to Alexander, who caused him to be but to death.

The immense treasures of the *Persians*, which *Alexander*, in The *Ma-*a most muniscent manner, had lavished among his chief offi-cedonian cers and favourites, now began to infect their manners, and chiefs inthey expressed a fondness for the eastern extravagance and lux-dulge in ury. Many of them, instead of anointing themselves with plain luxury.

ury. Many of them, instead of anointing themselves with plain luxury. oil, used precious ointments. Agnon the Teian wore filver nails in his shoes; Leonatus employed several camels only to bring him powder out of Egypt to be used when he wrestled; Hephastion affected, in every thing, the Persian manner of living; and Philotas is faid to have been nice in his drefs, his table, and his equipage. Alexander reprimanded them with great mildness Repriand discretion, telling them, he wondered that they should not manded know by experience, that labour and industry made people by Alexfleep more sweetly and foundly than laziness, and that if they ander. would compare the *Persian* manner with their own, they would be convinced, that to be effeminate and voluptuous was the most flavish condition, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour. By his own behaviour he also discouraged to the utmost this lazy and inactive pride; for he now exposed himself more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardship and danger.

The courtiers, however, were neither influenced by the dif-They courses or actions of Alexander; but even proceeded to censure complain his conduct, particularly for continuing the war, and leading of the them constantly from one labour to another. This at first he length of bore very patiently, saying, It became a king to do well, and to be the war. ill spoken of. Finding, however, their mutinous spirit still encreasing, he at length harangued the army in a public manner, and his speech had such an effect upon them, that they unanimously cried out, they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should lead them.

From this time he more and more endeavoured to accustom himself to the *Persian* customs, which he blended with those of

Alexander the Macedonians, in hopes that this mixture and communication adopts the would produce a mutual friendship between the two nations. customs of With this view he chose out 30,000 boys, to whom he allowed the Persi-masters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to ans. arms according to the Macedonian discipline. He conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of considence and favour indiscriminately on Persians and Greeks; and, by marrying Roxana, secured the affection and regard of the barbarians.

A confpiracy formed against him.

A conspiracy, in the mean time, was formed against him in his own camp by some of the discontented Macedonians. One Dymnus, or Limnus, a Macedonian of no great rank in the army, having entered into a plot with some others against the king, pressed Nicomachus, a young man whom he loved, to join in the conspiracy, which was to be put in execution in three days. Nicomachus, far from approving of the treason, communicated the plot to his brother Cebalinus, who immediately repaired to the royal quarters, and disclosing the matter to Philotas, the fon of Parmenio, begged him to introduce him to the king, he being twice a day admitted to the royal presence. Philotas, though he had a long conference with the king that very day, never mentioned the plot, and next morning excused himself to Cebalinus, by alledging, that he wanted an opportunity; but affured him he would do it speedily, though he omitted throughout this day also. Cebalinus, fearing that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by another person, his filence should be interpreted as criminal, therefore applied to one of the king's pages, who introduced him to Alexander, when he gave a full account of the conspiracy, and also told how Philotas had trifled The king, extremely offended, ordered Dymnus to with him. be feized, and Philotas to be fent for to him. Dymnus, as foon as he was apprehended, stabbed himself so desperately, that he died before he could be examined. Philotas, when the king asked him, whether Cebalinus had informed him of the conspiracy, ingenuously confessed that he had, but made his apology by faying, that he thought the story not worthy the least credit, and that he was unwilling to alarm the king with needless fears. He then threw himself at Alexander's feet, and embraced his knees, and it is faid, the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveness.

As Philotas, by his haughty behaviour, had created many enemies, they seized this opportunity of ruining him. Craterus particularly urged, that Alexander ought to examine more fully into the conspiracy of Dymnus, who probably was not the chief agent in the plot. Having obtained an order from Alexander to seize Philotas, who that night had supped with the king, they immediately went to his tent, where they found him asseep. As they were putting the manacles upon his hands he awaked, and cried, Alas, my sovereign, the malice of my enemies has got the better of your goodness! When he was first put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at last, unable to bear the pain, he

impeached

The confpiracy discover-

impeached many, and among the rest his father. In all likelihood he said any thing that he thought might deliver him from his torments. Next morning *Philotas* was accused of being concerned in the treason of Dymnus before 6000 Macedonians; the army, according to antient custom, having the right of trying capital offences. He made a warm and animated defence against the charge, urging, that if he had been concerned in the treason, he would not probably have suffered Cebalinus to Philotas have remained two days at court, at full liberty to apply him- and other felf to others; but the affembly, being influenced by his capital conspiraenemies, adjudged him to the torture, and, in confequence of tors put to his confession, condemned him to be put to death. Philotas death. being punished as a traitor, orders were immediately dispatched to Media to put Parmenio to death. Polydamas, one of his friends, undertook that office; and accordingly he, with Cleander, Sytacles, and Menidas, stabbed Parmenio, then in the 70th year of his age, as he was walking in his park, and his head being fent to Alexander, the miferable remains were mournfully interred by the foldiers.

In confequence of these executions, other persons were also accused of treason; Amyntas, Attalus, and Symmias, all brethren, were feized on account of their intimacy with Philotas, and because their fourth brother, Polemon, had fled to the enemy. Upon their trial Amyntas defended himself so well, that that they were all acquitted. He having then obtained leave to go in fearch of his brother, was fo successful as to bring him back, which, fays Arrian, was thought a convincing proof

that they were all innocent.

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These treasons, or pretended treasons, greatly disturbed the army, especially the Macedonians, who, not contented with freely censuring the king's vices, accused him also in the letters that they wrote to Macedonia, which were intercepted by Alex-The king, by this means, discovered all the malecontents, whom he picked out from the other troops, and difposed in one body, giving them the name of the turbulent battalion, and appointing Leonidas to command them. As a farther precaution against any future conspiracy, he gave the command of the auxiliary horse to two generals, namely, Hephæstion and

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from the Alexander discontent of his troops, he set out on his march in pursuit of pursues Bellus, and having passed through Drangiana, he entered the his former country of the Euergetæ, as they were called by the Greeks, defigns. that is, benefactors, having obtained that name on account of their hospitality to Cyrus the great, whose army they relieved when he was marching against the Scythians. They now received the Macedonians in the same friendly manner, and Alexander having staid some time among them, at his departure added some lands to their dominions. His kindness to the Euergetæ influenced all the other inhabitants of Arachofia, the most eastern province of the Persian empire, to submit to him. While he passed part

of the winter in this province, he was informed that Satibarzas nes had returned to Aria with 2000 horse, and had affembled a confiderable army. He instantly dispatched three of his commanders thither with a body of horse and foot, and Satibarzones, hazarding an engagement with them, was killed in the action, and his troops dispersed; the province was then quickly reduced by the Macedonian troops. Alexander, in the mean time, proceeded northwards to the mountain Paropamifus, which the Macedonians looked upon as part of Caucafus. He found the country near the mountain for the most part plain, without trees, and covered with fnow, having large open villages feattered here and there. The Macedonians, in their marches through this melancholy plain, were exposed to vast inconveniencies, their eyes being grievoully affected with the reflexion of the light from the fnow and ice; the exceflive cold also seized on those who, through weariness, either walked flow or fat down; fo that great numbers of the troops perished. Alexander, having in fixteen days marched across Paropamiss, came at length to a pleafant plain, where he caused a city to be built, which he named Alexandria, as also several other towns, about a day's journey from thence, and in these places he lest 7000 persons, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell there. Not far from hence inhabited the Branchidæ, who were the descendants of a family of Miletus, who followed Xerxes out of their own country, after having betrayed to him the treasures of Apollo Didymaus. Though these people expresfed a great joy at the arrival of the Macedonians, yet Alexander, to denote his abomination of the facrilege of their ancestors, most unjustly put them to death, and razed their city. Bessies, in the mean time, to prevent Alexander from pursuing

him, laid waste all the country between Paropamisus and the river Oxus, and paffing that river with his forces, burnt all the boats which he himself had made use of. Alexander, notwithflanding all the difficulties he had to encounter with, continued his march, and quickly reduced all Bactria under his obeduces Bac- dience, particularly Bactra, the capital city, and Aornus, a strong fortress, where he left a garison, appointing Artabazus governor of the province. On his arrival at the river Oxus, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its waters very deep, and fo rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable, neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood; fo that the ablest commanders in the Macedonian army were of opinion, that they should be obliged to march back. Alexander, however, fending away all infirm and worn-out foldiers under a proper efcort, that they might be conducted fafe to the fea-ports, and from thence to Greece, ordered the skins that served to cover the tents to be stuffed with straw, and by that means sloated over his army in five days, as the enemy did not dare to defend the banks. In the mean time Spitamenes, the chief confident of Bessus, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers, and foon after brought him in chains with a

He retria and Sogdiana. rope about his neck to Alexander. The traitor was delivered by the king to Oxathres, the brother of Darius, who caused

him to be put to death by tortures.

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Alexander, having remounted his cavalry, which had suffered He advery much by their long and dangerous marches, advanced to vances to Maracanda, the capital of Sogdia, and from thence to the river the capital Jaxartes. Near this river the Macedonians were surprised by of Sogdia. the barbarians, who slew several of them, and carried off some prisoners to their sastnesses, where they had assembled to the number of upwards of 20,000. Alexander marched to attack them with his horse and light armed troops, who were more than once repulsed by the barbarians; but at lait they took the place, and put more than one half of the enemy to the sword. In this action Alexander was wounded in the leg by an arrow,

Not many days after, the Abii, a famous Scythian people.

the head of which stuck into the bone.

fent ambaffadors to Alexander to defire peace, and with them came also ambassadors from the Scythians in Europe. He received the Abians kindly, and fent fome of his people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice of the fituation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. As he had marked out a fpot of ground for building a city upon the faxartes, the barbarians began to be alarmed, and foon after openly revolted. Alexander fent Spitamenes to the Sogdians and Bactrians, to perfuade them to lay down their arms; but he foon found that he was chiefly inftrumental in promoting the infurrection. He therefore refolved to Reduces attack them without delay, and his troops having furnished several themselves with scaling ladders, he marched against Gaza, cities. which was defended by a low wall built of mud. His troops prefently scaled the ramparts, and killed all the men whom they The women and children, and the riches of the place, Alexander gave to his foldiers, who the same day marched against another city, which they quickly made themselves mafters of, the captives and booty being also delivered up to them. Next morning Alexander took a third city by affault, and fent off his horse to two other cities, to prevent the barbarians from receiving any intelligence of what had happened. They, however, hearing of the fate of their countrymen, endeavoured to escape out of their cities, but falling in among the Macedonian horse, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. These five cities being thus taken in two days, Alexander invested Cyropolis, the most populous of the whole country. Finding a channel of the branch of the faxartes, which run through the city almost dry, he with a small body of men entered unobserved that way, and bursting open the gates, gave admittance to the rest. The Macedonians, after they had entered the city, were vigoroufly attacked by the barbarians, who were at last, however, driven from the market-place. In this action Alexander received a stunning blow on the head and neck with

with a stone, and Craterus, and many more of his captains, were wounded with missive weapons. The barbarians, the day after, furrendered the citadel and fubmitted, having loft in the attack upwards of 8000 men. Alexander moving from Cyropolis

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to a feventh city, took it at the first asfault.

The Scythians, in the mean time, had come down in great numbers to the Jaxartes, to watch an opportunity of attacking the Macedonians; and news was brought, that Spitamenes had fortified himself in Maracanda, after driving out the Mace-Alexander donian garrison. Alexander, nevertheless, still persisting in his defign, marked out his new city, the extent of which was 60 furlongs; and his troops working with great eagerness, the ramparts were raised in 20 days. He gave the city to such of the barbarians as had ferved in his troops, to the mercenaries and fuch of the Macedonian invaders as were willing to fettle

there.

Alexander, tho' very weak with the blow which he had lately received, was nevertheless impatient to pass the Jaxartes and attack the Scythians, who had infulted his troops from the opposite bank. The Macedonians, encouraged by the presence of their king, whom they had not feen for feveral days, wrought with fuch ardour, that in three days they made 12,000 rafts, or floats, and on these passed the river, tho' very rapid, in the face of the enemy, whom they repulsed, with the loss of 1000 men, tho' they themselves suffered considerably. One hundred Macedonian foot were flain, 60 horse, and 1000 wound-Alexander being very faint, and drinking freely of some flanding water, was feized with fuch a flux as endangered his life. The king ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty; and a few days after, when ambassadors arrived from the Scythian king, to inform him, that the late proceedings were against his orders, he granted them a peace, being anxious to punish the revolters under Spitamenes.

Some time before he had fent 60 auxiliary horse, 800 mercenaries, and 1500 foot, led by Pharnaces to the relief of the garrison of Maracanda. While these troops were on their march thither, Spitamenes, who had fuffered confiderably by a fally of the besieged, retired towards Sogdia. The Macedonian commanders imprudently purfued him, and on their march attacking a body of the Scythian Nomades, forced those people Spitamenes to join him. Spitamenes, elated with so unexpected a reinforcement, attacked the Macedonians, who fought with great advantage obstinacy; but their leaders not acting in concert, they were foon thrown into diforder, and all cut off, excepting 40 horse

and 300 foot.

Alexander, to revenge this defeat, took half his auxiliary horse, all his light armed foot, and a battalion of the phalanx, and marched to Maracanda, which was again befieged by Spitamenes. On the news of Alexander's approach, he retired with fuch precipitation, that tho' he was purfued by the Macedonians a good way within the defart, they could not overtake him. Alexander

Defeats the Scythians in those parts.

builds a

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Mexander returning from the pursuit, buried all the foldiers who had fallen in the late engagement, and burned and wasted all the country thereabouts. He afterwards put his army into winter-quarters at Zariaspa, whither Arsanes, who had begun to raise disturbances in Aria, and Barzaentes, whom Bessus had made governor of Parthia, were brought to him prisoners. A thort time after a body of recruits arrived, and that detachment also returned which had conducted such as were discharged to their embarkation.

Thus the army was again restored to a formidable greatness, Alexander Alexander's court at the same time being very splendid from affects the the refort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the ar- Persian rival of many illustrious persons from Greece. Alexander now manners. began to throw off, in a great measure, the manners of a Maedonian prince, and to affect those of a Persian king. According to Plutarch, he assumed only some parts of the Persian habit, and at first wore that dress only in private. Afterwards he appeared in it when he had any business to transact with his Persian subjects. Arrian, however, says expressly, that he laid aside the Macedonian for the Median habit; which account may be reconciled with that of Plutarch, if we suppose that he, by degrees, adopted the different parts of the Persian dress, and at length scrupled not to use it at all times. The Macedonians were greatly difgusted with this innovation; but Alexander now paid no regard to their censures, and being surrounded by fycophants, was daily hurried into new extravagancies.

The Greeks, and especially the Macedonians, observed an Murders anniversary festival to Bacchus. This year the king transferred Chytus at a the honour to the Dioscuri, or Castor and Pollux; and after the banquet. facrifices, invited the principal commanders in the army to a magnificent banquet. At supper, the discourse turned upon the heroes to whom they had offered facrifices; it was asked, with what propriety they were stilled the sons of Jupiter, when it was notorious that Tindarus was their father. Some, who lat near the king, laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above those of Castor and Pollux, and of Hercules; inlifting on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worship those virtues which they adored in the dead. Clytus, an old officer, greatly respected by the whole army, took fire at these expressions, faid, he could not bear to hear such indignities offered to the gods, to tickle the ears of a living prince. He allowed Alexander's actions to be great and glorious; but affirmed, that they had nothing in them supernatural. Belides, they were not performed, he faid, by him alone, but by the army, and therefore all the Macedonians had a right to there in the praise due to those exploits. Alexander being very angry at these reflexions, some of his flatterers, to soothe him, began to lessen the actions of his father Philip; which provoked Clytus 10 far, that he began to detract from the merit of Alexander, and

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and to suggest, that nothing he had done deserved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Alexander, upon this, loft all patience; and Clytus still proceeding to upbraid him with the preservation of his life at the battle of Granicus, stretching out his arm, and faying, This hand, O Alexander, faved thee, the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him; but was separated from him by his friends. Ch. tus being intoxicated with wine, still continued his reproachful expressions; whereupon the king called for some of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himself exceedingly, faying, That he was now in the same condition with Darius when in the hands of Bessus; that he had the empty name of a king, and nothing more. His friends, upon this, retiring from him, he snatched a spear, and therewith struck Clytus through and killed him. This is the substance of Arrian's account. Other authors relate the transaction with some circumstances no ways materially different.

Repents felf to grief.

As Clytus expired, the king's indignation instantly cooled; and aban- and if he had not been prevented by his friends, he would have dons him- killed himself with the same spear. His passion was succeeded by a fit of excessive grief. He bewailed the loss of his faith. ful friend, the constant companion of his toils, his foster-brother, and him to whom he owed his life; and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature. After lamentations and groans had quite wasted his spirits, he continued speechless stretched on the ground, and only venting deep sighs. The army, to footh their afflicted prince, who had refused meat for three days, condemned Clytus, and prohibited his interment, feeking thereby to extenuate the fact. His friends also forced into his apartment, and endeavoured to comfort him. The priests threw the blame upon Bacchus, who had inspired the king with fury, for having transferred his festival to the Diofcuri. Callisthenes, the scholar and relation of Aristotle, sought to

compose the king's spirits by honest and moral discourses: but Anaxarchus of Abdera, a sophist, most basely flattered his vanity, and corrupted his manners. When he entered, he cried out aloud, "Is this Alexander, whom the world looks upon with basely flat- " such admiration! Behold him extended on the ground, and " weeping like an abject flave, for fear of the laws and re-" proach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law, and " the measurer of equity, fince he conquered for no other " end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave " to a vain, idle opinion. Do not you know that Jupiter is " represented sitting on his throne, with Law on one fide, and "Justice on the other; intimating thereby, that let a fovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful."

With these, and the like arguments, Anaxarchus not only allayed the king's grief, but infinuated himself into his favour;

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sbus.

and by his base compliances, rendered him still more dissolute and violent.

The fycophants that furrounded him, perceiving that their poisonous speeches were very grateful to him, still continued them, and endeavoured to perfuade him, that, in their opinion, he was fomething more than man, and that it was injustice

and disloyalty in other people not to think him so too.

Anaxarchus the sophilt, Agis, a miserable poet, Cherilus, Ag- Alexander non, and other paralites, accordingly undertook to engage the afpires to Greeks, as well as the Asiatics, to pay him adoration. Alexan- divine hodo being mightily pleafed with this, a great banquet was ap- nours. pointed for the execution of the scheme, when Anaxarchus, in a fet oration, proposed the adoring Alexander. The Macedonians, who were not in the fecret, were aftonished at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or of what should be faid in answer to it. Callisthenes, at length, by a long speech, endeavoured to raise in the king's mind more fober thoughts; but his discourse, though applauded by the Macedonians, only served to provoke Alexander, who proceeded to settle the ceremonial. It was regulated, That when he drank to a person, the guest should immediately rise up, adore him, and baving received a kiss from the king, should depart. The eldest and most considerable of the Persians complied first, they who were no idolaters looking upon this as an act of civil reverence, and no more. Leonatus, one of the king's friends, as Arrian relates, or according to Curtius, Polyperchon, observing a Persian touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which Alexander caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and as he lay on the floor told him, he made as ridiculous a figure as he whom he had despised. When it came to Callisthenes, he pledged the king, and then went for his kifs. Alexander being deeply engaged in discourse with Hephastion, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but Demetrius, one of his friends, told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king therefore put him back with his hand; and Callifthenes going out faid only, So then, I go away with a kifs lefs than the rest. This began to give the king an avertion to him, which was encreased by many concurring circumstances, the philosopher particularly priding himself as if he stood in the gap against arbitrary power.

A new conspiracy soon after being discovered, the king took A new that opportunity of punishing Gallisthenes, who was accused as conspiracy guilty, tho' the conspirators, in the midst of their tortures, had against confelled that none but themselves were privy to the plot. The him. chief conspirator in this plot was Hermolaus, one of the 50 young Macedonian noblemen who were appointed to attend on the king. One day when he accompanied Alexander in the chace, he killed a boar that croffed the way as he rode before the king; for which Alexander, who was provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his dexterity, ordered him to be whipped, and his horse taken from him. This injustice so in-

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The plot discovered, and the confpirators put to death.

Alexander refolves upon an expedition to

India.

cenfed Hermolaus, that he refolved to affaffinate the king; and having drawn in five other youths of quality, who were also esquires of the king's body, to be concerned with him, the day was fixed for the execution of their defign. When the day came, none of the conspirators seem to have relented; yet their purpose was defeated by an unforeseen accident. There was a certain Syrian woman in the camp, who on many occasions behaved like a mad person, and pretended, in a dark and mysterious way, to foretel future events. Things frequently falling out as the had foretold, the began to gain fome reputation and credit; fo that the king allowed her at all times to enter his presence. Alexander, on the night the conspirators determined to affaffinate him, happened to drink pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and in one of her frantic fits bid him go back and drink all night; in which it is faid he obeyed her. Next day Epimenes, one of the conspirators, dif. covered the plot; upon which all his affociates were apprehended, and when examined apart, each of them named his accomplices. They were then condemned by the army, who stoned them to death. As they were all hearers and admirers of Callisthenes, that philosopher was apprehended upon fuspicion, and according to Aristobulus, carried about in chains till he died a natural death; but Ptolemy afferts, that he was fiff racked, and then crucified. After this, none of the Macedonians dared venture to give their opinion with freedom, and nothing was now liftened to by Alexander but flattery, which gained fuch an ascendant over him, as entirely depraved him.

Alexander now resolved upon an expedition to India, which was far from being pleafing either to his council or to his army: but he was determined not to be surpassed by Bacchus or Hercules, who were faid to have penetrated thither; and there were not wanting flatterers who applauded this wild chimerical defign. He marched first to the river Oxus, determining to punish the Sogdians for their refusing obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. Leaving Polyperchon in Bactria with some other generals, and a considerable body of forces, he entered Sogdia, which he quickly reduced. Spitamenes, however, at the head of some revolted Sogdians, retiring to Scythia, procured a reinforcement of 600 horse, and entering Bactria, furprized a small fortress, where he put the governor and garrison to the sword. As he retreated from Zariaspa, he was purfued by some Macedonian horsemen, who had been left there tick; which threw his troops into fo great diforder, that they abandoned their booty and fled. Spitamenes, however, attacked the Macedonians as they were returning in a careless manner, and cut them off to a man. Craterus, upon the news of this defeat, attacked the Massageta, and routed them on the borders of the defart, with the loss of about 150 men.

Artabazus, in the mean time, being discharged, at his own desire, from the government of Bactria, Amyntas, the son of Nicolaus,

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Nicolaus, was appointed his fuccessor. A large body of troops, The Mawith a confiderable number of Bactrian and Sogdian auxiliaries, cedonians were left there under the command of Canus, who ordered defeat Spithem to winter in Sogdia, to defend that province from Spita-tamenes. That chief, however, having prevailed with 4000 Scythian horse to join him, ventured to make an irruption into Sogdia; but was attacked and routed by Cænus, with the loss of 800 horse. After this victory, many of the Sogdians and Bastrians left Spitamenes, and came and surrendered to Canus: but the Massagetæ, and other Scythians, followed Spitamenes into the defart, carrying off with them the baggage of the Sogdians and Bactrians, their allies. Understanding, however, that Alexander intended to march against them in person, they slew Spitamenes, and fent his head to the king, hoping thereby to This is the account make him cease his pursuit after them. of Arrian; but according to Curtius, the wife of Spitamenes, tired of the wretched vagabond life he had forced her to lead, and having often, in vain, intreated him to furrender himself to the conqueror, murdered him herself in the night, and flained with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander detesting the barbarous action, ordered her to be driven ignominiously from the camp.

At the opening of the spring, Alexander marched into Sogdia, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, which was the chief retreat of the rebels. This place he found strong The Sogbeyond his apprehension; for the rock was not only rugged dian rock and steep, but so slippery also, that it was almost impossible besieged,

to ascend it. The besieged having their granaries filled with corn, and being supplied with water by the melting of the snow upon the mountain, a blockade or a fiege feemed equally im-When they were fummoned to furrender, they tauntingly replied, that it was in vain for the Macedonians to think of taking the place till they had got winged foldiers. Alexander, to animate his troops, offered the foldier who should first gain the rock 12 talents, and prizes of an inferior value to those who should mount after him, the last being to have about 300 pounds. Upon this proclamation, no less than 300 Macedonians offered themselves for the attempt; and taking with them their tent-pins and ftrong ropes, went to that fide of the rock which was least accessible, supposing that there they should find the least opposition. In mounting the precipice they loft 30 of their number, who perished by falling from the rock; but those who got up having made the appointed fignal, Alexander again fummoned the befieged, affur-and taken. ing them that he had now got some winged soldiers. cedonians on the top of the rock then discovering themselves,

the barbarians were so affrighted, that they surrendered at discretion. Among the captives were the wise and daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian prince. The daughter, named Roxana, was esteemed the most beautiful woman in Asia, and had the good fortune to subdue the heart of Alexander, who, tho' vio-

lently

marries Roxana his prifoner. Another fortrefs reduced by Alexander.

Alexander lently in love with her, acted with fo much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused her. Oxyartes, who was absent during the siege, came and surrendered himself, and was received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect.

After the reduction of Sogdia, Alexander marched into the country of Paratacæ, where there was another fortress on a rocky mountain, held to be absolutely impregnable. The Macedonians having begun the fiege of this place with great ardour, foon obliged the barbarians to think of a furrender. Charienes, the commander, begged a conference with Oxyartes: who urging the impossibility of resisting the Macedonians, and the generous and merciful disposition of Alexander, prevailed on him to come down to the king. Alexander received him for obligingly, that he prefently fent back fome who accompanied him, to direct the garrison to yield up the place; which was performed without delay. Alexander enrolling Chorienes in the number of his friends, committed the fortress again to his charge; and he, to testify his gratitude for the honourable treatment he had met with, distributed to all the Macedonian army, corn, wine, and falt meat for two months; at the same time declaring, that he had not exhausted the tenth part of his own stores. A body of rebels still continuing in arms, under the command of Catenes and Austanes, Craterus was fent against them, and foon entirely difperfed them, Catenes being flain, and Austanes made a prisoner.

marches towards India. Bef. Ch. 328.

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Several Indian princes him.

All things being now in a state of quiet, Alexander advanced over mount Caucasus, as his foldiers called it, and in ten days reached the city of Alexandria, which he had founded. Leaving here those Macedonians who were unfit for further service, he facrificed to Minerva, and advanced to the river Cophenes. He thence dispatched a herald to Taxiles, and the other princes on this fide the river *Indus*, directing them to meet him as he advanced towards their territories. They accordingly came to his camp, and brought with them the most valuable presents their dominions afforded; Taxiles also promising, in the name submit to of the rest, that they would present him with 25 elephants. Hephastion, with part of the army, was fent with the Indian princes to the river Indus, to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over with all his forces. Alexander, in the mean time, marched to the river Choe, or Choaspes, on the banks of which he found a barbarous people, whom he reduced, being wounded, however, in a skirmish with the barbarians. Leaving Craterus, with the heavy armed forces, to settle the country, he continued his march to the river Euaspla, where the chief strength of the Aspii, the principal nation in those parts, was affembled. The enemy abandoning their city, fled to the mountains; but being purfued by the Macedonians, great numbers of them were cut to pieces.

Alexander then passing over those mountains, arrived at the city Ariganus, which he found burnt and deferted; but Crate-

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20 15 rus rejoining the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and to people it with fuch invalids of the troops, and inhabitants of the neighbouring country, as were willing to dwell therein. The army advancing still forward, came at length to the bottom of a mountain, on which great numbers of the barbarians were encamped. Alexander divided his army into three bodies, commanding one himself, and ordering Leonatus and Ptolemy to lead the other two. The barbarians rushing down the mountains, began the attack with great fury; but after an obstinate engagement were defeated, 40,000 men being flain, and 230,000 head of cattle being taken. Alexander perceiving the cattle to excel those of Greece, both in fize and beauty, caused the largest and fairest of them to be chosen out and fent into Macedon, to mend the breed in his native country, and to perpetuate the memory of his conquests.

Craterus, foon after this victory, joining him with the heavy The Allaarmed foot, he marched against the Assaceni, who were said to ceni dehave 20,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and 30 elephants ready to take feated. the field, the government of their country, according to Plutarch, Curtius, and Justin, being in the hands of a woman named Cleophes. The Affaceni, upon the approach of the Macedonians, abandoned all thoughts of the defence of the plain and open country, and retired into their capital city, which by Arrian is called Massaga. Seven thousand Indians having entered into the pay of the Affaceni, perfuaded them to risk an engagement with the Macedonians; but they imprudently venturing too far from the walls, were broken by the phalanx and routed; tho' they behaved with great bravery, and taught Alexander to conceive better of them than of any of the nations he had yet met with.

Alexander then invefting the town, was wounded in the leg as he was viewing the works; but nevertheless ordered his his troops to affault the place. The Macedonians, for four days fucceffively, were repulfed in their attacks, the mercenary Indians having behaved with the utmost bravery; but their general being killed, and many of them wounded, they at length entered into a treaty with Alexander, who afterwards violated the articles he had granted them, and as they were marching away, fell upon them, and put them all to the fword. one breach of his word, Plutarch fays, left an indelible stain upon his memory. He also behaved with cruelty to the *Indian* philosophers; for they having inveighed against those princes of his party, and folicited the free cities to oppose him, he therefore caused several of them to be hanged.

Massaga, after the departure of the Indians, surrendered to the Macedonians, who were next led against Ora, which was also garrisoned by a body of mercenary Indians. This city was quickly reduced by Alexander, who feized all the elephants therein for the use of his army. The inhabitants of Bazira, a city invested by Canus, hearing that Ora was taken, fled in a dark night to the mountains, and affociating themselves with such

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The Aornos re- nable. duced.

as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to mountain a rocky mountain called Aornos, which was believed impreg-This mountain was upwards of 20 miles in circuit; its height, even in the lowest parts, was 11 furlongs, and the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow. On the top of it was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood, the rest arable land, with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water. While Alexander was preparing all things for the fiege of this fortress, an old man and his sons, who had long lived in a cavern near the fummit of the mountain, came and offered their services to him. Ptolemy following their directions, was conducted to the wood on the top of the mountain, where, according to the orders of Alexander, he encamped with a considerable body of light armed troops, without attacking the *Indians*. The king then ordered part of his army to attempt the passage whereby the rock was ordinarily ascended; but they were repulsed by the Indians with great flaughter. The enemy, after this affault, attacked Ptolemy; but were in their turn repulsed. Next day Alexander renewed the attack, and Ptolemy fallied from his entrenchments against the Indians: but they defended themselves on both sides with great bravery; and tho' Alexander had ascended as far as Ptolemy's post, yet he was able to make no further progress against the enemy. As the steepness of the places which had been attacked had chiefly retarded the Macedonians, Alexander caused all the hollows to be filled up with vast quantities of trees; which alarming the enemy, they fent deputies to treat of a furrender. Alexander fuspecting that they only intended to amuse him till they should escape, withdrew his guards from the avenues; and as the Indians were descending, he suddenly fell upon them with a great shout, so that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus that rock was taken, which, as the Macedonians boasted, had baffled the attempts of Hercules.

Alexander leaving a garrison on this rock, marched back into the territories of the Affaceni, a body of whom had again taken up arms. Upon his arrival, finding no enemy, and the cities being deferted, he made it his business to search out and seize such elephants as the Indians had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of 16 days, arrived at the river Alexander Indus, where Hephastion and Perdiccas had already provided a

passes the bridge of boats for the passage of the army.

Alexander, after passing that river, refreshed his army for 30 Bef. Chr. days in the territories of his friend and ally Taxiles, who now performed all his promifes, giving the king 30 elephants, and joining his army with 700 horse and 5000 foot, resolving to act in conjunction with him against two kings, Abisares and Porus, with whom he was then at war. Abifares fent ambassadors and fubmitted to Alexander, who received him into his friendship; but Porus, when summoned to surrender, returned a haughty answer. To defend his dominions, which lay on the east side

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of the Hydaspes, he affembled a large army, with which he guarded the banks of that river. Alexander having left a garrison, together with the fick and wounded foldiers, in Taxila. caused the vessels, of which his bridge over the Indus had been composed, to be brought to the Hydaspes, where he found the enemy ready to oppose him. As it was then the summer soltice, the river, by the melting of the snows, had overflowed its banks, and was very rapid; Porus also, who was a prince of great prudence and bravery, had made his dispositions with great judgment, and lined the banks with his elephants, which were exasperated by the Indians, that their horrid cry might

fill the Macedonians with the greater terror. Alexander, after waiting some time in view of the enemy, He crosses resolved to attempt a passage about 16 miles above his camp, the Hywhere there was a pretty large uninhabited island almost over- daspes. grown with trees. By the favour of a stormy night, he transported a great part of his army into the island, without being observed; and the storm ceasing about day-break, he then boldly fet forward to gain the opposite shore in fight of the Indian outguards, who instantly posted away to give Porus an account of this attempt. As the river was greatly overflowed, the Macedonians were obliged to pass another channel, where the water rose up to their breasts; but before the enemy appeared, they had again reached the dry land, and foon after they routed and flew the fon of Porus who had advanced against them with 2000 horse and 130 armed chariots. Porus, notwithstanding this loss, still resolved to face the Macedonians; and leaving part of his army to oppose Craterus, who remained in the camp waiting for an opportunity to pass, he marched against Alexander at the head of 4000 horse, 30,000 foot, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants. Knowing well that he need not go far in quest of his enemy, he halted in a firm and fandy plain, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage. After the Ma- Defeats cedonians had come up, Alexander allowed them to rest a little, the Indians and then attacked the enemy, who for a short time fought with under great bravery; but their elephants being wounded and throw- Perus, ing them into diforder, they were then obliged to fly, when they were purfued by Craterus, who with his troops had paffed the river when Porus had retired. Porus behaved with great intrepidity, and continued fighting till every party of the Indians was put to the rout. The Indians lost in the action 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, two sons of Porus being also among

the flain. After the victory, Alexander fent Taxiles to persuade Porus to surrender himself, and to affure him, that he should be treated with all kindness and respect imaginable; but Porus, enraged at the fight of his old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and would have killed him, but for the quick turn of his horse. Alexander, however, dispatched other officers to him, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who entreated him to fubmit himself to a fortunate and generous victor. Vol. III.

mits to and is kindly him.

who fub- Porus being weary, and almost choaked with thirst, after much entreaty stopped his elephant, alighted, and having refreshed Alexander, himself with a little water, defired his friend to conduct him to Alexander, who when he came up to him, was not a little furprized. The Indian king was feven foot and a half high, extreated by actly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and in his air and manner preserved such an unconquered spirit, that Alexander was charmed with him, and asked him by Meroe, how he would please to be treated? As a king, answered Porus. That, faid Alexander, for my own fake I shall do. And therein, replied Porus, is comprehended all I can ask. Alexander immediately gave him his liberty, restored him shortly after to his kingdom, to which he annexed other provinces almost equal to it in value, Alexander was no lofer by his munificence; for Porus remained his true friend and conftant ally.

Alexander builds two new cities.

To perpetuate the memory of this conquest, Alexander or. dered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named Nicaa, and the other where his camp had been on the Hydaspes, which he called Bucephala, in honour of his horse, who died there, as Arrian fays, of meer old age. After having buried his foldiers who fell in the battle, he offered folemn facrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the Hydaspes. He then entered the territories of the Glaufæ, who submitted without opposition. He delivered all their cities, to the number of thirty feven, to Porus; and having reconciled him to Taxiles, fent the latter home to his own dominions.

tions.

Having dispatched a body of men against the Assacri, who dues other had revolted, he then, with much difficulty, passed the river Indian na- Acefines, which was extremely rapid, and very broad. On the other fide of the river lay the territories of another Porus, whole dominions being eafily subdued, Alexander gave them to Porus his ally. Alexander next defeated the Cathei, the most warlike nation in *India*, and took their capital city, named *Sangala*, by storm, in which 17,000 Indians were killed, and 70,000 taken prisoners, with 300 chariots and 500 horse. The Indians in the adjacent country abandoning their cities, and flying to the woods, he caused many of them to be put to death; and razing the city of Sangala, prepared to pass the Hyphasis, a large river at a confiderable distance from any of the branches of the Indus, having nothing in view, as Arrian tells us, but still to feek out new enemies when he had fubdued the old. He was told, that after passing that river, he must travel eleven days thro' defarts, and that he would then arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India, beyond which were many warlike nations, who were preparing to oppose him with 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, 2000 chariots, and 3000 elephants.

poses to advance to the Ganges.

He pro-

The Macedonians hearing of the king's intention to march against the Indians on the Ganges, were universally filled with discontent and murmuring. Instead of wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, they were highly defirous of

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leaving those they had lately conquered, and returning to their They therefore held frequent confultations together on the fituation of their affairs. Some lamented their misfortune that the king should make use of them not as lions, who fail fiercely on those by whom they are injured, but as mastifs, to tear fuch as their mafter should shew them as enemies. Others freely exclaimed against the king's wild ambition, and pro-His army tested that they would follow him no farther. Alexander per- refuses to ceiving the disposition of his soldiers, harangued them from his follow tribunal; and by recapitulating their former victories, and pro- him. missing them great rewards and gratifications, endeavoured to animate them to pursue their conquests. Tho' he was very eloquent, and greatly beloved by his troops, they, however, did not relent, but remained fullen and filent, and at last turned their eyes on Cænus, an old experienced general, who had generofity enough to undertake their cause, and represented to Alexander, that the greatest part of his Macedonians were now invalids, who expected, in confideration of their former fervices, that he would lead them back to their native country; an act, which of all others, would contribute most to his own great defigns, fince it would encourage the youth of Macedon, and all Greece, to follow him in whatever new expedition he should please to undertake.

Alexander, next day, called another affembly, wherein he told the foldiers plainly, that he would not be driven from his purpose; that he would proceed in his conquests with such as would follow him voluntarily, and the rest might, if they pleased, return to Macedon, and publish, that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies. This expedient having no fuccess, and his troops still remaining fixt in their resolution, the king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends. Things having remained in this fituation for three Alexander days, the king appeared, and, as if he had been fully deter- is prevailmined to pursue his first design, gave orders for facrificing for ed upon the good fuccess of his new undertaking. After the facrifices to return, were over, Aristander the soothsayer reported, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; upon which the king said, That since his proceeding farther was neither pleasing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return. The foldiers immediately allembled in great numbers about the royal tent, faluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future defigns, giving him at the fame time hearty thanks, for that he who was invincible, had fuffered himself to be overcome

with their prayers. Alexander having now resolved to make the Hyphasis the li- An inmits of his conquests, caused arms of an extraordinary bigness stance of to be scattered about in different places, with mangers and bits his vanity. for horses above the usual fize, with the design of amusing polterity, and of making them believe that he had led an army of men above the common standard into India. He also caused twelve altars of an extraordinary fize to be erected, on which

he facrificed, and drew a trench round his camp 50 feet broad and 40 deep, forming of the earth dug from thence a very

Itrong rampart on the infide.

Having then exhibited shews after the Grecian manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of Porus, and then set out in his return to the river Hydraotes. He from thence marched to the Acesimes, where he peopled the city which he had directed Hephæstion to build, by inviting thither the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and fettling therein some of his infirm mercenaries. He then proceeded to the river Hydaspes, where, after giving the necessary directions for fecuring his conquests, he made the necessary preparations for failing down the river Indus to the ocean. His fleet confifted of 80 veilels of three banks of oars, and of leffer ships and transports about 2000; and the Phænicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians, who followed his army, were appointed to have the management of the ships.

Heembarks his army on pes.

When all things were ready, he embarked about the end of October with part of his army, Craterus being ordered to march down on the right-hand bank with a body of horse and foot, the Hydaf- and Hephastion, with the greater part of the army, and 200 elephants, on the left-hand. On the fifth day after he failed, he arrived where the Hydaspes and the Acesmes mix their streams; and his whole fleet was in great danger from the violent eddies formed by the rapidity of both currents. Several of his veffels having perished in the whirl-pools, he soon after left the fleet, and made some new dispositions in his land forces. With a part of his army he marched thro' a defart country against the Malli, and on the third day arrived at one of their cities, which he quickly reduced, putting all that he found there to Perdiccas marched against another city, which he the fword. found abandoned by the miserable inhabitants, who were slain by the Macedonians as they attempted to escape. The king took feveral other cities, and cut off not only fuch as refished him, but those who fled into woods and defarts to escape him. The Indians, to the number of 50,000 men, attempted to oppose his passing the river Hydraotes; but he no sooner advanced against them with a small body of men, but they fled, and retired to one of their cities.

Alexander immediately invested the place, and gave orders for scalings its walls. He himself was the first that mounted, Alexander being followed by Peucestas and Limnæus. Abreas, who on acin the ut- count of his great courage had double pay allowed him, mountmost dan- ed by another ladder. As the targetteers were mounting in hafte to fecond him, the ladders broke, fo that he was left exposed almost alone to the enemy, who from their towers galled him with their arrows and darts. In this diffress, poising his body, he leaped down into the midst of his enemies, and was followed by those who had mounted with him. The Indians at first fled, but returned instantly and attacked him. general, however, and feveral others being flain by Alexander,

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they again retired, and attacked him at a distance with stones, darts, and arrows. An arrow piercing his coat of mail, and entering a confiderable way into his breast, so great a quantity of blood iffued from the wound, that he at length funk down upon his shield as dead. Part of his troops, by this time, having got to the top of the wall, immediately leaped down, and furrounding the body of the king, repulsed the Indians, while fome of them broke down a gate between two towers, and gave admittance to their companions. The town being taken, the admittance to their companions. inhabitants were put to the fword. The king being borne to the camp upon his shield, continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was very doubtful. The foldiers were struck with the greatest consternation, and continued round his tent till they were affured that he was not dead. When his health again allowed him to appear abroad, they gathered round him, and eagerly kiffed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes. Some Macedonians of the first rank afterwards venturing to represent to him, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person in such a manner, Alexander, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased: but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old Bæotian, who, to footh his vanity, told him, that fuch extraordinary attempts became a hero.

The Malli and Oxydracæ, soon after the recovery of Alex- The Malli ander, sent deputies to him and submitted. Alexander com- and Oxymanded that they should send him no less than 1000 of the dracæsub-principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain mit, as hostages for the sidelity of the rest. These 1000 men soon after arrived, together with 500 chariots of war properly harnessed and equipped; with which present he was so well pleased, that he allowed the 1000 men to return home; adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience.

Before he left his present camp, which was at the conflu- He founds ence of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, he caused several new acity, and . ships to be built, and also founded a city on the spot where augments the two rivers join. Receiving a visit from his father-in-law his fleet. Oxyartes, he gave him the government of Paropamisis, joining to it all the country from the falling of the Acesines into the Indus to the fea. He then embarked with a greater part of his army than before, and continued his voyage. When he arrived at the territories of Musicanus, that prince immediately Musicawent forth to meet him with all his elephants in his train, and nus, an having offered him presents of the highest value, made his sub- Indian mission, asking pardon for not having fent deputies to him be- prince, fore. Alexander accepted of his submission, and admiring the submits to wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, delivered him, the government of both again into his hands: but left he should afterwards revolt, he caused a castle to be built in the city, in which fort he left a strong garrison. He then invaded

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the territories of a neighbouring prince named Oxycanus, because he neither came forth to meet him, nor fent ambassadors with the furrender of himself and country. Having taken two of his cities, and furprized the prince himself in one of them, all the other cities belonging to Oxycanus immediately fubmit-He then led his forces into the territories of Sambus, who being an enemy to Musicanus, now fled, tho' he had before submitted. Alexander was received into his capital city, named Sindomana, his subjects declaring, that Sambus had fled

for fear of his enemy Musicanus.

but reis put to death.

Having accepted of the homage of the Sindomanians, he then reduced a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many Brachmans as he could meet with, charging them with being the authors of this rebellion. Being informed that volts, and Musicanus had revolted, he fent Python with a body of troops into his dominions; who quickly reduced all his territories, and taking him prisoner, crucified him, with all the Brachmans who were about him. Alexander, however, after he became acquainted with the wisdom and generous notions of the Brachmans, according to Plutarch, reverenced them, and used them kindly. After he had punished Musicanus, he fent Craterus to conduct the invalids thro' the provinces of Arachofia and Drangia, and not long after arrived at Pattala, a noble island in the river Indus, the inhabitants of which, upon his approach, had deferted their habitations, tho' their prince had before made his fubmission. Having, at this island, repaired his fleet, he sailed down the right branch of the Indus to the ocean. In his paffage he fuffained great difficulties for want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river very narrowly missed being cast away, his failors and his whole army being unacquainted with the flux and reflux of the fea, which exceedingly amazed them. Alexander Having failed out to a small island in the ocean, he there facrificed to Neptune, and then returned to his army at Pattala, where he had caused a fort and a dock to be built. the admiral of the fleet, undertaking to coast the *Indian* ocean, and to enter the Euphrates by the Persian gulph, Alexander caused every thing to be prepared for the accommodation of the fleet till their departure, which was delayed of necessity for feveral months, on account of the regular blowing of the eafterly winds. Nearchus fet sail about the end of September; but that being too early, he was obliged to put into land with his fleet for 24 days.

fails out to the ocean.

He refolves to return to Baby.on by land.

Alexander, some time before Nearchus set sail, marched off from Pattala with his army, in order to return to Babylon by land. Many of his friends had diffuaded him from that rash and dangerous march, acquainting him, that the country thro' which he was to travel, was a wild, uncultivated defart, exposed to scorching winds. These remonstrances, however, only served to fix Alexander's resolution, it being his peculiar vanity to defire not only to overcome all nations, but even Nature herself. He advanced for some time without much difficulty,

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difficulty, and having croffed the river Arabis, reduced the country of the Oritæ, who with the Gedrosii sent deputies to him and fubmitted. He ordered Hephastion to build a city in their country, and then began his march thro' Gedrofia, a fandy and barren province. As there were no towns and villages in their route, the foldiers, for want of provisions, were forced to kill their beafts of carriage. Those who brought corn from the fea fide were fo grievously distressed, that tho' it was fealed with the king's fignet, they cut open the bags, chooling rather to die a violent death for disobedience, than to be famished. Many of them perished by thirst, and when they found water in plenty, that was also fatal to them; for they were then by excessive drinking thrown into drophes, and rendered incapable of travel. They frequently travelled 60 miles without finding water, or without encamping; and many by excessive fatigue continually lagged behind, and foon after perished, never having strength sufficient to join the army. Plutarch He loses tells us, that of an army of 120,000 foot, and 15,000 horfe, almost all he scarce brought back a fourth part out of India. When his army. Alexander arrived at the capital of Gedrofia, he allowed his fatigued troops fome rest, being plentifully supplied with provisions from the adjacent country. Being informed here that Philip, whom he had left prefident in India, had been murdered by the mercenary foldiers, but that most of them had been put to death by the Macedonians, he wrote to Endemus and Taxiles

fhould fend another prefident. The king then entering Caramania, was supplied with provilions in great abundance. Here he was joined by Craterus with a body of troops and feveral elephants, and by Stafanor prefident of the Arians, and Pharifmanes governor of Parthia, who brought with them a great number of horses and all kinds of beafts of burden. The people from all the neighbouring The malcities, who had been grievously oppressed in his absence, now adminicame and laid complaints before him. Clitander, Sitalces, and stration of Heracon, who fince Parmenio's death had commanded in chief governors in Media, were accused of many flagrant crimes; such as sup-punished pressing the Persian religion, extorting vast sums of money by the from the people, ravishing women, and, in short, giving a loose king. to their passions in all things. Clitander and Sitalces being fully convicted, were immediately put to death. Heracon was acquitted; but the inhabitants of Susa preferring a second charge against him, he was convicted and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to

to take upon them the administration of affairs there, till he

According to Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Curtius, Alexander marched with his army for seven days thro' this province in a kind of masquerade, and with a Bachanalian sessivity committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. During all this time the army was never sober, the whole country resounding with musick and singing, and the troops abandoning

A GENERAL HISTORY

themselves to every kind of licentiousness. Arrian, however, assures us, that Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who accompanied the king in his march, made not the least mention in their memoirs

of any Bachanalian festival.

Nearchus conducts the fleet to the Perfian gulph.

Nearchus, in the mean time, arriving at the island Hormouz, at the mouth of the Persian gulph, left the fleet there and came to Alexander, who was greatly delighted to hear of their welfare. Having treated him with fingular marks of favour and respect, he sent him back to the sleet. After his departure he proceeded to Persia, and arrived at Pasargada, where was the tomb of Cyrus. This tomb was a neat pile of building, furrounded by a fine grove, the magi who were appointed to take care of it having a house adjoining to it. He found the place rifled of all the riches it was faid to contain; and according to Plutarch, put Polymachus, a Macedonian, who robbed the tomb, to death. Others, however, fay, that the robber could never be discovered. The Persians accusing Orsines, a noble Persian, who for some time had acted as governor of Persia without any orders from the king, he was tried, and being convicted of facrilege, oppression, and cruelty, was condemned to be cruci-This is the account of Arrian; but Curtius relates, add. ing, however, improbable circumstances, that Alexander greatly approved of the administration of Orfines, who was extreamly liberal to the king and all his friends, excepting his favourite Bageas the cunuch, who in refentment suborned witnesses to accuse him falsely of supporting his magnificence by robbing the tomb of Cyrus. Peufestas, who had faved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, being appointed governor of Perfia, he immediately put on the Median drefs, being the only one of Alexander's captains who by complying with the manners of the people he governed, gained their affection. Baryaxes, a Mede, who had put on the royal tiara, and assumed the title of king, being now brought to Alexander, with those who had counseled him to revolt, he ordered them to be put to death.

About the same time Calanus the Brachman, who at the entreaty of Alexander had accompanied him from his own country, finding himself declining in health by reason of a flux which hung upon him, befought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared for him; which with fome difficulty was granted. Calanus, who was 83 years of age when he arrived at the pile, performed the feveral ceremonies practifed at funerals; and defiring his friends to feast and make merry that day with Alexander, whom he should foon see at Babylon, he then laid himself upon the pile, and suffered himself to be consumed by the flames, without making the least motion. Alexander, that evening, invited feveral of his officers to supper, and to do honour to Calanus, proposed a crown as a reward for him who should drink most. One Promachus gained the prize, by drinking 18 or 20 pints, but furvived his victory only three days; and of the other guests, 41 were killed by their intemperance.

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From Passargada Alexander went to Persepolis, where he is Alexander faid to have blamed himself greatly, upon viewing the ruins of returns to the fine palace, which he had burnt to the ground. He from Perfepolis. thence proceeded to Susa, where he caused the governor Abulites, and his fon Oxathres, to be put to death for mal-adminifiration. Finding in this city all the captives of quality he had He endealeft there, he resolved to make himself, his officers, and his sol- yours to diers an amends for the difficulties they had undergone, pur-unite the poing, at the fame time, effectually to cement his new con-Macedo-quered with his hereditary subjects. With this view he married nians and Statira the eldest daughter of Darius, and Parysatis the daugh- Persians. ter of Ochus. He gave another daughter of Darius to Hephastion, and to Craterus Amastrine, the niece of Darius; to the rest of his friends, to the number of 80, he gave other Persian women of the greatest quality. All these marriages were celebrated at once, Alexander himself bestowing fortunes on the women. He gave prefents also to all the other Macedonians who had married Afiatic wives, though their number amounted to 10,000. He next discharged all the debts of the soldiers, causing each man's debts to be paid on his bare word, though the whole fum came to 20,000 talents; on fuch as had diffinguilhed themselves in an extraordinary manner, he bestowed crowns of gold. The 30,000 Persian youths, whom he had ordered to be instructed in the Macedonian language and discipline, arriving at Sula, he reviewed them publicly, and was afterwards very bountiful to them. He promoted also, without distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the Indian war. Alexander, having fill a curiofity to fee the ocean, failed down the Eulæus from Susa, and after coasting the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, went up that river towards the army, which had encamped near the city of Opis.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the The army camp, allowing all those Macedonians, who, through infirmity mutinies. or wounds, were incapable of ferving longer, to return home, promifing to be bountiful to them, and conduct them fafe to their native country. This kind declaration ferved only to irritate his troops, who now thought that he neglected them from apartiality to the Persians. They began immediately to clamour in an unufual manner, and, affembling round his tribunal, demanded, That they might all be discharged, some insolently calling out, That his father Ammon and he might go and subdue the world by themselves. Alexander, with great intrepidity, leaped The infrom his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them feize, trepidity one by one, thirteen of the ringleaders whom he pointed out, of Alexand ordered them to be put to death upon the fpot. The Ma- ander. cedonians, quite amazed and confounded, were quieted in an instant, whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and; in an eloquent speech, shewed the justice of his own conduct and

the folly of theirs. Then he retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends, for

two days. On the third he called the *Persian* nobility round him,

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him, and promoted them to the principal commands in the army; which when the Macedonians heard, they ran like distracted people to the palace, and, furrounding it, laid down their arms, and protested that they would remain there day and The army night till the king should pardon them. When he came out to

to him.

reconciled them, and faw their arms on the ground and their dejected looks, he wept a great while, and after some gentle reproaches, declared to them, that he restored them to his friendship. After this Alexander gave a folemn feaft, at which were present 9000 persons: the Macedonians sat next the king, next them the Per-He sends fians, and after them persons of all nations. The king after-home the wards discharged 10,000 Macedonian invalids, and sent them

back to their own country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there fit with crowns on their heads; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his fervice, should have their fathers pay continued to them during their minority.

Alexander not long after was plagued with disputes among his friends. Hephaftion particularly prefumed too far on his kindness towards him, and had once the insolence to remove Eumenes, the king's fecretary, and a man of great abilities, out of his lodgings, to make room for one of his own musicians. Eumenes, in the height of his passion, complaining to the king, told him, That fidlers seemed now to be the chief favourites. Alexander sharply reproved Hephastion, and obliged him against

his will to be reconciled to Eumenes.

He then left Opis, and proceeded to Echatan in Media, where, after dispatching his most urgent affairs, he diverted himself again with shews and public entertainments. These, however, were foon interrupted by the death of Hephastion, who was cut off by a fever, which, 'tis faid, he brought upon himself by a debauch. The king abandoned himself to an excessive forrow for the loss of his friend; he ordered 10,000 talents to be spent on his monument, and, according to Arrian, expended as much in his obsequies at Babylon. Plutarch tells us, that he ordered the tails and mains of all his horses and mules to be cut, threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities, crucified the poor physician who had attended Hephastion, and forbade the use of any musical instrument in his camp; but these extravagancies feem to deferve little credit.

Alexander aus.

From, Echatan Alexander marched against the Cosseans, who reduces inhabited the mountains of Media, and, according to some the Coffe- writers, were never subdued by the Persian kings. In this expedition he was attended with his usual success; for, in forty days having driven the barbarians from their fastnesses, in which they had confided, he obliged them to fubmit. About the same time he gave orders for building a fleet, with which he intended to examine the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea, and then set out for Babylon. When he drew near to that city, Nearchus, at the to Babylon. defire of the chief Chaldean aftrologers, preffed him not to enter Babylon,

Hephæftion dies at Ecbaton.

He

Babylon, as they forefaw that it would be fatal to him. Several omens and prodigies being also mentioned to the same purpose, he began to be very apprehensive, and, giving way to superstition, grew restless and timorous. He therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himself with failing up and down the Euphrates. The Greek philosophers, furprised at this proceeding, came to him, and demonstrating to him in the itrongest terms the vanity of astrology, by their discourses and entreaties prevailed upon him to enter the city, where there were ambaffadors come from Africa and Europe, as far as the straits of Hercules, to wait upon him.

Having made a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaffadors, whom he treated with great affability and politeness. He next solemnized the funeral of Hephastion with the utmost pomp and splendor, a particular account of which we have in Athenœus and Diodorus. Afterwards he began to He forms bend his thoughts to the execution of certain valt defigns he new prohad formed; fuch as the conquest of the Arabians, the draining projects. the Babylonian fens, and making a bason at Babylon capable of containing 1000 gallies. He went in person down the Euphrates about 80 miles, to examine a breach in the banks of the river, by which it had overflowed the country. He from thence passed to the Arabian confines, where, finding an agreeable fituation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of Greek mercenaries. He not only determined to reduce Arabia, but had formed a defign of failing round Africa, and entering the Mediterranean fea by the straits of Hercules, resolving then to subdue the Carthaginians, and to conquer Italy.

Upon his return to Babylon he found there Peucestas, who had brought from Persia 20,000 regular troops, besides a considerable body of Coffeans and Tapurians, nations lately reduced. Philoxenus was also arrived with an army out of Caria, Menander with a body of troops from Lydia, and Menidas with leve-

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Alexander, having laid afide his forrow for Hephastion, whom, by the advice of the oracle, he had ordered to be facrificed to as a demigod, fell again to facrificing and drinking. As he was retiring from an entertainment which he had given to Nearchus, with a defign to go to bed, at the request of Medius he went to supper with him, and there drank all that night, and the next day, to such excess, that it threw him into a fever. The illness being but flight for feveral days, he gave orders for the troops to march, and went abroad every day, and performed his accultomed facrifices. Being at length confined to his bed, and deprived of his speech, a report spread among his troops that he was dead; and when this rumour was contradicted by those about his person, the soldiers so menaced his friends, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass unarmed by He dies at his bedfide, when he extended his hand for them to kils, and Babylon. 100n after they were gone he expired. This is the substance of Bef. Chr. the account of Plutarch and Arrian, taken from the royal diary. fultin,

A GENERAL HISTORY

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Justin, Curtius, and Diodorus relate, that he was poisoned by the contrivance of Antipater, who was afraid of being called to an account for his mal-administration. Plutarch, however, declares, that he looks upon these accounts as false; for though the body, he fays, was neglected feveral days in a hot fultry place, during the diffensions among the commanders, yet it remained clear and fresh, without any figns of corruption, Alexander died, according to Aristobulus, in the first year of the 114th olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, twelve years and eight months of which he had reigned, By Barfine, the daughter of Artabazus, the widow of Memnon, Alexander had a fon named Hercules, who was afterwards murdered. By Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian, he had a posthumous fon named Alexander, who had for a time the title of king. By Cleophes, queen of a part of India, he had a fon named Alexander, who fucceeded his mother in his kingdom,

The flate of affairs death of

As Alexander, upon his death-bed, had refused to name his fuccessor, and had only given his ring to Perdiecas, great jeaat Bab, len lousies and contests quickly arose among his chief commanders, upon the who each endeavoured to engross the supreme authority. The universal consternation and grief at first hindered every one Alexander. from attending to public affairs; but a day or two after the king's death, his friends affembled in the council room, and fummoned thither all the principal commanders of the army. The foldiers and people, who were not fummoned, coming in vaft crowds, and blocking up the paffages, that many of the great officers could not get in, proclamation was made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but fuch as were called by name. This proclamation, however, being unsupported by authority, was not much regarded; fo that numbers of mean rank and little confideration, prompted by their curiofity, remained in the council.

Violent diffensions quickly arose in this assembly. Perdiccas, placing the robes and regalia in the chair of Alexander, laid upon them the ring, declaring that he most willingly refigned any authority that might be intended him by the king, when this ring was delivered to him. Aridaus, the bastard brother of Alexander, a man whose body and mind had been weakened by a potion faid to have been given to him by Olympias in his infancy, was named as fuccessor to the empire. This nomination was agreeable to the Macedonian phalanx; but Perdiccas, Ptolemy, and most of the horse officers, opposed this measure, and rather than affent to it, chose to quit the city. Meleager, however, at the head of the phalanx, supported their resolution, and arraying Aridaus in royal robes, put on him the arms of Alexander, and faluted him by the name of Philip, to render him more popular. The other party still persisted in their opposition, all their affairs being managed by Perdiceas, who having been in favour with Alexander, was strongly confided in by the nobility. Aridaus being entirely under the management of

Aridaus declared **fuccessor** of Alexander.

Meleager, this last became very formidable, as he was supported by the phalanx, who began to entertain a personal love for the

new king, on account of his mildness and moderation.

The animolities foon became violent, and Meleager fent out a party to feize Perdiccas, who, however, were so awed and terrified by that officer, that they durst not put their defign in execution. Though the infantry were in possession of the city, A division vet the cavalry, by shutting up the passages to the town, soon in the diffressed them by famine, and so great confusion ensued, that army. both parties began to think of an accommodation, which was effected by blending both schemes together, Philip, or Aridaus, being allowed the regal title, and the authority vested in the great officers, cf whom Meleager was to be held the third. The re- Eumenes conciliation of the parties was owing to the negotiations of Eu-reconciles menes the Cardian, who, through modesty, declined public no- the two tice, and had affected a neutrality as being a stranger by birth. parties. He had been bred up under Philip, who had made him his fecretary; Alexander not only continued him in the same post, but had raifed him to the highest military commands, he being one of fo rare a genius, as to be alike fuited to act in a camp or a court. When the marriages were celebrated at Sufa, Eumenes was in some measure allied to Alexander, the king giving him Artonis, the fifter of his own wife Barcina.

In consequence of the accommodation effected by Eumenes, all the great officers of the army now appeared at court, and Perdiccas foon gained fuch an afcendancy over Philip, that he had the fole direction of affairs at his pleasure. Under the specious title of protector, he eagerly defired to assume the sovereignty, while others fecretly aimed at the division of the empire, that, under the name of governments, they might fecure kingdoms to themselves. As the late division had been chiefly owing to the mutinous spirit of the phalanx, Perdiccas prevailed with Meleager to agree to a lustration of the army, and having drawn all the troops into the field, he drew out of the phalanx, by force, 30 who had been most active for Meleager, and threw them to the elephants, who trampled them to death. Meleager, Perdiceas feeing his chief partizans taken off, found himself betrayed, orders Meand upon his return to Babylon took fanctuary in a temple; but leager to Perdiccas, without ceremony, ordered him to be flain at the be flain.

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Perdiccas, to free himself from competitors, provide for the latety of the empire, and fatisfy the ambition of the principal commanders, called a general council, in which was made, according to Arrian, the following distribution of honours and governments. Aridaus, and the fon of Roxana, who was now The emborn, and named Alexander, were to enjoy the regal authority. pire di-Antipater had the government of the European provinces, as vided. general of the army there. Craterus had the title of protector. Perdiccas had the office of general of the houshold troops in the room of Hephæstion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had Egypt, Libya, and that part of Arabia that borders on Egypt. Cleomenes,

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a man of an infamous character, whom Alexander had made receiver-general in Egypt, was made Ptolemy's deputy. Laomedon had Syria; Philotas, Cilicia; Pithon, Media; Eumenes, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and all the country bordering on the Euxine sea as far as Trapezus; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. Antigonus had Pamphylia, Lycia, and Phrygia major; Cassander, Caria; Menander, Lydia; Leonatus, Phrygia on the Hellespont. Thrace, and the adjacent regions, were consigned to Lysimachus; the rest of the countries in Europe, subject to the Macedonians, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, with all Greece, were lest to Craterus and Antipater. The other provinces, not mentioned in this division, remained under the governors appointed to them by Alexander.

During the first disputes, the dead body of Alexander had lain neglected feven days; but it was at length embalmed, and the care of the royal funeral was committed to a commander named Aridaus. As the commanders had taken little notice of his body. they made no fcruple of vacating his will; by his will we mean a short memorandum of things he would have done. The first article concerned the building of a fleet of 1000 flout gallies, to be made use of against the Carthaginians and other nations, who should oppose the reduction of the coasts of the Mediterranean The fecond directed a large and regular highway along the sea coast of Afric, as far as Ceuta and Tangiers. The third ordered the erecting fix temples of extraordinary magnificence, at the expence of 1500 talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arfenals, havens, and docks to be made in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth, he proposed the building feveral new cities in Europe and Asia, those in Asia to be inhabited by colonies from Europe, and those in Europe to be filled with Afiatics. Lastly, to adorn his father's sepulchre, he designed to erect a monument equal to the biggest pyramid in Egypt.

Roxana, who was now mother of one of the kings, had some share of the administration of affairs; and having, from the beginning, acted in concert with Perdiccas, immediately, upon Alexander's death, she wrote to Statira and Drypetis, the daughters of Darius, ordering them in his name to come to Babylon, where they were no sooner arrived, than she caused them to be murdered. The news of Alexander's death made such an impression on Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, that, to free herself from the calamities which seemed now to threaten her, she starved herself to death.

On the news of his death also, the mercenary Greeks, who had been stationed, though against their inclination, in the provinces of upper Asia, openly declared their intention of returning to their native country; and assembling to the number of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, they chose Philo for their leader, and began their march for the sea. Perdiccas, to punish these rebels, as he called them, sent Pitho with a body of troops against them. Pitho had formed a scheme of setting up for him-solf

The government in the hands of Perdiccas and Roxana,

The mercenary
Greeks
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home.

felf, by prevailing on the rebels to join his forces; but Perdiccas, who was aware of his defign, publicly ordered the rebels to be put to the fword, and their effects to be diffributed amongst his troops. Lipodorus, who commanded 3000 of the rebels, They are being bribed by Pitho, he obtained an easy victory over them, defeated and granting those who survived good terms, great numbers of and cut to them entered into his service, which gave him hopes of execut- pieces. ing his ambitious delign; but the Macedonians, remembring the commands of Perdiccas, put them all to the fword. Pitho, being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

In the mean time, the Rhodians thrust out the garrison of the Macedonians, and freed their city. The Athenians also, with many other Greeks, entered into an alliance to maintain the liberty of their country against Antipater, and were so successful as to defeat him near Lamia, whence the war was called the Lamian war. Lysimachus, about the same time, was engaged in a war with Seuthes king of Thrace, and with difficulty maintained himself in his province against the superior numbers of

the Thracians.

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Eumenes had not the least footing in his province, which was Eumenes an unconquered kingdom, governed by Ariarathes, who for fe- put in posveral years had been making preparations for the defence of his fession of dominions. It had been agreed, that Leonatus, governor of Cappado-Phrygia, and Antigonus, governor of Pamphilia, Lycia, and cia. Phrygia major, should assist Eumenes with a great body of troops to disposses Ariarathes. Antigonus, however, was now become too haughty to think of acting in subserviency to another. Leonatus proposed to affist Eumenes with an army; but instead of marching into Cappadocia, he went into Greece, at the folicitation of Antipater, to affift him, as he pretended, against the Grecians; but in reality to seize Macedonia for himself, and marry Cleopatra the fifter of Alexander. Eumenes, to whom he communicated his defign, stole away from him by night with his attendants and treasure, which amounted to 5000 talents. and went to *Perdiccas*, who, in return for his fidelity, marched in person into Cappadocia, and defeating Ariarathes, caused him in a cruel manner to be crucified, and put Eumenes in possession of his dominions. Eumenes settled his province in a prudent manner, and leaving his friends governors of the principal cities, accompanied Perdiccas into Pisidia. Lauranda, and Isaurus, two cities of that province, were taken and destroyed by Perdiccas, because they had flain Balacrus, whom Alexander had appointed their governor.

Perdiccas then marched with the royal army into Cilicia, and The amthe following spring sent Eumenes back to Cappadocia. At the bitious first division of the provinces, to strengthen his interest, he en-designs of tered into an alliance with Antipater, and married his daughter Perdiceas. Nicaa. Now, when the regency of the empire had greatly raised his credit and authority, he began to affect the kingdom of Macedon, being privately follicited by Olympias to marry her daughter

daughter Cleopatra, the widow of the king of Epire, who was then at Sardis. As he judged that Antigonus would be a great obstacle to the execution of his designs, he resolved to take him off, and, with this view, caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against him. Antigonus, who had an understanding too penetrating to be imposed on, pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial; but took an opportunity of failing into Greece, and disclosed to Antipater and Craterus the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon the representations of Antigonus, Antipater and Craterus immediately concluded a peace with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, engaging Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

The fuccefs of Egypt. Bef. Ch. 321.

Ptolemy had hitherto remained in peaceable possession of Egypt, which he governed with fo much wisdom, clemency and justice, Ptolemy in that great numbers of men flocked from all parts to Alexandria, and chearfully lifted themselves into his service. About this time, Aridaus, having completed the magnificent preparations for the funeral of Alexander, fet out with the corpse for the temple of Jupiter Ammon. As a superstitious opinion prevailed, that the colony in which the body was laid would flourish most, Perdiccas, out of a love to his native foil, would have fent it to Mace-The corps don; but Aridaus, pleading the king's express direction, pro-of Alex- ceeded to Egypt, Ptolemy, in honour of the king, meeting the ander con- corps with his army as far as Syria. When the corps arrived in Egypt, Ptolemy caused it to be placed in a magnificent temple, which he built for that purpose in Alexandria, where it was to

of Alexducted to Alexandria.

be feen many ages after. The power of Ptolemy being now very formidable, as he was

pulous, and fertile province, Perdiceas, who was informed of the alliance concluded betwixt him and Antipater, refolved to march in person into Egypt, and ordered Eumenes to proceed to the Hellespont, to oppose Antipater and Craterus. Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus the governor of Armenia, had directions to obey the orders of Eumenes, which not a little displeased them. When Craterus and Antipater advanced, Alcetas absolutely refused to take the field, even though the war was made against his brother; and Neoptolemus appeared in arms in favour of the enemy. Antipater and Craterus made large offers to Eumenes, if he would come over to their party; but he refused to hearken to them, and having with the utmost diligence raifed and disciplined a body of 6300 horse, he surprised and routed Neoptolemus, who fled with about 300 men to Craterus, the rest of his troops entering into the service of Eumenes.

at the head of a numerous army, and commanded a large, po-

makes war on Ptolemy.

Perdiccas

Craterus, being assured by Neoptolemus, that the Macedonians in and Neof- the service of Eumenes would no sooner see him but they would tolemus de- come over to him, sent Artipater into Cilicia, and advanced feated and against Eumenes. This general, sensible that his Macedonians would all refuse to fight against Craterus, had the address to flain by Eumenes. conceal from them the enemy they were to engage with, and

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gave out that Neoptolemus and Pigris were marching to furprife him. When the two armies came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse over against Craterus, who attacked him vigoroully, and mortally wounded him. On the other wing Eumenes flew Neoptolemus with his own hand; fo that the enemy, being routed both on right and left, were obliged to abandon the field of battle. After the victory, Eumenes fent to the phalanx, and those who had survived the engagement, to let them know, that those who did not choose to enter into his fervice, might have leave to go where they pleafed. The phalanx took the oath of fidelity to him, but at night basely deserted

Perdiccas, in the mean time, advanced with the royal army

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to Egypt; but when he arrived at that kingdom, his troops, who were difgusted with his arbitrary command, deserted in great numbers to Ptolemy, whose mildness and generosity had procured him an universal reputation. Having passed the river Nile, he attacked the entrenchments of Ptolemy, which were defended with the greatest resolution; so that he was obliged to retire with confiderable loss. He then attempted to repass a branch of the river, but losing 2000 men in that undertaking, which he was not able to accomplish, the phalanx mutinied, and 100 principal officers immediately went over to Ptolemy. Afterwards a troop of horse, entering into a conspiracy against Per iccas him, went to his tent and murdered him. Two days after the flain. death of Perdiccas, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; but Ptolemy, having justified his conduct to the troops the day before, now so artfully heightened their refentment for the death of Craterus, that in a rage they passed adecree, declaring Eumenes, and 50 other persons of the same party, enemies to Macedon, giving joint commission to Antigonus and Antipater to profecute the war against him. Pithon, who had routed the Greek mercenaries, and Aridaus, who had conducted the body of Alexander to Egypt, were then declared regents, and led the army back to Syria. As Eurydice, the wife of Philip, interfered in all affairs, and was supported in her pretentions by the Macedonians, the two guardians, when they arrived at Triparadifus, refigned their office, and Antipater, Antipater who had joined them, was chosen sole protector with sovereign declared power. Antipater, having checked Eurydice, and quelled a fe- guardian dition of the army raised by her, made a new division of the of the provinces. Egypt, Libya, and the parts adjacent were given to kings. Ptolemy, who, if they had been given to any other, would not probably have parted with them. Syria was confirmed to Leo-medon; Seleucus had Babylon; Philoxenus, Cilicia; and Amphimachus had Mesopotamia and Arbelitis. Susiana fell to Antigenes, who commanded the Macedonian filver shields. Peucestas held Persia; Tlepolemus, Caramania; Pithon, Media, as far as the Caspian straits; Stafander had Aria and Drangia; Philip, Parthia; Stafanor, Bactria and Sogdia; Sybirtius, Aracofia; Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor, and Lycaonia was added to the · VOL. III. government

government of Antigonus; Clytus had Lydia; Aridaus, Phryoia the less; and Cassander, Caria, being also appointed general of the horse. Antipater, having thus settled all things, returned to Macedonia with the kings.

Eumenes prepares to defend himself.

He is toed.

Eumenes, in the mean time, provided with the utmost prudence for his own defence; he was joined by Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and by Attalus his brother-in-law, who, upon his death, had retired with the fleet to Tyre, where he received those who fled from the camp at Memphis, and then sailed to act in concert with Eumenes. The following spring, Antigenus, who was charged to carry on the war against Eumenes, marched with his army into Cappadocia, and having bribed Apol. lonides, his general of the horse, he gained a compleat victory tally rout- over him, and killed 8000 of his men. Eumenes, after this defeat, preserved his remaining troops for some time, by often changing the place of his retreat, being greatly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he still maintained. At last, difmissing all his men except 600, he with these retired into the castle of Nora, a place exceedingly strong by its situation, on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and stored with all forts of provisions, where he resolved to abide a siege. Antigonus caused the place to be invested, but judging that the siege would be very tedious, he defired a conference with Eumenes, which, upon his fending hostages to the fort, was granted. Eumenes behaved to Antigonus as if they had treated upon equal terms, and demanded to be confirmed in his feveral governments, and to be honourably rewarded for his fervices. All the Macedsnians who were present, were astonished at his courage and spirit: those who could only see him were charmed with the fweetness of his aspect and the beauty of his person; for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and his intrepidity was tempered with great mildness. Antigonus, finding that no accommodation could be made, and the Macedonians crowding round them in great numbers, he took Eumenes in his arms, and conducted him to the rock. He then furrounded the fortress, which was but a quarter of a mile in compass, with a strong wall, and marched into Pifidia against Alcetas and Attalus, whom he surprised and totally defeated. Attalus, with some others, were taken prifoners; but Alcetas, with about 6000 men, escaped to Termesus, where he was flain by the treachery of the magistrates.

Antigonus

Antigonus, about this time, being informed of the death of resolves to Antipater, and that Polysperchon had succeeded him as tutor to seize si. the kings, began to aspire to the dominion of Asia, having at his command an army of 60,000 foot, 19,000 horse, many ele-phants, and treasure in abundance. He judged it necessary, however, to bring over Eumenes, and fent by his countryman, Ferom of Cardia, the form of an oath to be taken by him. purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to Antigonus, and have the same friends and enemies with him. Eumenes altered the article, and instead of Antigonus he inserted Olympian

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the kings, and the royal family; and the Macedonians, who were employed in the fiege, approving of this amendment, he took the oaths, and they instantly fet him and his friends at liberty, to the great diffatisfaction of Antigonus, who now openly published his defign of seizing the sovereignty of Asia, disposessing the governors of the provinces, and giving them to his friends. He took by force Ephefus, and feveral other cities in the Lydian province, Clitus the governor having failed over to Macedonia, to give intelligence of his revolt. Aridaus, governor of lesser Phrygia, raised an army in his own defence, and sent part of his forces to the relief of Eumenes, who, however, obtained his liberty in the manner we have already related.

The revolt of Antigonus having occasioned a great alarm, The kings Polysperchon, the regent, who was at war with Caffander in create Eu-Greece, dispatched to Eumenes a commission, constituting him means gecaptain-general under the kings in Asia Minor, ordering the neral in governors to supply him with money for the charges of the war, ifia. and to pay him 500 talents for the re-establishment of his own The captains of the Argyraspides, or filver shields, were also ordered to serve under him. Eumenes, who, immediately after his confinement, had collected a body of 2,00 men, finding himself likely to be overpowered by a large detachment of the army of Antigonus, evacuated Cappadocia, and croffing mount Taurus, entered Cilicia, where he was joined by Antigenes and Teutamus with 3000. Antigenes and Teutamus treated Eumenes outwardly with great respect; but he soon perceived that they, and the other Macedonian officers, in their hearts envied him. To lessen their malice, he refused the 500 His prutalents, and the title of general; and, to check their ambition dent conand jealoufy, had recourse to the spirit of superstition. He told duct. them, that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and shewed him a royal pavilion with a throne in it, saying, That if they would fit in council, there he himself would be present, and prosper all the consultations and enterprises they should begin in his name. They accordingly, by his advice, erected a royal tent and a throne, which they called Alexander's, where they met to consult upon all affairs of moment. To provide for his own fafety, he borrowed large fums of those that hated him most, and gave the money to such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers upon large pay. By these arts he quickly affembled an army of upwards of 17,000 men.

Both Antigonus and Ptolemy used their utmost endeavours to corrupt the Macedonians in the service of Eumenes, but without luccess. He marched with his army into Phanicia, which had been unjustly seized by Ptolemy, and applied himself diligently to raise a naval force, in hopes of being master of the sea, in conjunction with the fleet of Polysperchon; but Antigonus having entirely destroyed that fleet, and marching against him in per-10n, Eumenes thought it prudent to retreat; and accordingly, passing the river Euphrates in sight of the enemy, he took up his Winter quarters at Carra in Mejopotamia, requesting Pithon and

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Seleucus, in the name of the kings, to join him with their forces; they, however, instead of joining him, endeavoured, though in vain, to debauch his foldiers. The following spring joined by he advanced into Susiana, where he was joined by Peucestas, the gover- Polemon, Sybirtius, Stafander, Androbazus, and Eudames with nors of the 21,000 foot, 4600 horse, and 120 elephants. Though each of these officers was desirous of having the chief command, and provinces. the foldiers, when they were feafted by them, feemed inclined to gratify them, yet in time of danger the whole army declared for Eumenes, who encamped on the banks of the Tigris waiting for Antigonus. That general, having entered into an alliance with Seleucus and Pithon, returned from Susa, which had refused to admit him to the Pasitigris, within a few miles of Eumenes, and He gains fent before 8000 of his troops. These being suddenly attacked by an advan- Eumenes, endeavoured to repass the river, but 4000 of them tage over were drowned and killed, and as many taken prisoners. Anti-Antigonus, gonus, checked by this confiderable loss, marched into Media, the province of Pitho; but, contrary to his advice, imprudently led his army through the country of the Coffeans, who attacked them on all fides; to that for nine days they fuffained the greatest hardships. Upon his arrival in Media, his army was again recruited and supplied with provisions, which made him resolve to march into the provinces of those governors who had fided with Eumenes, with the defign to displace them.

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Eumenes, in the mean time, to gratify these governors, marched into Perfis, though he was rather inclined to return to the coasts of the Mediterranean. In twenty-four days he reached Persepolis, where Peucestas made a grand feast for the army, and loaded them with fuch extravagant favours, that Eumenes beganto suspect he aimed at the sovereign command. He therefore forged a letter in Syrian character in the name of Orontes, governor of Armenia, importing, that the party of Olympias had killed Cassander, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly fettled in Macedon, Polysperchon had entered Asia with a powerful army, and advanced as far as Cappadocia. This letter, which was directed to Peucestas, being credited by the army, all the officers immediately paid their court to Eumenes, and those were the most forward who hated him most. He took all in good part, and, according to custom, borrowed money of those whom he feared: foon after, giving an entertainment to the troops, he drank more freely than he inclined, to gratily his officers, which threw him into a fever, fo that he was obliged to be carried in the rear in a litter. Antigonus, hearing of his fickness, advanced against his army, and appeared in fight of them as they marched; upon which, the Macedonians immediately called out for Eumenes, and despising Peucestas and the other officers, who wanted to act as generals, declared they would not advance till they faw Eumenes. He accordingly hastened from the rear, and made the necessary dispositions, which not a little furprifed Antigonus, who, at length, observing the litter carried through the lines, faid to his officers with a loud

a loud laugh, It is not that army, but you litter, that effers us bettle. However, he immediately ordered a retreat to be founded, and drew off about half a mile, making new offers to the Macedonians, if they would defert Eumenes; but his messengers were

fent back with indignation and threats.

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A few days after, Eumenes being informed by deferters that he intended to decamp, conjectured, that he defigned to march into the fertile province of Gabiene, and therefore fent fome mercenaries to his camp as deferters, to tell him that he proposed to attack him that night. Antigonus waited part of the night under arms, and Eumenes, in the mean time, marched off towards Gabiene with his army, being afterwards purfued by Antigonus, who came within view of him with his horse at day-Eumenes, believing the whole army of Antigonus to be at hand, halted to give him battle, and by that means gave leifure to the enemies foot to advance. An engagement imme- Defeats diately enfued, which continued with great obstinacy and various the army fuccess throughout the whole day and part of the night. Both of Antigoparties, after the battle, remained for some time upon the field; nus, but towards midnight, Eumenes was forced by his own men to return to their carriages, which were at a confiderable distance; fo that Antigonus, being allowed to bury the dead, claimed the victory. Antigonus lost 3700 foot and 64 horse, and had above 4000 wounded; on the part of Eumenes were flain 540 foot, with a few horse, and not 1000 were wounded. As the army of Antigonus were greatly dispirited, and inferior to that of Eumenes, he privately marched off to Media, which was twentyfive days journey distant from Gabiene, where Eumenes took up his winter quarters.

Antigonus, being informed that the troops of Eumenes had dif- who is difperfed themselves in such a manner, that their front was near appointed 120 miles from their rear, and that paying little regard to their in atofficers they spent their time in feasting, he hoped to surprize tempting them by marching through the defart, which he could accom- to furprife plish in nine days. As it was the middle of winter, his troops, Eumenes. to preferve themselves from perishing, were forced to make fires in the nights, which being perceived by the inhabitants of the wilderness, they immediately fent intelligence of his approach to the confederate generals by messengers on dromedaries. The news filled them with the greatest consternation; but Eumenes freed them from their terrors by undertaking to stop the enemies march for four or five days, if they in the mean time would collect the forces. Accordingly, marching off with the few troops in the neighbourhood, he went and encamped on the hills which commanded a distant prospect of the defart, where at night he ordered a great many fires to be lighted. Antigonus, upon feeing the fires, concluded that Eumenes was waiting for him with his whole army, and not chufing to engage while his troops were fatigued, he turned aside into the common road through the towns and villages; so that, before he had arrived

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at the frontiers of Gabiene, the whole confederate army was affembled.

A battle betwixt Eumenes and Anti-Lonus.

In the private councils, held by the generals and governors of the provinces, it was unanimously agreed, after the approaching battle, to rid themselves of Eumenes, who, being informed of their defign by two principal persons of the army, to whom he owed large fums, retired to his tent, and destroyed all his papers. He then confidered, whether he might not escape into Cappadocia; but reflecting that his escape would be looked upon as an abdication of the command, he came out and encouraged his foldiers. The Argyraspides, however, encouraged him, and affured him of victory. As none of them were less than fixty years of age, when they charged, they called out to the phalanx of Antigonus, Villains! ye fight against your fathers, and attacking with great vigour, flew sooc of the enemy without losing a man. Though the foot of Antigonus were entirely defeated, yet his horfe, on account of the treachery of *Peucestas*, gained the advantage, and even pillaged the camp of Eumenes. After the battle, the Argyraspides mutinied on account of the loss of their baggage, and in order to have it restored to them, delivered up Eumenes to Antigonus, who, being asked by those who had him in custody how he would have to Aut go- him kept, answered, As you would keep an elephant or a lion. The fate of Asia was now decided; for Eumenes being given up, the governors submitted, and made the best terms they could, fuffering their troops to be incorporated with those of Antigonus. Demetrius, the fon of Antigonus, and several others, were earnest to save the life of Eumenes; but Antigonus, at the instigafes him to tion of the Macedonians, put him to death. However, he and ail his troops affilted at his funeral with great folemnity, and after the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put into a filver urn, and fent them to his wife and children in Cappadria. The traitors, however, were feverely punished by him: Antigenes, commander in chief of the filver shields, was put into a coffin and burnt alive; he likewife put to death feveral others of the treacherous officers, and ordered the governor of Arachofa to use every method to destroy the Argyraspides, that none of them might ever come within fight of the Grecian fea *.

Fumenes delivered up by his own men nus

who cau be put to death.

Anticonus the pro vinces.

Antigonus, looking upon himself now as master of Asia, reresolves to tired to his winter quarters in Media, committing the different provinces to perfons whom he confided in. He accused Pithon of the gover-treason, and having put him to death, appointed Orontobates, a nors in all Mede, governor of Media; but gave the command of the forces in that province to Hippostratus. He stript Peucestas of the government of Perfia, where he was greatly beloved, and appointed Asclepiodorus in his stead. He seized all the treasures and rich curiofities in Sula, to the value of 15,000 talents, and by other spoils and treasure raised 10,000 talents more. As soon

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^{*} Plut. & Corn. Nep. in Eumen. Diod. Sic. Justin.

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as the feason of the year permitted, he marched with all his forces to Babylon: Seleucus, the governor, had hitherto zealoufly supported his interests against Eumenes, and done him many fignal fervices, and now, to testify his joy for his success. he feasted his whole army. Antigonus demanding of him an ac- Attempts count of the revenues of his province, Seleucus told him, that the to feize province of Babylon was conferred upon himfelf by the Macedoni- S. leucis. ans as the reward of his fervices, and therefore he was not bound to give an account to him, neither had he a right to demand one. The difference growing wider and wider every day, Seleucus, who considered that he was not able to oppose him, fled with fifty attendants to Ptolemy, to whom he represented the formidable power and ambitious defigns of Antigonus in such a light, that an alliance was immediately formed against him by Ptolemy, Lysmachus, and Cassander.

Antigonus, rejoiced at the flight of Seleucus, thinking that he had obtained the possession of Babylon without any struggle; and leaving the province to Pithon, who had come out of India, he marched into Cilicia, where he put his troops into winter quarters, raifing 21,000 talents in that province. Having rejected He rethe articles which the confederates demanded of him, he made duces Syvigorous preparations for a war, and marched into Syria and ria and Phanicia with the defign of reducing those provinces, by which shanicia. means he hoped to be in possession of a powerful fleet. He lef. Christ quickly reduced Joppa and Gaza, and after a fiege of fifteen months, obliged Tyre to furrender; but the ships which he expected to find were all carried off by Ptolemy. Judging it, however, absolutely necessary to be master of the sea, he caused vast quantities of timber to be cut down on mount Libanus, and in other parts; and while his army was engaged in the fiege of Tyre, employed 8000 men in building a fleet, which put to fea in the end of fummer.

Callander, in the mean time, making confiderable progress in Heobliges Asia Minor, Antigonus lest his son Demetrius with part of his Cassander army to preferve Syria and Phænicia, and marched with the to fue for rest into Ajia. The following campaign he pressed Cassander so peace. vigoroufly, that he agreed to peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, he foon after broke, joining again with his old allies.

While Antigonus was engaged in opposing Cassander, who had Ptolemy renewed the war, Ptolemy with his fleet made a descent in Syria, recovers and afterwards in Cilicia, out of which province he carried vria and great spoils into Egypt. At the persuasion of Seleucus, he then defeats marched with an army into Phænicia, and at Gaza entirely de- Demetrius. feated Demetrius, killing 5000 of his men, and taking 8000 prifoners. Demetrius, retiring with the remains of his army to Azotus, defired leave to bury his dead, which favour Ptolemy not only granted him, but also sent him back his royal pavilion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependance on his family. Ptolemy foon after made himself master of Phameia, Palestine, and Syria, Andronicus, the governor of Tyre,

A GENERAL HISTORY

being obliged to, deliver up that place, which alone made any

Seleucus recovers the province of Babylon.

After the victory in Gaza, Ptolemy granted Seleucus 1000 foot and 300 horse, with which small body he recovered the possesfion of the province of Babylon, where the lenity of his government rendered him greatly beloved. He immediately raifed a confiderable force, and having defeated Nicanor, governor of Media for Antigonus, he made himself master of Media and

Sufiana.

While Seleucus was extending his conquests in the east, Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, undertook to drive Demetrius out of upper Syria; but he allowed himself to be surprized by Demetrius, who forced his camp, and took him and 7000 men prifoners. Demetrius now rejoiced at having an opportunity of returning the civility formerly shewn him by Ptolemy, and fent back Cilles and all his friends, with all the baggage he had taken. and magnificent prefents.

Antigonus foon after this victory joining his fon, Ptolemy, who

Antigonus recovers the provinces he had loft.

was discouraged by his late loss, demolished most of the fortified cities in those parts, and retired into Egypt with an immense load of spoil, and a vast number of people, who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Antigonus, having thus without a stroke recovered Syria and Phanicia, sent Athenaus, one of his generals, with 4000 foot and 600 horse against the Nabathaan Athenœus, after a most expeditious march, surprised the capital city of the Arabs, fituated in the wilderness on a His unfuc-rock almost impregnable. As all the fighting men were then cessful ex-absent at a mart or fair, he easily made himself master of the place, in which he ftaid only three hours, marching off with against the an immense booty. His troops, who were excessively fatigued, halted when they were about twenty miles diftant from the city, where they were in their turn furprifed by the Arabs, and all cut to pieces except 60 horsemen, who fled in the beginning of the attack. They also complained to Antigonus of the injury done them: he declared that Athenœus deserved his fate, as he had acted without his commission; but soon after he sent Demetrius against them with 4000 horse, and as many light armed

> foot. The Arabs, who had expected a fecond invasion, drove off all their cattle, and put a strong garrison into Petra; so that

> Demetrius, finding it impracticable to form the place, offered

to retire, if they would fend deputies to appeale his father, and

give presents to himself, and refreshments to his army, which terms they readily complied with. Antigonus was not quite fa-

tisfied with this accommodation; but he was pleased that De-

great many men for this purpose; but 6000 Arabs came suddenly upon them, cut most of them in pieces, and carried off

the bitumen which they had for fome time been collecting.

pedition Arabs.

> metrius, on his return, had discovered the manner of gathering ve P bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, as he hoped to raise a great recit yenue by collecting it, and the rich balm in that neighbourhood, of known by the name of the balm of Gilead. He employed a

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Antigonus, in the mean time, being informed of the success of Demetrius Seleucus in the east, sent his son Demetrius with an army of sent 15,000 foot and 4000 horse against him. Seleucus being then against absent in Media, Patroclus, whom he had left president of Ba- Seleucus. hilm, upon the approach of Demetrius, abandoned the city, which he was not able to defend, and also obliged the greatest part of the citizens to retire to the marshes and defarts. Demetrius besieged both the castles, and quickly reduced one of them, in which, according to Plutarch, he left a garrison of 7000 men. Being obliged foon after to return to his father, he left 6000 men, according to Diodorus, to befiege the other caftle, and returned with the rest, plundering the province of Babylon, through which he marched, whereby the hearts of the people were estranged from his father, and attached to Seleucus, who, upon his return, found no difficulty of driving out the troops left by Demetrius. In this account, the 7000 men, mentioned by Plutarch, and the 6000, spoken of by Diodorus, seem to have been the same body of troops, as each of them say, that Demetrius returned with the rest of his troops.

Demetrius, upon his return from Babylon, marched to the relief of Halicarnassus, which was besieged by Ptolemy, and obliged This event was succeeded by a peace between A treaty him to retire. the confederate princes and Antigonus, by which it was stipu-betwixt lated, that Cassander should have the management of the Mace- the condonian affairs, till Alexander, the fon of Roxana, was of age to federate reign; Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt, with all princes its dependancies; and Antigonus all Asia, with a proviso that the and Anti-Grecian cities should every where be free. This treaty was gonus. hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hostilities were renewed. The Macedonians, in the mean Roxana time, feeming inclined to trust the young prince Alexander, and her who was now fourteen years of age, with the management of fon put to affairs, Cassander caused him and his mother to be put to death death by in the castle of Amphipolis, where they were confined. Ptolemy, Cassander. after hostilities were renewed, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia; which, however, were foon retaken by Demetrius. To obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, The war Ptolemy reduced the greatest part of the island of Cyprus, con-renewed. quered fome places in *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and failing to the Aigean sea, made himself master of the isle of Andros, Sicyon, Corinth, and fome other cities. During his continuance in those parts, he entered into a correspondence with Cleopatra, the fifter of Alexander, who then relided at Sardis. As the was piqued at Antigonus, who for some time had treated her with very little respect, she left Sardis with the intention of going to Ptolemy; but she was brought back by the governor of that city, who, by order of Antigonus, put her to death by the help

Demetrius, a few months after, sailed with a powerful fleet to Athens, with the design, as he pretended, of setting all the Gresian cities free, but in reality to lessen the power of Cassander.

The

Ptolemy at fea. Antigonus trius affume the title of king.

Demetrius The Athenians, as we have formerly mentioned, received him with great joy. Having driven out the garrison of Cassander fignal vic- from Megara, his foldiers plundered the place. Demetrius, as tory over he was leaving Megara, faid to the philosopher Stilpo, Well. Stilpo, I leave your city perfectly free. True, faid he, for you have not left us one flave in it. Antigonus recalled his fon from Bef. Chr. Greece to reduce Cyprus, the conquest of which island he succefsfully accomplished, having gained a great naval victory over Ptolemy *. On this remarkable fuccess, Antigonus at last and Deme- threw off the mask and assumed the title of king, sending a crown also to his son Demetrius, with a letter of congratulation thus addressed, To the excellent majesty of king Demetrius, As foon as this was known in Egypt, the people, to shew their love for Ptolemy, compelled him to accept of the fame title; upon which Lysimachus and Seleucus also assumed it, and Cassarder suffered it likewise to be given him. With the assumption of the regal title, Plutarch tells us, their manners and difpofitions were altered. They became imperious and overbearing in their intercourse with others, as if this appellation had exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

The expedition of Antigonus against Egypt.

Antigonus, to improve the victory his fon had obtained in Cyprus (B), marched against Ptolemy at the head of a powerful army, which confifted of 80,000 foot, 8000 horse, and 83 elephants; while Demetrius coasted along the shore with a fleet of 150 gallies, and 100 ships of burden. Demetrius, contrary to the advice of the pilots, refusing to wait feven days till the fetting of the pleiades, lost part of his fleet in a storm on the coast of Egypt, which greatly shattered almost all his ships. The land army having provided ten days provisions, marched from Gaza thro' the defart; but before they arrived at Egypt, fuffered very confiderably. Ptolemy having, with great care, guarded the mouths and banks of the Nile, Demetrius found it impossible to enter the river, and the land forces durst not attempt to pass. Many of the troops, in the mean time, deferting to Ptolemy, Antigonus was quickly convinced that it would be for his interest to be gone, and accordingly retreated with his army to Syria, his fleet accompanying him along the shore.

* See the history of Cyprus.

(B) He was the fon of a Macedonian nobleman named Philip. He married Stratonice the daughter of Correus, by whom he had two fons Demetrius and Philip, the last of whom died foon after his father assumed the royal title. The' in private matters he was

strictly just, yet to gratify his ambition, he committed a multitude of unjust and bad actions. His greatest happiness was the manner in which he lived in his family, where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him.

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Antigonus being now almost 80 years old, committed the care of military affairs to his fon, who, to restore the credit of his arms, undertook an expedition against the Rhodians, because they had favoured Ptolemy. The Rhodians, as we have elfewhere related, defended themselves so vigorously, that after he had carried on the fiege twelve months, he was fain to conclude a peace with them, on pretence of being called to defend the liberties of the Greeks. The Rhodians agreeing to ferve Antigonus against all his enemies, excepting Ptolemy, Demetrius failed from thence with a fleet to Attica, and obliging Caffander Demetrius to raise the siege of that city, defeated him at Thermopylae. obliges Having taken into his army 6000 Macedonians, who came over to Caffander him, he freed all the Grecians within Thermopylae, and restored to aban-Phyle and Panactus, which were the bulwarks of Attica, to the don At-Athenians, who now lavished upon him the most servile flattery. tica. Demetrius, upon his return to Athens, indulged himself is the most licentious excesses. He polluted the temple of Minerva, His prowhom he stiled his elder fister, with the most abominable im-sligacy. purities, and wholly abandoned himself for some time to intemperance and debauchery. Marching afterwards into the Pelebonnese, he set Argos, Licyon, and Corinth at liberty, and was proclaimed generalissimo of Greece, by the Grecian states assembled at the Isthmus. He now thought himself superior to Philip or Alexander, and affumed the title of King of Kings, his flatterers drinking the healths of Seleucus, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, as the great officers of his houshold.

Demetrius seeming to carry every thing before him in Greece, A new Cassander made offers of peace to Antigonus, who proudly in-confedentied that he should submit himself and his dominions to his racy apleasure. Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus immediately renew-gainst Aneed the alliance with Cassander, and Lysimachus having obtained a tigonus.

reinforcement of troops from Cassander, passed over into Asia, where he quickly reduced Sardis, Ephefus, and a great many other places. Antigonus, who was then celebrating shews and gymnic sports at his new city of Antigonia, hearing of the succels of Lysimachus, began immediately to draw together his forces, boasting in an arrogant manner, That he would scatter the confederates as easily as boys disperse a flock of birds by throwing a flone among them. When he approached Lysimachus, that general, who was obliged to abandon feveral places to gain time, proposed an accommodation; which was rejected by Antigonus. Both parties, during the winter, continued their preparations; and Antigonus being informed that Seleucus was on his march to join Lysimachus, sent to Demetrius, desiring him to come and join him. Demetrius resolved immediately to obey his father; and prevailing with Cassander to agree to a peace, on condition that the articles should be ratified by Antigonus, he let fail for Afia, and having recovered Ephefus, marched strait to join his father. Ptolemy, in the mean time, made an irruption into Phænicia and Cælo-Syria, and reduced those countries, excepting only the cities of Tyre and Sidon. But upon a false report that Antigonus had defeated Lysimachus and Seleucus, he railed

A GENERAL HISTORY

raised the siege of Sidon and retired to Egypt, leaving garrisons

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in the cities he had conquered.

Antigonus defeated and flain at Ipsus. Bef. Ch. 301.

About this time the two grand armies in Phrygia were ready to engage. That of Antigonus confifted of 70,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 75 elephants. Seleucus and Lysimachus had 64,000 foot, 10,500 horse, 400 elephants, and 120 armed chariots. The army of Antigonus was entirely defeated, and he himself flain. Demetrius, with the poor remains of the army, which were only 5000 foot and 400 horse, escaped from Ipsus, in the neighbourhood of which city the battle was fought, to Ephefus, from whence he failed to Athens; but the Athenians, in a most ungrateful manner, would not admit him into their city, tho' they fent out to him his ships. After visiting the Peloponnele, he failed to the Chersonese, where he committed great devasta-tions in the territories of Lysimachus, by which means he enriched his foldiers, and encreased the number of them.

His dominions divided among the confederates.

Seleucus marries the daughter of Demetrius,

es on Cilicia,

The confederates, in the mean time, had made a partition of the dominions of Antigonus among themselves. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelosyria, and Palestine; Cassander had Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus; and Seleucus, all the rest of Asia as far as the Indus. Seleucus continuing some time on the coast of Syria, and hearing wonderful things of the beauty of Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius, demanded her in marriage from her father; who joyfully agreed to the proposal, and conducted her in person to Syria. As he put on shore in Cilicia for refreshment, Plistarchus, the governor of that province, went to his brother Cassander to complain of Seleucus for having made an accommodation with him. Demetrius being informed of this, marched up to Quinda, where he feized 1200 talents left there by his father; and returning to his fleet, joined Seleucus at Rossus, where the marwho feiz- riage was celebrated. Upon his return, Demetrius feized Cilicia, and by the interpolition of Seleucus, married Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy, who being reconciled to him, gave him the island of Cyprus and the cities of Tyre and Sidon. Seleucus, unfatisfied with his large dominions, offered him a large fum of money for Cilicia; and upon his refusing to exchange, threatned to take Tyre and Sidon from him by force. Demetrius having strengthened the garrifons of those cities, failed with a powerful fleet against Athens. The greatest part of his ships being destroyed by a storm, he was able at first to effect nothing; but when he had received a reinforcement of ships, he took several towns in the Peloponnese, and after an obstinate and redu- fiege reduced Athens, when he generously pardoned the Atheces Athens, nians. He afterwards gained two victories over Archidamas king of Sparta; one at Mantinea, and the other before Sparta: but when it was thought that the city must fall into his hands, news arrived that Lysimachus had made himself master of all his possessions in Asia, and that Ptolemy had conquered all Cyprus, except Salamis, which was then closely befieged. These dread-

ful tidings obliged him to quit Lacedamon; but his hopes were

again quickly revived by new and great adventures.

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Philip, the eldest fon of Cassander, dying a few months after his father, his two brothers, Antipater and Alexander, contended for the government. Alexander called in the affiftance of Demetrius, and Pyrrhus king of Epire; which last quickly appeared, and obliged Antipater to make a partition with his brother; but kept several cities in Macedonia, which he had reduced, as a compensation for his services. The younger brother thinking that Demetrius would act in the same manner, met him on the confines of Macedonia, and affured him, with great civility, that he had now no need of his affiftance. metrius, however, being informed that Alexander intended to murder him at an entertainment, anticipated his design, and caused him and his friends to be assassinated; one of them, as he was dying, calling out, You have been too quick for us by a day.

Having justified his proceeding in a harangue to the Macedo- Demetrius nian army, they, who expected to have been attacked by him, becomes proclaimed him king, from their detestation of Antipater, who king of in the late dispute had killed his own mother, because she fa- Macedovoured his brother Alexander. Demetrius now faw himself in nia. possession of a kingdom by the free consent of the people, who Bef. Ch. were not a little influenced in their choice, in confideration of Antigonus his fon, by the daughter of Antipater the elder. After Demetrius had reigned fix years in Macedon, he formed a defign of recovering all his father's dominions in Asia. With this in- He makes tention he raised an army of 98,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and preparaput upon the stocks 500 gallies, some at Pella, others at Chal- tions for cis, Corinth, and Athens. Several of these gallies had 14, 15, recoverand 16 benches of oars, being built by the particular direction ing his of Demetrius himself, and were no less wonderful for their size Afiatic

than for the speed and agility of their motion. Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, alarmed by these prepara- ons.

tions, renewed their antient alliance; and prevailing with Pyrrhus king of Epire to enter into their confederacy, Demetrius found himself assaulted on all sides, before he had compleated his preparations. While Lysimachus entered Macedonia from Thrace, Pyrrhus invaded the western ports of the kingdom, and Ptolemy arriving with a powerful fleet, all Greece revolted from him. Demetrius leaving his fon to take care of Greece, marched against Lysimachus; but finding his troops inclined to desert to him, upon the news that Pyrrhus had taken Beraa, he thought it more prudent to lead them against Pyrrbus, to whom, however, they deferted in great numbers; so that Demetries, to

fave himself, was obliged to retire in disguise, the Macedoni- He is ans, after his departure, dividing the kingdom betwixt Pyrrhus obliged to and Lysimachus. The vanity, luxury, and pride of Demetrius, abandon had rendered him quite odious to the Macedonians, who, on Macedon. the contrary, were charmed with the warlike genius and the

affability of Pyrabus.

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Passes over into Asia.

Demetrius fled first to Cassandria, on the borders of Thrace, where his wife Phila in defpair poisoned herself. From thence he went into Greece, where feveral cities still continued devoted to him; and there raifing an army of 11,000 men, befides a few horse, he transported them to Asia, to attempt the recovery of Caria and Lydia. Having taken Sardis by force, he there married Ptolemaida, who had joined him upon his arrival at Miletus. Part of the forces of Lysimachus revolting to him, and bringing with them a great fum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. Agathocles, the ion of Lysimachus, however, coming against him with a great army, and cutting off all his supplies, obliged him to retire into Phrygia, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a starving condition. He intended to proceed to Armenia and Media, which he hoped to conquer; but losing a great many men in passing the Lycus, and the plague breaking out in his army, he retired to Tarfus in Cilicia, after losing in all 8000 men. From thence he wrote a long and moving letter to Seleucus, earnestly entreating him to have compassion on a man who was his relation, and whose sufferings might claim pity even from his enemies. Seleucus wrote to the commander of his forces in those parts, to furnish Demetrius with all the accommodations that were fuitable to his rank, and to supply his foldiers plentifully with provisions. Afterwards, however, at the persuasion of one of his friends, he marched towards Cilicia with an army to watch the defigns of Demetrius, whose enterprizing genius was dreaded even when he was furrounded by misfortunes. Demetrius, upon his approach, retired to mount Taurus; and Seleucus requiring hostages from him before he would allow him to reside there during two months of winter, Demetrius, rather than comply with that condition, chose to defend himself by arms. He had the advantage in many skirmishes, which encouraged him to think of hazarding a decifive engagement. In the mean time, being feized with a fever, which confined him for 40 days, great part of his foldiers looking upon his affairs as desperate, for look him before he recovered. With the remains of his troops he foon after attempted to furprise Seleucus in his camp; but not fucceeding, he was next day forced to an engagement, when Seleucus perfuaded his troops to throw down their arms and submit to him. Demetrius retired with a few followers into a thick wood; but the whole country being polfessed by the enemy, he found it impossible to escape, and surrendered to Seleucus. The conqueror immediately ordered a royal tent to be erected, and all necessary preparations made for giving Demetrius a magnificent reception; faying, It is not the good fortune of Demetrius that preserves him, but mine, which affords me this occasion of sherving my humanity and generosity. The courtiers, now expecting that Demetrius would be in high favour with Seleucus, ran to present themselves to him, and strove who should be the first to do him honour; which gave an opportunity to those who hated Demetrius to awaken the jealouly

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loufy of Seleucus, who began to be perfuaded that some dangerous commotion might be raifed in the army by his presence. He therefore fent an officer, with 1000 horse, to the village Is obliged where he arrived, and caused him to be conducted as a prisoner to surrento a peninfula on the coast of Syria, where he was allowed a der himliberal allowance both of money and provisions, being permit- felf a prited also to exercise and divert himself in spacious parks abound- foner to ing with game. Demetrius was no fooner a prisoner, than he Seleucus. wrote to his fon Antigonus, and to his officers and friends in Greece, defiring them, from that time, to give no credit to his hand-writing or his feal, but to confider him as already dead; exhorting Antigonus never to part with those cities that still remained in his hands. Antigonus in vain offered to deliver up all his father's remaining dominions, and to give up himfelf as a hostage to obtain his liberty. Demetrius soon reconciled himfelf to his lot, by diverting himfelf with riding and hunting, and might have been more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilft hurried over lands and feas by the phrenzy of ambition; but after some time he grew indolent, and gave himself up to drinking and gaming, in which amusements he spent the greatest part of his time. When he had His death. continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was Bef. Chr. feized with a fevere distemper, occasioned by his inactivity and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of 54 years. His fon Antigonus, who had often, in the most earnest manner, folicited his liberty, and wore mourning during the whole time of his captivity, celebrated his funeral with the greatest magnificence. He went with his whole fleet to meet the ship that brought the golden urn, and taking it on board the royal galley, failed in grand procession to Corinth. The urn was deposited in Demetrias, a city built by the late king, and peopled by the inhabitants of feveral small towns about lolcus. Demetrius, besides his many concubines, had four wives at the fame time. His first wife was Phila the daughter of Antipater, by whom he had Antigonus, who succeeded him in Macedon, and Stratonice, married to Seleucus, and afterwards to his fon. His fecond wife was Eurydice, an Athenian, faid to be descended from Miltiades. He next married Deidamia, the fifter of Pyrrhus king of Epire, by whom he had a fon named Alexander, who passed his life in Egypt. By Ptolemaida, his fourth wife, he had a fon named Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene. He had also a son of the same name by an Illyrian concubine *.

^{*} Plut. in Demetr. & Pyrrh. Diod. Sic. Justin, I. xvi. Corn. Nep. de regib.

CHAP. II.

The history of the kingdom of MACEDON, from the death of ALEXANDER the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans.

of Mace-

ALEXANDER, a short time before his death, had sent Craterus to take the government of Macedonia, ordering don at the Antipater to join him with a fresh army at Babylon, death of where it is supposed he would have been disgraced, if not put Alexander. to death, on account of the many complaints made against

The death of Alexander prevented this regulation from taking place, and Antipater continued in possession of the go-The cha- vernment of Macedonia. He was a person noble by birth, of racter of great natural abilities; but chiefly diffinguished for his mode. Antipater, ration and virtue. He was the friend and scholar of Aristotle, was learned, and a lover of learning. Philip of Macedon made choice of him for his chief minister; and Alexander entrusted him not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, but also with the custody of Greece. During the absence of Alexander, he had many quarrels with Olympias, who was a highspirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs; and by stiffy refusing to gratify her, he exposed himself to her refentment, and to the hatred of all her party, who doubtless endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to calumniate him. From the best historians, Arrian says, it appears that Alexander did not discover the least dislike to him; tho' after that prince hearkned to his flatterers, the most faithful ministers were not fure of his favour. Antipater feems to have been fensible of this; for when he heard of the death of Parmenio, he is recorded to have said, If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, whom can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do ?? Tho' Antipater governed the Greeks under Alexander with

The gin the Lamian war. Bef. Ch.

302.

Greeks be- great gentleness, yet he was exceedingly hated by them, because he obliged them to be quiet. Alexander, after his return to Babylon, having caused an edict to be published at the Olympic games, ordering the Grecian exiles to be reftored, the Greeks looked upon this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty, and immediately prepared for war. The news of his death foon after arriving in Greece, the popular party in Athens spirited up the other states to enter into a consederacy for the recovery of their liberty; and accordingly an army was quickly raised, which, under the command of Leosthenes, marched to the confines of Thessaly. Antipater having sent to Philetas in Phrygia, and Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit their assistance,

Antipater marches against them.

* Arrian. l. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. reg.

marched against the Greeks with 13,000 foot and 600 horse,

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there being great scracity of troops then in Macedon, on account of the vast numbers drawn from thence by Alexander. Having ventured an engagement with Leosthenes, he was entirely defeated, and retired to Lamia, fortifying that city, in hopes of being relieved by the fuccours from Asia. Leonatus quickly arrived from thence, and marching thro' Macedonia, there reinforced his troops, which amounted in the whole to about 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse. The confederates hearing of his approach, raifed the fiege of Lamia, and marched against Leonatus, whom they defeated, he himself being among the number of the slain. Antipater, the day after, joining the remains of the army of Leonatus, marched off towards Macedon by fuch hilly roads, as prevented the Thessalian cavalry from galling him in his retreat. In the mean time Clytus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, gained two victories over the Athenians. Antipater was joined at the river Peneus by a new reinforcement of veteran troops from Asia, lel by Craterus, who refigned the command to him. His army now amounting to 40,000 foot, 3000 archers, and 5000 horse, he attacked and defeated the confederates, whose army confifted only of 25,000 foot and 3300 horse. After this defeat, the confederates offered to treat of peace; but Antipater infifting that each city should treat separately, this was rejected by the Greeks, who, however, made no efforts to reinforce their army. On the contrary, when he took feveral cities in Theffally, the inhabitants of which he punished with great severity, they all, except the Athenians and the Ætolians, made peace on the best terms they could.

Antipater marched against Athens, which being in no condi- The contion to oppose him, was obliged to surrender at discretion, clusion of peace being then granted them on very disadvantageous terms, the war. In consequence of this treaty, the popular government in Athens was abrogated, and only fuch permitted to be concerned in the administration as had competent estates; upon which 22,000 of the turbulent and factious citizens, who had no fortunes, went and fettled in Theffaly, estates being offered to them in that country. Antipater obliged the rest of the Athenians to return to Solon's model of government, and in short compelled them, much against their will, to be rich and quiet. With the same equity and moderation he settled the rest of the Grecian flates, who by degrees became fatisfied with the new establishments, and at last honoured him as the father and protector of

Greece.

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On his return to Macedon, he and Craterus, who there mar- Antipater ried his daughter Phila, turned their arms against the Ætolians, and Craand reduced them, in the winter, to great straits. Antigonus, terus pass in the mean time, arriving from Ajia, and reprefenting to over into them the ambitious defigns of Perdiccas, they granted a peace Afia. to the Ætolians, and concluded a league with Ptolemy against Perdiccas. Antipater and Craterus leaving the care of Macedon and Greece to Polysperchon, transported an army into Asia the VOL. III. following

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following spring, Craterus marching against Eumenes, and Antipater proceeding into Cilicia, to be ready to affift Ptolemy against Perdiccas. Craterus, soon after, was defeated and slain by Eumenes; but this loss did not greatly affect the interests of Antipater; for Perdiccas being slain in Egypt, and the two kings returning with the army to Syria, he was fent for thither, and Antipater declared their protector in the room of Pibhon and Aridaus, made pro-Having made a new partition of the empire, as we have altector of ready mentioned, and left his fon Cassander to be a check upon the kings. Antigonus, he returned to Macedonia with the kings, the army

being perfectly well fatisfied with his conduct.

During his absence in Asia, the Ætolians, in violation of the peace, committed great depredations in Theffaly, and defeated and flew Polycles, the governor of that country. Part of their forces, however, being obliged to march against the Acarnanians, who had entered their country, Polysperchon surprised and cut to pieces those who were left in Thessaly; by which blow the power of the Ætolians was entirely broken, and the peace of Macedon restored. Antipater returning with the kings to Macedon, foon after was attacked by an indisposition, which Antipater proved fatal to him. As he was 80 years of age, and found himself drawing towards his end, he bestowed the regency of the regen- the kingdom, and the guardianship of the kings, upon Polysbercy on Po- chon, generously fetting aside his own fon Cassander, who was hyperchon, very desirous of those offices, but was only appointed chiliand dies. arch, or commander of 1000 men; a command, however, much more considerable than its name imports. Antipater, before his death, at the request of Phocion, granted the Athenians a farther day for the payment of their subsidies, but refused to withdraw the garrison from Athens, which was solicited by the orator Demades. Cassander having found a letter of that orator, in which he folicited Perdiccas to make haste into Greece, flew both him and his fon with his own hand, before his father's death, according to some authors, tho' others fay, immediately after his father expired.

Not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, he endeavoured to form a party against the new regent, who was a man of indifferent parts, far from being honest, steady, and wise; and yet a great pretender to probity, conduct of fortitude, and policy. Polysperchon and his council being senfible that they had a powerful faction to struggle with, recalled Olympias from Epire, offering to put the son of Roxana under her care, hoping that the majesty of the mother of Alexander would add a luftre to their administration. Olympias, however, who knew not what might befall her in Macedon, made no great hafte thither, but took time to confult with her friends. She nevertheless communicated her thoughts upon all occasions to Polysperchon, and so held immediately a considerable share in

the administration.

Cassander, under pretence of hunting, retired to the country with several of his friends; and having prevailed with them to favour

The unfleady Polysperchon.

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favour his scheme of assuming the administration, he solicited Theviews the assistance of Ptolemy, who promised to send him succours. of Cassan-He then privately left Macedonia, and went to Antigonus in der. Affa, who also made large promises of affistance, both he and Ptolemy being defirous to fee the Macedonians engaged in a civil war, that Polysperchon might not have leifure to check their

ambitious deligns. Polysperchon, seeing that he should be inevitably engaged in a war with Cassander, who would not only be supported by Antioonus and Ptolemy, but also by many of the Greek cities, some of which were garrisoned with his father's forces, and others governed by an oligarchy, influenced chiefly by his friends and favourites, affembled a council, in which it was resolved to refore the popular government in all the Greek cities, and decrees for that purpose were dispatched to each of them. These, however, not being supported by a sufficient force, the Greeks, who were in possession of the administration in their respective flates, paid little regard to them. Alexander the fon of Polyfperchon, entered Attica at the head of an army, with the defign, as it was believed, of compelling Nicanor to evacuate the citadels of Athens. He, however, entered into a treaty with him; and wanted him to deliver up the fortresses to his father, who had arrived at Phocis with another army. The Athenians, exasperated against Nicanor, who refused to deliver up their forts, turned their rage against their own citizens, who they suspected The accused persons sled to the camp of to be of his party. Alexander for protection; but many of the Athenians repairing to Polysperchon, and accusing their citizens who had fled to his fon of betraying the commonwealth, and holding a treasonable correspondence with Nicanor, Polysperchon alleging that the Athenians were now a free people, delivered them up to be tried by the laws of the republic. They were accordingly conducted to Athens, and without being allowed to justify themselves, were put to death.

Nicanor still held the fortresses of Munichia and Piraus, and Cassander Cassander soon after arriving from Asia with 35 gallies and 4000 prevails in men, were admitted by him into the Piraus. Polysperchon, Greece. upon this news, advanced to Athens with his army to befiege Bef. Christ Cassander in the Piraus; but being quickly distressed for want of provisions, he left as many troops as could be supported in littica under his fon Alexander, to block up Cassander, and marched with the rest of his army into the Peloponnese, to punish the Megalopolitans, who had despised his edict, and retained their old form of government. Polysperchon, upon entering the Peloponnese, caused those who had acted as magistrates under the establishment of Antipater, to be put to death, punishing all of that party with the greatest severity, and filling many cities with tumult and flaughter. He attempted the fiege of Megalopolis, but after some time was obliged to retire with great loss, leaving, however, part of his army to block up the city. Clytus, his admiral, in the mean time, gained a fignal victory

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over the united fleets of Antigonus and Cassander near Byzand tium, finking 17 and taking 40 of the enemy's ships. Being too confident after this victory, he allowed his troops to leave their vessels, and to encamp on the shore, where they were foon after surprised by a body of Antigonus's troops, which he had fent over the channel in transport vessels belonging to the Byzantines. Clytus fled with the greatest precipitation to his Thips; but about break of day was totally routed by Nicanor, and endeavouring to escape thro' Thrace to Macedon, was killed by the foldiers of Lysimachus. Polysperchon, finding that upon his misfortune before Megalopolis many of the Greek cities had declared for Caffander, thought it safest to return to Macedon. The Athenians, in the mean time, finding that they could not get quit of the garrison, were prevailed upon to come to an accommodation with Caffander, who in consequence of the treaty, agreed to allow the Athenians to enjoy their liberties, but appointed as their protector, or rather governor, Demetrius the Phalerean, under whose mild and prudent administration, the citizens received greater advantages than even in the days of their greatest freedom. Soon after the accommodation betwixt Cassander and the Athenians, Nicanor returned in triumph to the Piraus, and was greatly honoured for the important service he had performed. Cassander, however, suspecting that he intended to revolt, as he behaved with great haughtiness, and still held Munichia with his own soldiers, surprized him, and put him to death.

Olympias returns to Macedon.

Olympias, about this time, prepared to return to Macedon, contrary to the inclination of Philip and his wife Eurydice, who even raised an army to oppose her, and sent an express to Casfander to folicit his affistance. Eurydice was grand-daughter of Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, who had been put to death by Olympias; and Philip, it was reported, had received a stupisying draught, when an infant, by her order; fo that both of them had just cause to be apprehensive of her. Polysperchon, however, very abfurdly thought to join them in the administration; but by this attempt, as well as by his unfeafonable decree concerning the Greeks, and unsteady conduct, he only embarrassed the affairs of the kings, and contributed to ruin their cause. He conducted Olympias with an army into Macedon, when a bloody contest was expected to ensue betwixt the two parties; but the troops under Eurydice being struck with awe upon the appearance of Olympias, went over to her, and prevented a battle. Olympias had it now in her power to have settled all things, if she had acted with mildness according to the advice of Eumenes. She, however, thought proper rather to indulge her refentment and revenge. She imprisoned king Philip and his wife in a room fo fmall, that they could fcarce turn themfelves in it. She put to death Nicanor the fon of Antipater, and with him no less than 100 persons his relations and friends, and caused the tomb of his brother Iollas to be broken open, and his remains to be thrown into the public street. Perceiving

Her barbarous cruelty. that the Macedonians began to pity Philip and Eurydice, she caused some Thracian assassins to put him to death, and sent a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison to Eurydice; who praying that Olympias might have the like present made to her, strangled

herself with her own garters.

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Cassander no sooner heard of the proceeding of Olympias in Cassander Macedon, than he left his confederates in Greece, to oppose returns to Alexander the fon of Polysperchon, and began his march for Ma- Macedon. edon. Finding that the Ætolians, to ingratiate themselves with Olympias and Polysperchon, had seized the straits of Thermopyla, he transported his troops in ships and boats to Thessaly, and sending part of them against Polysperchon, with the rest invested Pydna, where Olympias had shut herself up with Roxana, her grandson Alexander, her niece Deidamia, Thessalonica the sister of Alexander, and many other persons of great quality. belieged were foon in want of provisions, yet held out with Belieges great obstinacy, Olympias assuring them that her brother Ea-Olympias cides was coming out of Epire with a great army to her af in lydna, This, indeed, was true; but Cassander, who had notice thereof, fent troops to block up the passages from Epirus; so that the Epirots, who had been forced to the expedition, finding themselves involved in difficulties, mutinied in their camp, and part of them being dismissed by their king, upon their return, they prevailed with their countrymen to depose Eacides, and to confederate with Cassander. Polysperchon, instead of being able to succour Olympias, had much ado to defend himself, being deserted by great part of his troops. The belieged in Pydna were at length reduced to such great straits, that many of the foldiers were obliged to feed on their dead companions, and great numbers of them deferting to Cassander, who treated all with lenity that were not concerned in the late murders, Olympias despaired of relief, and surrendered at dis- and oblicretion. Cassander, quickly after, having made himself master ges her to of Pella and Amphipolis, instigated the relations of those whom surrender. Olympias had put to death, to accuse her before the assembly of the Macedonians, where, in her absence, she was condemned to die. He advised her to make her escape to Athens; but the refusing to fly, he fent 200 armed men to put her to death. These, when they came into her presence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of those He can'es the had murdered, fell upon her and cut her throat. She died her to be with great resolution; and 'tis said Cassander suffered her body put to to remain some time above ground, probably to revenge the in-death. jury she had offered to the ashes of his brother. Immediately after her decease, he sent Roxana and her son Alexander to Am-

Cassander next turned his thoughts to the settlement of the Cassander kingdom, and married Thessalonica the daughter of Philip of assumes Macedon. He then caused the bodies of Philip and Eurydice, the gowith that of her mother Cyrane, to be taken up and buried vernment with great pomp in the royal fepulchres at Ægæ. In Pallene in Mace-

phipolis, where they were made prisoners.

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he built a new city, which he peopled from the Cherfonese, and called Caffandria, and added to the place so large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greatest city in Macedo-He also re-edified many cities, and shewed evidently a disposition to restore peace and plenty to his native country, He governed Epire by his lieutenant Lycifcus, and having fettled the peace of Macedon, marched with a fine army into Theffaly, with the resolution of driving Polysperchon from Greece, Having forced the pass of Thermopylæ, which was guarded by the Atolians, he proceeded into Bæotia, where he caused the He causes city of Thebes to be rebuilt. He then passed on to the Pelopon. nese, and the isthmus being guarded by Alexander, who had forbe rebuilt, tified it with a wall, he transported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treachery, reduced most

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of the cities; after which he returned to Macedon.

When he was gone, Alexander and Aristodemus, one of the captains of Antigonus, who had come over from Afia, and raised 8000 men in the Peloponnese for his service, began to attack the cities garrifoned by Caffander, who was fo fuccessful, however, as to prevail with Alexander to defert the party of Antigonus, and to enter into a league with him, upon being made general of all his forces in the Peloponnese. Alexander now turned his arms against those cities that defended their liberty, while Ariftodemus attacked those that were subject to Cassander. The fuccess of each general was various; but Alexander did not long enjoy his new office, being murdered by some Sicyonians who pretended to be his friends. After his death, his wife took the command of the army; and having defeated the Suyonians in a pitched battle, reduced the city, crucifying 30 of the most turbulent citizens. She then assumed the sovereignty, which she managed with great prudence, clemency and justice, being courted and feared by all the contending parties.

Cassander on the Atoman.

Cassander, sensible that the Ætolians favoured Antigonus, and makes war feized every opportunity of diffreffing him, refolved now to turn his arms against them; and entering their territories with a confiderable army, invited the Acarnanians, who were then at war with them, to a conference. The Acarnanians, by his advice, abandoned their villages, and fortified their chief cities Stratopolis, Saurion, and Agrinium. Leaving Lycifcus with a confiderable body of men to affift the Acarnanians, he marched against Apollonia and Epidamnum, on the Adriatic sea; which cities Glaucias king of Illyria had drawn into an alliance with him. He reduced both ciries, and defeated Glaucias, to whom he granted a peace, on condition that he should not make war on any of his confederates. During his absence, the Ætohans befieged Agrinium; and the Acarnanians finding themselves unable to defend the place, furrendered on condition that they should be at liberty to retire wherever they thought fit; but upon their departure, they were most treacherously put to the fword by the Atolians, Caffandet,

Cassander, on his return to Macedonia, fent a body of troops to Caria to affift the confederates, a fleet of 20 gallies, about the same time, failing from Athens, proceeded with that of Seleucus to Lemnos, to compel the Lemnians to abandon Antigonus. The greatest part of the Athenian ships, however, were taken by the admiral of Antigonus; and Eupolemus, who commanded 8000 of the troops fent over to Caria, was furprized by the enemy, and he and his men made prisoners. The following year Cassander sent a powerful army against the Atolians, under the command of Philip, who after succouring the Acarnanians, began to harafs the frontiers of Atolia, Being informed, however, that the Epirots had recalled Eacides, he marched against him, and having defeated his army, fent 50 of the prisoners, who had been concerned in his restoration, to Cassander. He then returned against the Ætolians, who were now reinforced by Eacides, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which Æacides was flain. After this defeat, the Ætolians were so persecuted by Philip, that they were forced to fly for refuge to the mountains, whither he purfued them, till he

was stopped by the severity of the season.

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Antigonus, however, being greatly superior in Asia Minor, Cassander agreed to a peace with him, promising to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and to hold his province from him. He quickly, however, violated this treaty, and renewed the war; which exceedingly provoked Antigonus, who ordered his fleet and army on the Afiatic coast to restore the Greek cities to their liberties. Conferences were again proposed for a fecond accommodation between him and Antigonus; but without effect. Cassander resolved to prosecute the war in Greece, and laid fiege to Oreum in Eubæa, which he took by storm, the fleet of Antigonus making a fruitless effort to recover the place. In the mean time, being informed that Apollonia and Epidamnum had revolted to the Illyrians, and that his general Lycifcus had been defeated by the Epirots, who had choien Alcetas the fon of Arybilus for their king, he speedily marched into Epirus. He concluded a peace with Alcetas, and left him in quiet possession of his kingdom, which, however, he did not long enjoy; for beginning to rule tyrannically, the Epirots murdered him and his children. After the peace with Alcetas, Caffander marched against Apollonia; but his army being defeated before the city, and winter drawing on, he returned to Macedonia. A few months after, a peace was concluded betwixt Antigonus and the confederates, by which Cassander was declared the fovereign of all the territories belonging to Macedon in Europe: but that the Greek cities should be left absolutely free.

The Macedonians, about this time, discoursing openly of Cassander Cassander's usurpation, and alleging that the young Alexander causes ought now to take upon himself the administration, Cassander, Rosana who was refolved to retain his authority, caused Alexander and and her his mother Roxana to be privately put to death. Polyfpher- for to be

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chon, when their death was known, endeavoured to excite the Macedonians to revenge their murder; but Cassander being too powerful, they durst not rebel. To prevent any bad effects from their murmurs, Cassander led them to the affistance of the king of the Peonians against the Autariats, whom he subdued, and transplanted to the number of 20,000 men into the neighbourhood of mount Orbelus. While he was thus employed, Ptolemy, the nephew of Antigonus, who commanded in the Peloponnese, went over with his whole army to Cassander, and received from him the same commission which he had from his uncle. His treason, however, did not remain long unpunished; for endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers of Ptolemy, who soon after arrived on the coast, and entertained him with great civility, he was, by his order, put to death.

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Polysperchon, in the mean time, finding that he could not prevail on the Macedonians to declare against Cassander for murdering Roxana and her fon, proclaimed Hercules, the fon of Alexander by Barfine, king, and by the help of the Ætolians, raised an army of 20,000 men. Cassander marched against him with an army; but fearing left his troops should defert to the new king, who was supported by many Macedonians, he sent an agent to Polysperchon, offering to share the principality with him, and to give him the command of an army in the Pelor ponnese, if he would kill the young prince. Polysperchon basely hearkened to his proposal; and murdering Hercules at an entertainment, was declared co-adjutor by Cassander, who sent him 4000 Macedonian foot and 500 horse: but when he attempted to proceed to the Peloponnese, the Baeotians opposed him; fo that he was forced to take up his winter quarters in Locris.

A treaty between Demetrius and Caf-Sander.

The Greeks, to secure themselves from the formidable power of Cassander, applied for affistance to Antigonus, whose son, Demetrius, arrived soon after at Athens with a powerful fleet, and drove out the Macedonian garrison. Cassander, finding Demetrius vigorously supported by the Greeks, contented himself with garrifoning the cities in his possession, and withdrew his army into Macedon. Demetrius returned in a short time to Asia, to carry on the war against Ptolemy; and after several expeditions came again into Greece about four years after. He furprised and took Sicyon from Ptolemy, and then marched against Corinth, which was garrisoned by Cassander, but was quickly reduced by him. He then returned to Achaia, and having taken several other cities, all the rest submitted to him. Cassander being in no condition to oppose Demetrius, solicited a peace from Antigonus; but he proudly infifting that he must submit to his pleasure, the negotiation was broke off. Soon after Calfander convinced Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, of the abfolute necessity of opposing the power of Antigonus; and an alliance being formed by these four princes against him, Callander fent part of his troops into Asia under the command of Lysimachus, and with the rest marched in person towards Thesfally, to put a frop to the progress of Demetrius. When the two armies approached each other, Demetrius received orders from his father to come and join him in Asia; upon which he concluded a treaty with Cassander, which was to subsist or to he made void, according as it was approved or disapproved by Antigonus. Demetrius evacuating Greece with the greatest part of his forces, Cassander sent a reinforcement of 12,000 men to his confederates in Asia; and notwithstanding the treaty, got pollession of many of the Greek cities, partly by force, and partly

by perfuation and bribes.

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The following fummer, the army of Antigonus being totally defeated, and himself slain by Lysimachus and Seleucus, the confederates divided his dominions among themselves, and Cassander recovered all that he had lately loft. As Demetrius, however, was still at the head of a few thousand men, and had some territories in Greece, Cassander was very apprehensive of his enterprizing disposition, dreading no less the young Pyrrhus, who had been lately raised to the throne of Epire. He was careful to strengthen the frontiers of his own dominions, by re-edifying fuch cities as were fallen to decay, and building new ones where the situation of the place invited. Near Therma he raised the noble city of Thessalonica, so called in honour of his wife, and which afterwards became the most considerable place in Macedon. He likewise endeavoured, by all other means, to fix the love of his subjects to his family; but while he was thus The death employed, he was cut off by a dropfy, after he had held the of Caffangovernment of Macedon 19 years, and had ruled it three years der. with the title of king; which tho' he accepted from others, he Bef. Christ did not take to himself. By Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip of Macedon, he had three fons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. Philip, the eldest of these, succeeded him; but died

Antipater, on the death of Philip, caused himself to be de- Antipater clared king; and because his mother, as he suspected, favoured and Alexthe pretentions of his younger brother Alexander, he, with un- ander heard-of inhumanity, put her to death, tho' she befought him kings of by the breafts that gave him fuck to spare her. He maintained Macedon. himself for some time after this in the possession of the kingdom by the affiftance of Lysimachus, whose daughter he had married; but Alexander perfitting in the competition, invited to his affiltance Demetrius, who was then in Greece, and Pyrrhus king of Epire. Pyrrhus quickly appeared with an army, and conquered all the western coasts of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, as a reward for the service he intended to do him. Antipater, however, to prevent the progress of his arms, came to an agreement with his brother, and Pyrrhus, upon receiving a fum of money, retired. Alexander immediately went to Demetrius, to prevent him from entering Demetrius the kingdom; but having formed a defign to murder him, he causes Alhimself was murdered by his orders. Demetrius having justi- examier to ned himself to the Macedonian army, was by them declared be affassi-

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and is de- king of Macedon, Antipater being obliged to quit the kingdom, where he was univerfally detefted for the murder of his mother. Lysimachus, his father-in-law, did not think proper to engage in a war in his behalf against Demetrius and Pyrrhus; and being offended at his importunities, ordered him to be imprifoned, and foon after to be put to death. Thus the whole race

of Philip and Alexander perished by violent deaths.

Demetrius, from being in very low and desperate circumstances, was now become more potent than Cassander had been; for with the kingdom of Macedon he held Theffaly, the best part of the Peloponnese, and the two great cities of Megara and Athens. Having formed a defign of making himself master of all Greece, he marched against the Bæotians, who agreed to a treaty with him; which they quickly afterwards violated, upon the arrival of an army at Thebes, under Cleonymus the Spartan, The Thebans no sooner saw the dreadful machines of Demetrius. than they thought fit to furrender; but were very gently treated by the conqueror, who only placed garrisons in their towns, and levied a confiderable fum of money upon them. Having appointed Hieronymus of Cardia, the historian, governor of Cardia, he returned to Macedon; and hearing that Lysimachus was taken prisoner by the king of the Getæ, he basely formed the design of conquering Thrace in his absence, and immediately marched thither. As he advanced to the frontiers, however, he was informed that Lysimachus was set at liberty, and that the Bæotians had revolted; upon which he quickly returned; and finding that the Baotians had been already routed by his fon Antigonus, he once more laid fiege to Thebes. He was called off from the fiege to oppose Pyrrhus his brother-inlaw, who had invaded Thessaly; but Pyrrhus retiring upon the news of his approach, he left 10,000 foot and 1000 horse for the fecurity of Thessaly, and returned to the siege, which was very obstinate and bloody. Antigonus, concerned at the great flaughter of his troops, faid one day to his father, Why should we unnecessarily sacrifice so many men? Demetrius angrily replied, And why need you be uneasy at that? are you obliged to distribute any provisions to the dead? His resentment against the Thebans made him expose his own life in the attacks, as well as those of his foldiers; so that one day he received a wound from a javelin, which pierced quite thro' his neck. He nevertheless persisted in the siege, and obliged the Thebans to surrender; but instead of punishing them severely, as they expected, he received them into favour, after executing thirteen of those princepally concerned in the revolt.

Histroops defeated by Pyrrhus.

As he was naturally averse to repose, and perceived that the Macedonians were most quiet in time of war, he next turned his arms against the Ætolians, and after plundering their country, left Pantauchus there with part of the army, and marched with the rest against Pyrrhus, who was at the same time advancing against him. Demetrius passing by Pyrrhus, without knowing of it, entered Epire, which he laid waste; and Pyron the the the tio an D

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thus advancing against Pantauchus, routed him, and took 5000 The consequences of this defeat were very fatal to Demetrius; for the Macedonians were so affected with the personal bravery of Pyrrbus, that they compared him to Alexander the Great; at the same time censuring Demetrius for his vanity, arrogance, and luxury. In his drefs he affected the Persian pomp and effeminacy to an extravagant degree. He fpent his time in reveling with women and parafites, but chiefly difgufted his subjects by being difficult of access, and treating those he admitted to an audience with rudeness and severity. He made the Athenian ambailadors wait two years for an audience; and one day, when he had more graciously than usual, received all the petitions that were offered to him, as foon as he came to the bridge on the river Axius, he opened his robe and threw them all into the water. Demetrius, not long after his irruption into Epire, falling dangerously ill at Pella, Pyrrhus made an incursion into Macedon, and advanced as far as Edesla; but Demetrius, as foon as he was a little recovered, easily repulfed him; after which he made a treaty with him, that he might be at leifure to purfue his ambitious defigns.

He employed himself for some time in making immense preparations for recovering all his father's dominions in Afia; but before he was ready to take the field, Ptolemy invaded Greece, and Lysimachus entered Macedon. Demetrius marched first against Lysmachus; but hearing that Pyrrhus had also invaded Macedon, and taken Beræa, he returned to oppose him, when he was de- Demetrins ferted by his troops, and obliged to fly to Greece. Pyrrbus was obliged to immediately proclaimed king of Macedon by the army; but Ly- abandon simachus advancing at the head of his troops, and claiming half Macedon, of the kingdom, because Demetrius, he said, had been compelled and Pyrto fly by his approach; Pyrrhus, to prevent a war, yielded to rhus de-This partition, however, did not make them clared friends, but each privately intended afterwards to feize the king. whole.

Pyrrhus, as king of Macedon, thought he had a right to all the possessions of Demetrius in Greece. He accordingly marched thither with an army, and was received into Athens; but soon after concluded a peace with Demetrius, who passed over with a small army into Asia, where he was defeated and taken prisoner by Seleucus. Before his defeat, Pyrrhus, in violation of the peace, again attacked his possessions in Greece. Lysmachus, Lysmasoon after, hearing that Demetrius was a prisoner, entered Ma- chus intedon with a powerful army, and dispersing manifestoes thro' vades Mathe kingdom, complaining of the dishonour and injury which cedon, and the Macedonians received by having a foreigner for their king, feizes that railed fuch a spirit of discontent, that Pyrrhus thought proper kingdom. to withdraw his Epirots and auxiliary forces.

Lysimachus had now Macedonia to himself, as well as the pro- Great difvinces he had held fince the division of Alexander's empire; but feefions by his own imprudence, he foon raifed up a formidable enemy, in his fawho deprived him not only of great part of his dominions, but of mily.

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his life. He had married his eldest son Agathocles, a prince of great prudence and humanity, to Lysandra the daughter of Ptolemy by Eurydice, who was accompanied to Egypt by a widow named Berenice. Lysimachus himself married Arsinoe a daughter of Ptolemy by this Berenice, who had fuch interest with Ptolemy, that the procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of those of Eurydice, her former mistres; whereupon Ptolemy Ceraunus, the king's eldest fon, fled to the court of Lysimachus. Arsinoe, in this court, practised the arts of her mother, and filled Lysimachus with such jealousy of his eldest fon, who was beloved by the people and the army, that he caused him to be imprisoned, and then poisoned. Lyfandra immediately fled with her children and her brother Ptolemy to Seleucus; and many of the lords and principal officers of Lysimachus, who detested his barbarity, following them thither, prevailed on Seleucus, tho' he was then 77 years of age, to declare war against Ly/imachus.

Lyfima-

Selencus assumes king of Macedon.

Ftolemy Ceraunus becomes king of Macedon. Bef. Ch. 280.

Seleucus, who had still all the vigour and activity of a young chus slain. man, quickly reduced great part of Lysimachus's dominions in Asia, and totally defeated him at Corupedion in Phrygia, where Lysimachus was slain in the 74th year of his age. Seleucus re-folving to take possession of Macedon, passed the Hellespont, and advanced as far as Lysimachia, in the neighbourhood of which the title of city he was basely assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had generously relieved, and whom he intended to restore by force to his father's throne. He enjoyed the title of king of Macedon only feven months.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, after this execrable deed, put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of Macedon; and making great promifes to every one, the army and people accepted him as king. He was threatned at the fame time with three enemies; namely, Antiochus the son of Seleucus, Antigonus the fon of Demetrius, who claimed the kingdom of Macedon as his hereditary right, and Pyrrhus king of Epire, who infifted on some compensation for the loss of the kingdom. Having routed Antigonus, who attempted by force to drive him from the throne, he pacified Antiochus by fair words. To Pyrrhus he lent 5000 foot, 4000 horse, and 50 elephants for two years; whereupon Pyrrhus married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his absence, as he intended an expedition into Italy. The new king of Macedon thought himself now so firmly established on the throne, that he wrote to his brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, telling him that he acquiesced in his father's disposition of his paternal kingdom. Arsinoe, his half-sifter, who had been the cause of his flight to Seleucus, being still in possession of the rich city of Cassandria, Ptolemy, by promising to marry her according to the Egyptian custom, prevailed with her, after much entreaty, to hearken to his addresses. Accordingly the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence; but Ptolemy had no fooner entered Cassandria, than he caused the two sons of Arsinoe to be flain, and herself to be dragged out of the city,

and to be banished to Samothrace.

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Ptolemy now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed on the Macedonian throne; but he had not enjoyed it above a year, before his kingdom was invaded by the Gauls, who, with three different armies, broke into Pannonia, Thrace, and Macedon. Belgius, the commander of those who entered Macedon, offered peace to Ptolemy, if he would purchase it; but he treated the message with disdain, and even resused a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which were offered to him by the Dardanians, a neighbouring people, being consident of victory with the Macedonians alone. He soon after attacked the barbarians; but after an obstinate engagement, his army was entirely routed, and he himself, being much wounded, was taken pri-He is slain

foner, when the Gauls cut off his head, which in derifion they by the carried about on the top of a lance. Such was the end of this Gauls.

wicked man, after he had reigned eighteen months.

The Macedonians, who were in great consternation, created Meleager Meleager, the brother of Ptolemy, king; but finding him un- and Autiqualified for reigning, they deposed him, and conferred the pater crown on Antipater, the grandson of Antipater the elder by his made After reigning forty days he was also deposed; but kings. fon Philip. the Gauls in the mean time committing great devastations in the country, Sosthenes, a young nobleman of great merit, raised a Sosthenes body of troops, with whom he gained feveral advantages over defeats the the Gauls, and obliged them at length to quit the country. He Gauls, but refused the regal title, which was offered him, but governed refuses the with great prudence as general for two years, at the end of crown. which time Macedon was again invaded by Brennus the Gaul, whose army consisted of 140,000 foot and 10,000 horse, besides an innumerable train of retainers. The Gauls, having overpowered Sosthenes, ravaged all the kingdom of Macedonia, and receiving great numbers of recruits from Gaul and Illyria, they poured down into Greece, where they were almost wholly cut off.

After the destruction of the Gauls, Softhenes being dead, An- Antiochus, trochus, the son of Seleucus, and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, the son of renewed their pretensions to the throne of Macedon. Antigonus, Demetrius, who, from the place of his birth, was furnamed Gonatus, and king of had reigned ten years in the Peloponnese, came with a great Macedon. fleet and army, and took possession of the kingdom, while An-Bef. Ch. tiochus threatned to transport a powerful army into Europe, to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having make good his claim. espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, initead of passing the Hellespont, invaded Bithynia with a powerful army. After the two armies had for some time observed each other, all differences were adjusted by a treaty, Antigonus marrying Phila the daughter of Seleucus by Stratonice, and Antiochus, on account of the marriage, refigning his right to the kingdom of Macedon. Antigonus now applied himself to the restoring of the towns and villages, which had been ruined by the Gauls; but while he was thus employed, another body of

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over the Gauls.

He gains a Gauls threatned a third invasion: Antigonus marched against compleat them with his army, and was so successful as to gain a compleat victory victory over them. Not long after, he had a more formidable enemy to encounter with, namely, Pyrrhus, king of Epires who, returning with the shattered remains of his army from Italy in order to support them, invaded the frontiers of Macedo. mia in hopes of plunder. After he had taken several towns. 2000 Macedonians went over to him, which encouraged him to march against Antigonus. Having surprised his army in a narrow pais, and made himself master of his elephants, the phalanx went over to him; fo that Antigonus was obliged to fly to the fea coasts, where, by means of his fleet, some of the maritime cities were held in his obedience.

The Macedomians again deking.

Pyrrbus was once again owned king of Macedon; but he quickly loft the hearts of his new subjects, by neglecting to punish a body of mercenary Gauls, who were stationed at Æga, clare Pyr- and, in hopes of plunder, had broke up the fepulchres of the Thus their kings, and scattered the ashes of the deceased princes. While Pyrrhus was absent from the kingdom, Antigonus made an attempt to recover the throne; but was defeated by Ptolemy, the fon of Pyrrhus, and obliged to fly with no more than feven attendants. Pyrrhus, after he had held the kingdom two years, at the folicitation of Cleonymus, a Spartan, marched with a powerful army against Sparta, which city he was prevented from making himself master of by an unseasonable delay. While he was endeavouring to retrieve his mistake, he was informed that Antigonus had recovered a great part of Macedon, and had followed him into the Peloponnese. One of the factions in Argos inviting Pyrrhus thither, he left the fiege of Sparta, and proceeded to Argos; but the opposite faction, assisted by some troops of Antigonus, opposing his entrance into the city, he was flain by them in the streets. Antigonus caused the body of Pyrrhus to be burnt with all the funeral honours due to a king, and having entertained his fon Helenus with great kindness, sent him home to Epirus. He affured the principal officers in the army of *Pyrrhus* of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own. Antigonus was obliged to defend his dominions from new incursions of the Gauls, whom he so greatly harafled in skirmishes, that in a rage they massacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and almost totally cut off. Antigonus after this victory, led his army against Athens, and compelled that city to receive a garrison.

Antigonus recovers part of Macedon.

The Macedonians again abandon him.

Alexander, the fon of Pyrrbus, in the mean time invading Macedon, Antigonus led his army against him, and, when he least expected it, was again deserted by the Macedonians, who went over to Alexander. Antigonus retired to Greece; but his fon Demetrius, who was but a youth, remained in Macedon, and having collected a small body of troops, daily performed some exploit or other, which so charmed the Macedonians, that they voluntarily entered into his fervice, and thereby enabled him

rinth.

him not only to recover Macedon, but even to drive Alexander His son from Epire. Alexander collecting a fresh army among the Ato-Demetrius lians, Demetrius was obliged to retire from Epire, and return to recovers Macedon, where his father was again acknowledged as king, the kingand reigned many years afterwards in great tranquillity. He dom. for a long time had formed a design of obtaining possession of the citadel of Corinth, which was held independently by one Alexander. Upon his death, he sent his son Demetrius to court his widow, who easily yielded to the addresses of the young

prince, he being one of the handsomest men of his time.

During the shews and entertainments that attended the celebra- Antigonus tion of the nuptials, Antigonus, who had gone to Corinth, took seizes Co-

an opportunity of feizing on the citadel.

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From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the profecution of his views in Greece, where he supported all the petty tyrants against the free states, appointing new ones on the death of the old, or swallowing them up as occasion offered. The Achaens, however, gave him not a little disquiet; they openly professed a desire of restoring Greece to freedom, which was the fame thing as if they had declared they would extirpate the Macedonian power in Greece. Antigonus, having experienced fuch variety of fortune, did not chuse to hazard a war with the Achæans, but fought by smooth language to amuse them, and by promises to bring over Aratus, one of their most active leaders. The Achaens imitated his conduct, and laid hold of every opportunity of enlarging their own power, without, however, violating the peace as they pretended. Aratus surprised Corinth in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by Antigonus, who, on this occasion, did not think proper to engage in a war with the Acheans. After a reign of His death. thirty-four years Antigonus died, being somewhat above fourfcore, with the character of a mild and generous prince.

Demetrius succeeded his father; and, on account of the great Demetrithings he had performed while a youth, much was expected us II. from him; yet after he obtained the crown, he seemed to alter Bes. Chr. his conduct, and to act with more caution than vigour. He 243. married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus, and sister and widow of Alexander, prevailed upon him to marry her daughter Phthia, in hopes of having his assistance against the Etolians. The first wise, being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to make war on her husband; but he was prevented from gratifying her by the unsettled state of his own affairs. All that we know farther of this king of Macedon is, that he added Cyrene and all Lybia to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, is uncertain. After reigning ten years, he left his dominions to his son Philip,

who was little more than two years old.

Antigonus, the brother of the deceased king, according to Antigonus some historians, was appointed by him tutor to his infant son. Doson However, by his gentle and obliging conduct, he gained the Bes. Ch. good 237.

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good will of the Macedonians, and also of the widow of the deceased king; he took her to wife, and was by them saluted king. He was a prince of great abilities, and had very high ideas of the regal dignity, and of the honour of the Macedonian name. He had a great reputation for his justice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindness and affability towards his friends. He was furnamed Doson, that is, will-give, because he was said to have been slower in perform. ing than promifing. In the beginning of his reign, Diogenes, the governor of the forts of Athens, most basely fold them, together with the island of Salamis, for 150 talents, 20 of which were furnished by Aratus, who passionately desired the liberty of Greece. Aratus, however, some years after, looking upon Cleomenes, king of Sparta, as the most formidable enemy to the Grecian liberty, asked the affistance of Antigonus against him.

invited into Greece by the Achaans.

Antigonus, who, above all things, defired to retrieve his interest in Greece, and to affert that authority which the kings of Macedon from the time of Philip had maintained therein, readily hearkened to the proposal; but insisted, that the citadel of Corinth should be put into his hands, which the Achaens accordingly complied with. The Achaens, as we have formerly mentioned, foon retrieved their affairs by the fuccours they obtained from the Macedonians; Antigonus therefore thought that it was but reasonable, that they should allow him to put garrisons in Orchomenes and some other cities. To gratify the Achaem, however, he fent back his troops during the winter to Macedon, which gave Cleomenes an opportunity of destroying all the country about Argos under the eyes of the king, who, with a few mercenary troops, lay in the neighbourhood of the city. On this occasion he performed the greatest action of his life; for although he was infulted by the enemy, and railed at by the confederates, he absolutely refused to fight, because he could Hedefeats not engage without manifest disadvantage: he soon after, upon the return of his troops, gloriously wiped off the stain from his reputation by the victory of Sellasia, where he totally defeated Cleomenes. In consequence of this victory he took the virgin city of Sparta, which, with great humanity, he prevented from

Cleomenes king of Sparta.

cedon, he recruited his army, and marched against the Illyrians, whom he intirely defeated; but having overstrained his voice His death. during the time of the engagement, he died a few days after of a spitting of blood, adjuring the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil Philip. The Macedonians expressed great grief for the loss of Antigonus, who left them in a better condition than they had ever been in fince the days of Antipater; for they were well united, and began to refume their antient loyalty.

being plundered: he generously restored the Spartans to their

liberties, and fet out immediately for Macedon, which the lly-

rians had invaded during his absence. Upon his arrival in Ma-

Philip. Bef. Ch. 221.

Philip, though a very youth when he succeeded to the throne, yet for feveral years governed with great wisdom and humanity, and was attended with remarkable prosperity. His natural abilities de-

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lities were very great, and he was distinguished no less for his humanity and gentleness, than for his activity and bravery. In the beginning of his reign he was engaged in the focial war in Greece, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions against the Illyrians, Ætolians, and other nations, who either made war on the Achaens, or invaded Macedon, in order to divert Philip from succouring his allies. As he advanced in years, his favourites corrupted his heart by flattery; fo that, forfaking the modesty that adorned his early years, he began to indulge wild schemes of ambition, and at length degenerated into a merciles and brutal tyrant. Though his change of conduct foon rendered him odious at home and abroad, yet by his kill in government, and experience as a general, he still maintained his authority. Thirty years of his reign were spent in He strngrepeated wars, losses, and treaties, till the Romans had reduced gles with him to such a miserable state, that he was forced to submit to the Rothe orders they fent him, to give his younger fon Demetrius as mans. a hostage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in confideration of their leaving him the kingdom of Macedon, circumfcribed within its antient bounds, with other hard conditions, fuch as delivering up his ships of war, and paying, by way of fine, a thousand talents at several times.

As the strength of his kingdom was much exhausted in his wars with the Romans, Philip remained quiet during their struggle with Antiochus the great; but in the war betwixt them and the Etolians he again took arms, and under pretence of assisting the Romans, besieged Lamia in Thessay. The consul ordering him to raise the siege, he was permitted to turn his arms against the Athamanians and the Thracians; but no sooner had he made some conquests of importance, than complaints were made against him at Rome, and he was again ordered to content him-

self with Macedonia in its antient state.

Mean while divisions sprung up in his family, and a spirit of Divisions discord began to appear among his subjects. Demetrius, the in his fayounger fon of Philip, was a prince of extraordinary merit; he mily. had a fincere affection for his father, a most tender love for his country, and had conceived a high respect for the Romans, having been some time a hostage at Rome. His elder brother, Perseus, who was born of a concubine, observing what regard Philip paid Demetrius, how fond the Macedonians were of him, and what an interest he had at Rome, conceived a violent hatred against him. Philip, being highly discontented with the Romans, could not help discovering his resentment against them by his words, and at the fame time began to purfue such mealures, as plainly indicated that he had a delign to hazard another war with that republic. His fon Demetrius used many arguments to disfuade him from his intention; but though he was convinced of the justness of his reasoning, yet he could not prevail with himself to follow his advice.

Being peremptorily required by a decree of the Romans to withdraw his garrisons from Enus and Maronea, maritime Vol. III.

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He is or- towns of Thrace, he determined to revenge himself on the Maronites, whose clamours had obtained the decree. With this justify his view he fent orders to his garrisons to leave those cities; but Cassander, one of his officers in Maronea, in pursuance of priconduct before the vate instructions from Onomastus, governor of the maritime coast of Macedonia, privately let in the Thracians into Maronea, Roman fenate. which city they plundered with the greatest barbarity. Tho the king, doubtless, acted in this affair with the utmost caution. yet the Romans gained such intelligence of it, that they charged Philip as the author of the Thracian incursion, and ordered him to justify himself before the senate, and to send Onomastus

and Cassander to Rome.

fistance, he yielded, and fent Cassander, whom, however, he The fenate aphis fon

caused to be possoned by the way. To excuse the whole transaction, he sent his son Demetrius to Rome, who was so successful peased by as to appease the senate, and they accordingly ratified the treaty formerly made, but with this express clause, that all was done Demetrius. out of regard to his fon. This circumstance did not please Philip, and did very little good to Demetrius, who, because he knew and dreaded the power of the Romans, was accused of being partial to them. Philip again renewed his preparations for war, and perceiving that his subjects on the sea coast were inclined to peace, and attached to the Romans, he transplanted them into Emathia, and brought multitudes of Thracians to inhabit the sea-coasts. To prevent any future trouble from the Dardanians, who were the implacable enemies of Macedon, he prompted the Bastarnæ, on the banks of the Ister, to come and feize Dardania, promising to affist them to conquer that country.

Philip looked upon this order as a high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince; but to preferve himself

from being destroyed before he was strong enough to make re-

Mean while, the Macedonians, who had been transported from the sea-coasts, murmuring at the conduct of the king, Philip, by treating them with feverity, heightened their discontents. The quarrels in his family, at the fame time, grew daily wider and wider: Perseus encouraged all who either ridiculed the Romans, or declaimed feriously against them, and Demetrius openly vindicated the Romans against all such. When the army, according to annual custom, was solemnly lustrated, a A quarrel mock-fight followed the ceremony. The two young princes being the commanders, they were prompted by their companions to shew their skill and bravery, so that much mischief en-The body commanded by Demetrius having the superiority, Perseus at the first was very much discontented, but his affociates reprefenting to him, that the intemperate heat of his brother would give him a good opportunity of complaining against him to his father, he grew better satisfied. In the evening both princes entertained their friends; but some spies of Perseus being discovered at the tables of Demetrius, they were well beaten and expelled. When the company had drank more

betwixt his two fons.

freely, Demetrius, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go fee his brother; and obliging those young men who had beaten the spies of Perseus to accompany him, they, for their own security, armed themselves in a private manner. Perseus having intelligence of this by a spy, who had hitherto remained with Demetrius, caused his doors immediately to be shut, and when Demetrius appeared, called out to him to be gone, as he was then too well guarded to be assassing the same of the

Next day he accused Demetrius to Philip, of an attempt to murder him. Demetrius defended himself with great boldness, and after recapitulating all the passages of the preceding day, bitterly inveighed against his brother, for turning the exercise of the army into a struggle for the crown. He disclaimed any sinister view in his intended visit to his brother, or any dependance upon the Romans, and concluded with a solemn assertion, that he still loved Perseus as his brother, revered the king as his parent and sovereign, and had ever sought to promote the peace of Macedon. Philip, having calmly heard what was said on both sides, declared, that he would not pass judgment from mere words and a few transient speeches, but would believe of

his fons according to their future actions.

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The king, however, for the time to come, wholly leaned to his eldest fon, with whom he consulted on all his affairs. put himself out of doubt as to the intentions of his youngest fon, he fent Philocles and Apelles, whom he thought attached to no party, as his ambaffadors to Rome, privately instructing them to enquire into his fon's conduct in that city. These ambaffadors, being the adherents of Perfeus, confulted with him what answer they should give to the king, and upon their return from Rome, presented Philip with a forged letter from T. Quintius, wherein the Roman befeeched the king to pass by the measures which Demetrius had taken to supplant his brother. affuring him that the Romans would have been far from countenancing him in such a base action. Demetrius, about the same Demetrius time, being fent to Pæonia, accompanied by Didas with a con-calumnisiderable guard; Didas offered with great zeal to serve him, ated and and so infinuated himself into his confidence, that he confessed put to to him that he could wish to escape to Rome. Didas, who was death. a creature of Perseus, communicating this to the king, received a command from him to take off his prisoner by poison. cruel and unnatural command he accordingly put in execution; but the poison working flowly, he caused two ruffians to smother the prince, then in the 25th year of his age.

Perseus having now obtained all he sought for, began to act more independantly than he was wont, which being quickly perceived by Philip, he began to doubt whether Perseus had not acted in a treacherous manner; and these thoughts having once entered his head, he daily saw more and more circumstances to heighten the suspicion. He at length communicated his suspicions to Antigonus, the nephew of Antigonus Doson, a man of honour and integrity, who used his utmost endeavours to trace

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out the conspiracy of Perseus. By seducing Xychus, who had accompanied Philocles and Apelles to Rome, he discovered that Philip falls the letter of T. Quintius was a forgery. Philip was now feized into adeep with a melancholy which differed very little from madness, and fo preyed on his health, that he was foon brought into a very melandeclining condition; he caused Philocles to be put to death, but choly. Apelles escaped from Macedonia, and withdrew into Italy. Per. feus kept at a distance from court on the borders of Macedon; but Philip, having laid before the Macedonians, his whole con. trivance against his brother Demetrius, earnestly recommended it to them to fet Antigonus on the throne, which he foon after His death. left vacant, dying of grief, after a reign of forty-two years.

Caligenes, one of Philip's physicians, having entered into a

Perseu!. Bef. Chr. . 179.

correspondence with his son, concealed the king's death, till Perseus arrived at court with a body of troops, and unexpectedly took possession of the throne. To secure himself in the possesfion of the kingdom, he caused Antigonus to be put to death, who had lately returned from the Bastarnæ. These barbarians were now on their march to invade Dardania; but hearing of Philip's death, they began to doubt whether they should proceed or return home. Disputes happening betwixt them and the Thracians, who, they alledged, imposed upon them in their markets, a war enfued, in which at first the Thracians were grievously handled, and driven to their mountains; but the invaders being afterwards worsted, the greatest part of them returned with their wives and children to their antient dwellings. About 30,000 of them penetrated into Dardania, where they were privately affifted by Perseus, who well knew both the na-He fends ture and importance of his father's scheme. At the same time, an embaf- however, he fent ambaffadors to the Romans, whose power he greatly dreaded, requesting them to renew the treaty made with his father. At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people, making a shew of generolity and mildness, and above all affecting a rigid regard to justice. The Romans, after renewing the treaty with him, hearing that an embasily from him had arrived at Carthage, fent ambassadors to Macedon, who were kindly entertained by Perseus, till they began to act like tutors. They proposed that he should force the Bastarnæ to evacuate Dardania; and when he marched against the Dolopians, who had revolted and slain his governor twixt him Euphranor, they complained against him, and alledged, that he

was tied up by his treaty from making war without the confent

of their state. Perseus paid no regard to their remonstrances;

and after subduing the Dolopians, marched at the head of his

army to visit the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This journey

alarmed all Greece; but Perfeus, instead of committing any hosti-

lities, as was expected, thereby acquired the friendship and con-

fidence of several Greek states. He was very earnest to recon-

cile himself with all the Greeks, but particularly with the

Acheans, who, with the Athenians, had prohibited all commerce

with the Macedonians. Perseus caused great numbers of their

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flaves, who had fled into his dominions, to be feized, and fent back to their masters; and by frequent embassies to the different states, and magnificent promises, he soon raised a great party in Greece that favoured him. He also secured the friendthip of the Rhodians, who, with a numerous squadron of gallies, conducted to him Laodice, the grand-daughter of Antiochus the Great.

About the same time he entered into an alliance with Prusias. king of Bithynia, to whom he gave his fifter in marriage. He also concluded a peace with the Thracians, who consented to furnish him with what number of foldiers he pleased. In his own kingdom of Macedon he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines of provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, feeing that the Greeks chiefly fa- Eumenes, voured Perseus, whom he greatly hated, went to Rome on pur-king of pose to excite the senate to declare war against Perseus, giving Pergamus, them a particular account of his formidable preparations. A complains few days after Eumenes had spoke in the senate, an audience was of him at granted to the ambassadors of Perseus, when Harpalus, one of Rome. them, faid, that Perseus had not hitherto done any thing that had had the least tendency to a rupture with the Romans; but if they were obstinately bent on a rupture with him, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. Eumenes, on his return from Rome, proposed a visit to Delphi; but as he approached the place, he was affaulted in a narrow pass by four affaffins, hired by Perseus, who, by rolling stones upon him from an eminence, left him for dead. The king, however, came afterwards to himself, and was conveyed to the island of Egina, where he lay concealed till he was perfectly recovered. The affaffins for some time could not be discovered; but at length Graxo, a woman of distinction at Delphi, with whom Perseus had lodged, being seized, and sent to Rome, it appeared that the had also entertained the assassins who were fent thither by Perseus. About the same time one Ramnius, a citizen of Brundusium, who had frequently entertained the Macedonian ambassadors in his house, declared, that Perseus had desired him to give a certain poisonous drug to the principal senators, who were esteemed enemies to the Macedonian interest.

The Romans made new complaints to Perseus, who, for several days, refused to give their ambasiadors an audience; but hearing that they were proposing to return home, he fent for them, and in answer to their complaints, accused the Romans of intolerable pride and infolence, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their flaves. He told them, that the treaty conciuded with his father did not affect him, that though the unlettled state of his affairs, at his first coming to the throne, had obliged him to submit to it, yet for the future he would not look upon himself as bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The ambaffadors

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having,

manded them to depart his dominions in three days. However,

reflecting afterwards upon the formidable power he was raifing

nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs; for he thereby

peace on the terms he wanted, and that a body of Roman troops

had arrived in Theffaly, now faw the necessity of acting with

vigour. His army, which confifted of 39,000 foot, and 4000 horse, having assembled at Cilium, he there offered an heca-

tomb to Pallas, and afterwards gave audience to the deputies

from the Macedonian cities, who offered him men, money, and provisions for carrying on the war. Perseus, after thanking

them for their loyalty, told them, that, except carriages for his

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Perseus commands the Roman up against himself, he again fell to negotiating, than which ambassadors to de- neglected the opportunity of fecuring the Greeks, and gave the part his dominions.

Romans leifure to compleat their preparations. Many kings and states, in Europe and Asia, interested themselves in this rupture between the two great powers of Macedon and Rome, Gentius, king of Illyria and the Rhodians, inclined, though not avowedly, to the Macedonian fide, which was also favoured by Cotys, king of the Odrysians. Eumenes, king of Pergamus; Antiochus, king of Syria; Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and the regency in Egypt, declared for the Romans. Prusias, king of Bithynia, defired to stand neuter. In Greece, the governors of the states were generally in the interest of Rome, and the pcople in that of Perseus, who, finding that he could not obtain

He prepares for a war with the Romans.

Makes himfelf master of feveral cities in The faly.

He defeats the Romans.

baggage and engines, he would expect nothing at prefent from them. These being quickly furnished, Perseus began his march for Thessaly, whither soon after came the Roman consul with two legions, in hopes of finding a body of confederates strong enough to enable him to face Perseus; but finding their troops inconfiderable, he was obliged to act on the defensive. Perseus in the mean time made himself master of a great many cities, and began to waste the country about Pherea, within a few miles of the Roman camp. Perceiving that the conful declined an engagement, he advanced with his horse and light armed troops, and for feveral days infulted him in his camp. The conful at last fent out his horse and light armed troops to oppose the Macedonians; but they were repulfed with confiderable loss, more than one half of the detachment being cut off. The Macedonian phalanx foon after coming up, Perseus was pressed by fome of his generals to attack the Roman intrenchments; but was perfuaded by Evander the Cretan, who had been one of the affassins against Eumenes, to delay the affault till next morning. The conful, in the mean time, passed the river Peneus in the night, and fixed his camp in an advantageous post.

Perseus next morning took a view of the Roman intrenchments, and advancing towards their new camp, fent deputies to He in vaio the conful, acquainting him, that notwithstanding his late vicfues for a tory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father Philip, after he was vanquished. conful answered, that he would grant him no terms, but those

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of submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the Roman people. He sent again, and offered tribute; but this proposal being also rejected, he retired to his old camp. He continued for some time to harrass the Roman army, by intercepting their convoys, and attacking their foragers; but being routed in a considerable skirmish, he retired into Macedon. On his retreat the conful recovered several places in Thessaly, where he put his troops into winter quarters. Lucretius, the Roman admiral, in the mean time had taken and razed Haliartus in Bæotia, and levied heavy contributions on the Greek coast. Appius Claudius, the year following, made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into Macedonia on the side of Illyria, his

troops being defeated hy one of the generals of Perseus.

The following spring the Roman army was commanded by The Ro-

the conful Martius, who attempted to penetrate into the heart mans peof Macedonia. Perfeus, not knowing where the enemy would netrate break through, had distributed his forces in such a manner, as into Mato guard all the passes, encamping himself with the main body cedonia. of his army at Dium. The conful attempted to pass over very Bef. Ch. high mountains at a small distance from his camp; but was opposed by Hippias with 12,000 men, who for two days diffressed him greatly by frequent attacks. Though the cries of his foldiers could be heard in the camp of Perseus, yet he most injudiciously neglected to support him; so that the Romans, after they had for some time been in the greatest The imdiffress, forced their way into the vale of Tempe. This prudent success of the Romans so intimidated Perseus, that he precipi-conduct of tately abandoned Dium, and all the parts that led from Tempe Perseus. into Macedonia, retired with his army to Pydna, and fent orders to Andronicus, governor of Thessalonica, to burn the arsenal there, with all the naval stores, and gave positive directions to Micias, governor of Pella, to throw all his treasure into the sea, exclaiming in a frantic manner, that he was vanquished without a battle. The conful, in the mean time, made himself master of Dium, and several other places, almost without any relistance; but for want of provisions, he was obliged to abandon the places he had taken, and retire to Phila.

Perseus, perceiving that the consul was able to effect no great matter, again recovered from his fright, and caused his treasures to be searched for by divers, who were so successful as to bring them up from the bottom of the sea. Andronicus had prudently suspended the execution of the order sent to him; but Perseus, now ashamed of his scandalous meanness of spirit, caused him and Nicias, and the divers, all to be put to death, in hopes of concealing his own baseness. He again took possession of Dium, the fortifications of which he caused to be repaired, and then encamped with his army on the river Enipeus, where he entrenched himself so strongly, that the consul durst not attack him. The Roman admiral, in conjunction with king Eumenes, spent the summer in several unsuccessful attempts upon the coasts. The prætor, Appius Claudius, lay all this while in Illyria with a body of troops, and by the end of the campaign was

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in a very miserable condition, insomuch that he earnestly demanded of the Achaens a reinforcement of 5000 men; but Marcus the conful, under pretence of sparing the Roman allies,

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prohibited the Achaens from fending any troops.

His avarice and

The Romans were greatly diffatisfied with the bad fuccess of their arms, and chose P. Æmilius, consul, to carry on the war meanness. in Macedonia. Perseus, in the mean time, endeavoured to strengthen himself with new alliances; and the fear of the danger that threatned him getting the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, 300 talents in money, if he would declare war against the Romans. Gentius beginning hostilities by seizing the Roman ambassadors, Perseus, knowing that he would be then engaged in the war on his own account, ordered the waggons that were carrying the money to be flop. ped, and by this low policy ruined Gentius, without benefiting himself. His avarice, at the same time, lost him the friendship of another powerful prince; for Eumenes, taking a difguft at the Romans, offered to remain neuter, in confideration of 1500 talents, which Perseus refused to deliver till after the service was performed, which broke off the treaty. By his avarice he likewise failed in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour: he had agreed to give a considerable fum of money to a large body of the Bastarnæ, if they would engage in his fervice. Clondicus, their king, accordingly arrived on the confines of Macedonia with 10,000 horse, and as many foot; but not being able to prevail with Perfeus to pay the money he had promifed, he and his troops returned home, spoiling some part of Thrace in their way, which created Perfeus new enemies.

P. Amilius fent into Macedon. Bef. Ch. 168.

The Roman conful, in the mean time, made great preparations for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour, Octavius the admiral, and Anicius, who commanded in Illyria, being also resolved to exert themselves to put an end to the war. Anicius was fo fuccessful, that in thirty days he reduced all Illyria, and made Gentius and his family prisoners. Æmilius, after restoring discipline among his troops, decamped, and drew nearer to the Macedonians, a motion hitherto thought impracticable, on account of the want of water. Though there were neither springs nor rivulets visible, yet Æmilius rightly judged, that it could not be, that so great a mountain as Olympus, so covered with fine grafs and beautiful trees, should want water. Wells being accordingly funk by his order, they were prefently full of water, which raifed the courage of his foldiers, and rendered them perfectly tractable. Perfeus having strongly entrenched himself on the banks of the Enipeus, Æmilius did not think it prudent to attack his camp, but fent 5000 light-armed troops, under the command of Scipio Amilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own fons, but adopted into other families, to attempt to pass mount Olympus. This detachment was employed three days in passing the mountain; and Æmilius, in the mean time, to amuse Perseus, pretended for two days to attack his camp, in which

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which skirmishes he lost considerable numbers of men. Scipio and Fabius succeeded in their design, and notwithstanding some opposition that they met with, encamped in the plain on the other fide of the Macedonian camp, Persius then retiring with precipitation under the walls of Pydna. He was advised by his best friends to lengthen out the war, by garrisoning some of his strongest cities, experience having shewn, that the Macedonians were better able to keep cities than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected, from the cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first belieged. Others advised to hazard a general battle, and this opinion prevailing, the ground was accordingly chosen for an engagement. Before the Romans appeared, the Macedonians formed themselves into the order of battle; nevertheless, when Emilius came up, Scipio pressed him earnestly not to defer the engagement, which the general, however, would not confent to.

Both armies next day appeared in the field, and about three Perfeus in the afternoon began the attack. The light-armed Macedo- entirely nians charged with great vigour, and the phalanx striking the defeated points of their spears into the Roman shields, not only prevented by the the legionary foldiers from reaching them with their fwords, Romans. but even drove them from their ground. Æmilius, on this occasion, it is said, tore his cloaths, and almost gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground it loft its order in feveral places, he caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those spaces, whereby the Macedonians were soon put in confusion, and routed with great flaughter, no less than 25,000 of them being flain, according to Plutarch, though the battle lasted only about an hour. The Romans lost about 100 men, and took about 11, or 12,000 prisoners. The Macedomans were no sooner put into disorder, than Perseus fled with a confiderable body of horfe, and at night they were joined by the remains of the foot, who upbraided them with their scandalous behaviour; and at last, grudging such cowards should have horses to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, began to pull them off, which so terrified Perfeus, that he left them, and with fome of his friends went into a by-road, taking of his purple mantle and his diadem, which last he carried in

He arrived at Pella about midnight, where he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and lest it the same night to go to Amphipolis, being accompanied by Evander the Cretan, Archidemus the Etolian, and Neo the Beestian, with about 500 Cretan soldiers, who remained with him not out of sidelity, but because they could not depart from the treasure which he carried along with him. Being apprehensive that the Amphipolitans would deliver him up to the Romans, he lest that city, and went into the

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He takes refuge in Samothruce.

the island of Samos, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux, carrying with him no less than 2000 talents.

P. Æmilius, after the battle, made himself master of Berea, Thessalonica, Pella, and many other principal cities in Macedon: and having granted a capitulation to the foldiers who had fled to Pydna, he proceeded to Amphipolis, where three persons of mean rank brought him a letter from Perseus. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs; but when he faw this superscription upon the letter, " Perseus the king to the consul P. Æmilius, health," he difmissed the deputies without an answer. Perseus, by this perceiving that he was now no more than a private person, or at least so considered by the Romans, wrote a second letter, which he addressed to the conful, without assuming to himself any title. He begged that commissioners might be sent to treat with him, which the conful readily granted; but Perseus infifting that he should still retain the title of king, and they on the other hand urging him to submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Romans, the negotiation had no effect. Octavius, in the mean time, furrounding the island with his fleet, Perseus entered into a private correspondence with Oroandes a Cretan, who engaged to carry him, his wife, his fon, his treafure, and three attendants to Crete, in a veffel which was then in Samothrace. The crafty mafter of the vessel took the money on board first, and then affigned an hour in the night for the king to come on board; but as foon as it grew dark he fet fail without him. The hour appointed being come, Perseus, with infinite pains and difficulty, crept through a strait window, and let himself down the wall with his wife and children, who were little used to such fatigue. After they had wandered on the shore till it was almost light, they were informed by a stranger, that Oroandes failed for Crete the evening before. Perseus then fetching a doleful figh, fled back with all his might towards the Hesurren- wall, endeavouring to get thither before the Romans. Ion of ders him. Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and had his children felf to the entrusted to his care, now betraying them to Octavius, Perfeus, feeing there was no possible remedy, also surrendered himself to him. Octavius put his royal prisoner on board the admiral galley, with all the wealth that he had still about him, and failed with the fleet to Amphipolis, from whence he fent him to the camp of Amilius, who ordered his fon-in-law Tubero, with feveral persons of distinction, to go and meet him. Perseus entered the Roman camp in a mourning habit, with his fon Philip, and when he arrived at the conful's tent, would have thrown himself at his feet; but Æmilius, rising hastily, stept forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not fuffer him to kneel. According to Plutarch, Perfeus uttered such unmanly cries and petitions, as Æmilius was not able to hear; but looking on him with a countenance of forrow and indignation, he faid to him, By these actions thou showest that thou art worthy of thy calamity, and that it is not thy present condition, but former bappiness, that

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was more than thy deferts. Emilius committed Perseus to the care of Tubero, directing that he should sup with him that night, and treated him with all the honours his present condition would admit. Emilius, after having made a progress through Greece, returned to Macedon, and went to Apollonia, to meet the ten commissioners of consular dignity, that were coming from Rome.

Having returned with the commissioners to Amphipolis, he Æmilius thence issued his precepts, directing that ten deputies, from establishes each of the Macedonian cities, should appear before him at a new certain day, and bring with them fuch papers of state, and all form of fuch fums of money and plate, as they had any knowledge of, governbelonging to the king. The deputies accordingly appearing, ment in he mounted his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be Macedon. made by the crier, he repeated in Latin the regulations made by the fenate and by himfelf, in conjunction with the commiffioners relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid to the king, which was fixed at the fum of 100 talents; that it should be divided for the future into four cantons, that should have each its council, in which particular affairs should be examined, and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their Some other articles of less importance were anown canton. The prætor, Octavius, explained the feveral nexed to thefe. articles in Greek, as the conful pronounced them in Latin.

The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave great joy to the *Macedonians*; but at the same time they were forry they could not comprehend what that liberty was they were restored to. Though the decree spoke of leaving them under their own laws, it nevertheless imposed many new ones, and threatned more. What most disturbed them was the division of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were tore and mangled, separated and disjointed, from each other.

Emilius proceeded next to regulate the rest of the Grecian. affairs; and at the close of the proceedings, Andronicus the Atolian, and Neo the Bæotian, were put to death, because they had continued to the last faithful to Perseus. A proclamation was then published, vesting the supreme power in Macedon in certain fenators; and all the nobility, and also all their children, exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded, under pain of death, immediately to transport themselves over into Italy, as were likewise all such as ever had any commission, even of the imallest importance, from the king or his predecessors. Last of all, Emilius published several laws, which, whether they were, or were not, to the liking of the Macedonians, they were ever after bound to obey. Emilius, after celebrating games at Amphipolis, with a magnificence unknown to former times, caused all the spoils, that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap, which was chiefly composed of arms of all forts. After folemn prayers to Mars, Minerva, and

other deities, the conful first fet fire to this prodigious pile, and then the principal officers of the army threw in those lighted torches with which they had affifted at the folemnity. All the rich furniture, plate, statues, and other valuable things, found in the royal palace, were first exposed to public view, and then put on board the fleet.

Emilius, having regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, fet out for Epirus, with a design to plunder all that part of that kingdom, which had revolted to Perfeus. He concealed his purpose from the Epirots, and sent officers to all the cities, un. der pretence of withdrawing the garrifons. The troops, how. ever, on a day affigned, plundered all the cities, demolifhed their walls, and carried off 150,000 of the Epirots as flaves. The principal persons among the Epirots and Acarnanians were ordered to follow the conful to Italy, to be tried by the Roman fenate. The Achaeans also being accused of favouring Perseus, 1000 persons of distinction among them were sent as prisoners to Italy, where they continued seventeen years. Such were the fatal consequences of the Macedonian war.

Emilius embarking at Oricum, failed up the Tiber in the royal galley of king Perseus, which was richly adorned with the arms

of his prisoners, and with the king's purple robes. On account of fome discontents his foldiers had taken, there arose some disputes about his triumph, which, however, was at last granted Perseus, who in the mean time was confined in a jail, fent to befeech *Emilius*, that he might not be made a spectacle in his triumph; to which the general made answer, "This is " entirely in his own power, he needs not ask that favour of

" me," intimating that he might kill himself, and thereby Perseus led avoid the ignominy. On the day of the triumph, immediately intriumph after the arms, treasures, and gold plate, belonging to the table of king Perseus, followed his sons, Philip and Alexander, and

his little daughter, with their nurses, preceptors, and attendants, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught the little captives to do the same; next to them came Perseus alone, clad in deep mourning; behind, at some distance, followed his friends and the chief nobility of Macedon. After the triumph, Perseus was sent back to the jail, and even

thrust down into a deep and loathsome dungeon, where the worst malefactors were confined. Remaining in this miserable state four days, without victuals, he befought some of the prifoners to give him a part of their provision, which they readily

did, and at the fame time procured for him a rope and a fword, fuppofing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them, which, however, he did not. After he had continued feven days in this dungeon, he was taken out at the request of

Æmilius, and put into a milder custody; but about two years after, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they would not fuffer him to fleep, and so he died *. Macedon was now no

* Diod. Sic. excerpt. apud Phot. Lion. lib. xliv. Plut. in vit. Amil. Justin. lib. xxxii.

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longer a kingdom, after having subsisted, from the time of Caranus, upwards of 600 years. Perseus, when he was led in triumph, had two sons, Philip and Alexander, and a daughter; Philip was young, and the two last were infants. The eldest son died before his father, and Alexander was put out to a joiner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profession. Addicting himself also to the Latin learning, he became afterwards a clerk or secretary to the senate.

The fettlement, made by Paulus Æmilius in Macedon, was extremely well adapted to the purposes of the senate and people of Rome; but very disgustful to the Macedonians, who saw themselves stripped of all their arms and all their wealth, their country destitute of nobility, themselves prohibited from having any resources from their mines, though they had an immense yearly tribute to pay to foreigners. They remained in this state sixteen years, when it began to be whispered about, that one of the sons of Perseus was living. One Andriscus, it is said, a na-Andriscus tive of the city of Adramittium, in the country of Troas in lesser calls him-Asia, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, self the

took upon him to be the fon of Perseus.

He was born, he faid, while Perseus was engaged in the war Perseus. against the Romans, and the king being apprehensive of its issue, Bef. Chr. ordered his mother, who was a concubine, to conceal his birth, and to educate him privately, that in case things should fall out amiss, one of the blood royal might be preserved, to affert his right to the kingdom. When he was twelve years of age, his foster-father falling sick of a mortal disease, disclosed to him the fecret of his birth, and that his true name was Philip. A narrative to the same purpose, signed by the hand of Perseus, being in the cultody of his folter-mother, the dying man charged her to deliver it to Philip when he should arrive at the age of fourteen. In this memorial, which Philip accordingly received, mention was made of two chefts of treasure, privately deposited by Perseus for the use of his son, who, by the advice of his tolter-mother, fled from Adramittium for fear of Eumenes, and went into Syria to the court of Demetrius Soter, who had married the fifter of Perseus. Demetrius, having heard the story of Andriscus, considered it attentively, till by degrees either himfelf, or his wife, traced out fuch imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to suspect the whole as a fallacy. To prevent He is sent his incurring the displeasure of the Romans, who had now ren-prisoner

Andrifcus, and fent him a prisoner to Rome.

The senate caused this matter to be enquired into upon the escapes first arrival of Andriscus; but the story seemed so improbable, from and the prisoner looked, spoke, and acted so little like the son thence. of a prince, that he was committed to a very gentle custody, and no sentence at all pronounced against him. Andriscus, taking the advantage of the negligence of his guards, made his escape from Rome, and took shelter in Thrace.

dered themselves formidable to all the east, Demetrius seized on to Rome,

Great

Great disturbances, in the mean time, had happened among the Macedonians, who feemed not at all to relish the popular government established among them by Emilius. The Mace-donians dwelling at Rome had interest enough to prevent any harsh measures from being taken with their countrymen. They were at great pains to cultivate this interest, attending the funeral of their conqueror Emilius with all imaginable marks of forrow and concern, applying themselves afterwards to his fon Scipio Africanus, whom they owned the protector of their na. tion. Little care was taken at Rome to redrefs the grievances the Macedonians complained of, which were rather connived at by the Romans, who feemed to wish for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom to a province.

The Macedonians acknowas king.

Andrifcus, after continuing some time in Thrace, kindled in the minds of the Thracians such an ambition of throwing off all dependance upon the Romans, that great numbers of them afledge him fembled under his command, whom he boldly led down into Macedon, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. His appearance in Macedon occasioned great commotions in that kingdom. Those who were in possession of power, and consequently were strictly dependant on the Romans, endeavoured to make what refistance they could, which was even feebler than could have been expected by Andrifcus. The Macedonians in general were eager to regain their antient constitution, which, from its lofs, appeared fo much the more defirable; and many of the dependants of those in power now declaring for Andrifcus, he made himself master of the whole kingdom in almost as short a time as Perseus had lost it. Not content with Macedon, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The Romans, on the first news of this extraordinary event, were greatly at a loss. They had no army in these parts, and they had all the reason in the world to believe, that the Greeks would not raise an army in favour of those, who had of late but treated them very indifferently. However, they fent Scipio Nasica, with other legates, to put a stop, if possible, to the revolt, or at least to dispose the minds of the people in Greece to remain steady to the Roman interest. Scipio was a man of great parts, and also naturally just, temperate, and courteous in the highest degree, which good qualities supplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable than a person of another disposition would have been, attended by legions. Having informed the fenate, that the Macedonians had univerfally submitted to Andrifcus, on account of his declaring that he would free Macedon and Greece from the Roman yoke, he visited all the cities of Greece, from each of which, by his prudent conduct, he drew a certain quota of troops, and joining these to the forces of the Achaens, who, forgetting past subjects of discontent, appeared most zealous to serve him, he entered Thessaly, and compelled the false Philip to return to Macedon.

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The Romans, upon receiving the letters of Scipio, immedi- Hedefeats ately fent P. Juventius Thalna, and Q. Calius, with an army the Roto reduce the rebels. Juventius being destitute of calmness man army and conduct, upon his arrival in Macedon was hurried by an under Juimprudent impetuolity. Looking upon Andriscus as only a pa-ventius. geant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he and Calius lost their lives, with part of their army, the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. Philip pursuing the blow he had struck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but also united Thessaly to his dominions, seeming now to be effectually feated on the throne, as being surrounded with a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command. An embasily sent to him by the Carthaginians, who were then on the point of engaging in the third Punic war, greatly augmented his courage. Not being able to bear his prosperity, He gohe abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any verns in a moderation or referve. His pride was intolerable, and he most tythought he could never have enough submission paid him. His ranical cruelty was fo great, that he spared none whom he either dif- manner. liked, or whom he conceived to dislike his proceedings. sides, he was so rapaciously covetous, that he searched all corners of the kingdom for money; and wherever he found it, declared himself its owner, urging the care of the public safety as The Macedonians, however, a pretext for public robbery. bore all with invincible patience, being willing to fuffer any thing for a short time, so they might once more become an independant people.

The Romans, upon the news of the defeat and death of Hedefeats Juventius, named Q. Cecilius Metellus to supply his place, troops Metellus. being transported with all imaginable care to Macedon. Andrifcus finding himself on a sudden under a necessity of fighting once more for his life and crown, shewed, on this occasion, an unconquerable courage; and quickly affembling his forces, encamped under the walls of Pydna, to prevent the Romans from plundering the adjacent country. Metellus encamping over against him with the Roman army, which was superior in horse, Andriscus nevertheless hazarded an engagement with his cavalry, who gained the advantage, and obliged the Romans to The king, foon retire into their camp in some confusion. after hearing that the allies of the Romans were about to attack his conquests in Thessaly, sent a great detachment of his army to cover them; which Metellus being informed of, attacked him while his army was divided, and after an obstinate and bloody battle, totally routed him; fo that his troops being wholly dispersed, he was obliged to fly to the Thracians, among Is obliged whom he was fo well received, that he was enabled in a short to fly to time to return to Macedonia with a numerous army. Instead the Thraof protracting the war, which would have greatly diffressed ciars, the Romans, he marched directly against Metellus, by whom he

was again defeated. Finding it absolutely impossible to raise a third army, he fled to Byzas, a petty prince of Thrace, who at first received him very kindly; but to avoid the resement of who deli- the Romans, delivered him afterwards to Metellus, who conclud-

ed that the war was now at an end.

It presently appeared, however, that the Macedonians were up to the Romans. not so easily subdued; for another person, named Alexander, One Alex- who called himself the son of Perseus, made pretentions to the ander pre-crown, and quickly conquered all the territory between the rivers Strymon and Neffus. On the approach of the Roman be the fon fleet and army, however, he withdrew into Dardania, where of Perseus. he so effectually concealed himself, that the Romans could

never get him into their power. Metellus immediately reduced Macedon · Macedonia into a Roman province, and chaftised the Thracians reduced to and other borderers, for having shewn greater affection to the

Macedonians than duty to the republic. a Roman

> Having changed, in every respect, the government under which the Macedonians had lived before, Metellus deprived them of the small remains of grandeur which Æmilius had left behind him; among the rest, of the brazen statues set up at Dium, for such of Alexander's guards as had fallen in the battle of Granicus.

A third

province.

Tho' the Romans now concluded that the Macedonians were pretender effectually quelled, yet a few years after another pretended for flarts up. of Perseus, named Philip, entered with a small body of desperate men into Macedonia; and his forces continually encreafing, he quickly subdued the greatest part of the country, and was acknowleged as king. A Roman army, however, marching against him under the command of Lucius Tremellius, he

was defeated and flain.

Syllanus the governor of Macedon condemned by his own father.

He feems to have been the fast who pretended to vindicate the liberty of the Macedonians, who were afterwards greatly oppressed by the Roman governors. D. Junius Syllanus, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predecessors as well in secing the Macedonians as in treating them with excessive rigour. The Macedonians having represented their grievances to the Roman senate, Syllanus was commanded to appear at a certain day. His father, T. Manlius Torquatus, in the mean time, having prevailed with the senate to refer the cause to him, the Macedonian deputies, on the day appointed, went to his house, and gave full evidence of the crimes laid to the charge of Syllanus. T. Manlius gave fentence that his fon was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence. A little after Junius Syllanus hanged himself; which when his father heard, he shewed no concern, but on the day of his funeral kept his house open, and transacted all sorts of business; as if his son's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a stranger to his blood. We meet with nothing after this relating to the Macedonians which deferves to be recorded in their history.

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VOL. III.

The history of the SELEUCIDE in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.

FTER the battle of Ipfus, in which Antigonus was slain, the empire of Alexander, as we have mentioned, was divided into four kingdoms. As the territories affigned to Lysimachus, which were Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, upon his death were seized by different princes, his kingdom may truly be said to have ended with his life. The kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, and Erypt, however, remained entire for many generations. Having given an account of the history of Macedon, we shall now proceed to that of Syria, which kingdom was very extensive, and comprehended not only Syria properly so called, but also those vast and fertile provinces of the Upper Asia which formed the Perhan empire; being in its full extent bounded by the Mediterranean on one fide, and the river Indus on the other. valt spreading dominions were called the kingdom of Syria, because the Syro-Macedonian kings chose the city of Antioch for their capital, which was built in this province by Seleucus the founder of their family. The Seleucidæ, according to Eusebius, reigned in this city for the space of 251 years; that is, from the 117th Olympiad, when Seleucus recovered Babylon, to the third year of the 180th, when Antiochus Asiaticus was driven out by Pompey, and Syria reduced to a Roman province.

Seleucus, the founder of the Syro-Macedonian empire, was Seleucus the son of Antiochus, one of the chief captains of Philip the fa- Nicator. ther of Alexander. From his tender years he served under Alexander, who promoted him to the chief command of the elephants, a commission of great trust and reputation. Upon the death of Alexander, Perdiccas the regent put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquitted himfelf with fuch reputation, that Antipater, who succeeded Perducas in the regency, raised him to the government of Babylon Made goand its territory. In this post he was tempted, by the exam-vernor of ple of the other captains of Alexander, to betray his trust, and Babylen. entertain thoughts of fetting up for himself; whence, instead of joining Eumenes, who for some time supported the royal caule, he attempted to destroy him and his army, by cutting the fluices of the Euphrates, and laying the whole plain, where they were encamped, under water. Eumenes, by his great prudence, rendering this stratagem ineffectual, Seleucus sent emisfaries under-hand into his camp, foliciting the Argyraspides, with mighty promifes to come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them, he made a truce with Eumenes, granting him a free passage thro' his province. At the same time, however, he urged Antigonus to hasten his march against him, look-

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Antigonus obliges him to abandon Babylon.

ing upon him as the greatest obstacle to his ambitious schemes, When Antigonus had conquered him, and returned to Babylon, he foon found Seleucus a more formidable enemy than Eumenes, Tho' he received the conqueror in a friendly manner, and contributed not a little to his success, Antigonus, nevertheless, required from him, in an imperious manner, an account of the revenues of his provinces. Seleucus absolutely refused to confent to this; but finding himself unable to oppose Antigonus, fled with about 60 horsemen to Ptolemy in Egypt. He quickly engaged that prince to enter into a league with Lysimachus and Cassander against Antigonus, who for several years defended him. felf with great success against their united efforts, but at last was flain at the battle of Ipsus.

He recolon. 312.

In the fecond year of this long war, Ptolemy having recoververs Baby- ed Syria from Demetrius the fon of Antigonus, Seleucus obtained from him 1000 foot and 200 horse, to attempt the recovery of Bef. Chrift Babylon. On his arrival at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, he prevailed on the Macedonian garrison, left there by Antigonus, to join him, and with this reinforcement entered the territories of Babylon, where he was joined by great numbers of the inhabitants, whose affections he had gained by his former mild government. Among others, one Polyarchus, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of 1000 men com-As he approached the city, the inhabitants pleatly armed. went out to meet him, welcoming him and his small army with all possible demonstrations of joy. Being zealously supported by the Babylonians, he foon reduced the citadel, which was garrisoned by the troops of Antigonus, and there he found, to his inexpressible joy, his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners ever fince his flight into Egypt.

Seleucus immediately applied himself to raise an army for the defence of his territories, which were foon invaded by Nicanor, governor of Media under Antigonus, with an army of 10,000 foot and 7000 horse. Tho' Seleucus could raise only 3000 foot and 400 horse, he marched with that small body of men to oppose Nicanor, and falling upon him in the night, defeated him with great flaughter. The troops of Nicanor, who Media, Su- outlived the defeat, declaring for Seleucus, he was thereby enfiana, &c. abled to pursue his conquests, and in a short time reduced all Media and Susiana, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, established his interest and power, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his justice and humanity to all his subjects. From this retaking of Babylon commences the famous æra of the Seleucida, made use of all over the east by Fews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews stiled it the æra of Contracts, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to use it in all their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians call it the æra of the two horned, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who say that the sculptors represented

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represented him with the horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns, and stop him in his full career. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks; but in the first book the years of this æra are reckoned from the spring, and in the second, from the following autumn.

Antigonus receiving an account from Nicanor of the success of Seleucus in the east, sent an army under the command of his son Demetrius to Babylon; which city he easily made himself master of, Seleucus being then absent in Media. He likewise reduced one of the citadels; but being recalled by his father, he left about 6 or 7000 men in the citadel, and then allowing his troops to plunder Babylon and its territory, returned to Syria. This imprudent step greatly attached the Babylonians to Seleucus, whom they now universally looked upon as their lawful prince. Upon his return to Babylon, he easily drove out The authe troops of Antigonus from the citadel, and settled his authothority of rity in such a solid manner, that it could never after be shaken. Seleucus This, therefore, is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer established the foundation of his kingdom, tho' all the nations of Asia place in Babylon. It six months sooner.

Seleucus now feeing himself in quiet possession of Babylon and its territory, again marched into Media against Nicanor, whom, in an engagement, he slew with his own hand. Having again reduced Media, he pursued his march into Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and subjected to his new empire these and all the other provinces on this side the Indus which had formerly been conquered by Alexander; and Antigonus and Demetrius having assumed the title of kings, he also stilled himself king of Baby-Takes the lm and Media, being besides sirnamed Nicator, on account of title of

his extensive conquests.

Antigonus being diverted from attacking his western frontiers, Invades

Seleucus refolved upon an expedition to India, which country, India. fince the death of Alexander, had been feized by one Sandro-cottus, or Androcottus, an Indian of mean extraction, who to defend his new possessions, had assembled an army of 600,000 men, with a prodigious number of elephants. Seleucus, after passing the Indus, being informed of the power of his enemy, did not think it advisable to attack him, but concluded a peace with him, renouncing all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocottus furnished him with 500 elephants.

Having thus fettled matters in India, Seleucus again renewed his alliance with his three confederates, to check the power of Antigonus and Demetrius, who were on the point of making themselves masters of all Greece. Seleucus having joined Lyst- Deseats machus with a considerable army in Phrygia, attacked Antigonus Antigonus at Ipsus, who was there routed and slain. He immediately after at Ipsus. returned with his forces and reduced upper Syria, formerly a part of the dominions of Antigonus; and in this rich province, on the river Orontes, he built the city of Antioch, which soon

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Antioch built by Seleucus. Bef. Ch. 300.

became the metropolis of the east, and continued so for many ages, till it was destroyed in the 13th century by Bibaris fultan of Egypt. It stood about 20 miles from the coast of the Mediterranean, and was about 700 miles diftant from Byzantium, and as much from Alexandria in Egypt. Seleucus built 16 other cities, bearing the name of Antioch, whereof one, fituated in Pisidia, is mentioned in scripture (Acts xiii.). He also built three other remarkable cities in Syria. One of these he called Seleucia, from his own name; another Apamea, from his wife Apama, the daughter of Artabazus the Persian, and the third Laodicea, from his mother Laodice. Apamea and Seleucia stood on the same river with Antioch, and Laodicea was situated in the fouthern part of the same country.

After the death of Antigonus, Lysimachus and Ptolemy quickly becoming jealous of the overgrown power of Seleucus, entered into a separate alliance, Lysimachus marrying Arsinoe, one of his daughters, and giving another of them to his fon Agatho-This alliance gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, marrying Stratonice the to an alli-daughter of that prince by Phila the fifter of Caffander. Demeance with trius, after he had conducted his daughter to her husband, seized Demetrius. upon Cilicia, which upon the division of his father's dominions

had been given to Plistarchus.

As Demetrius, at this time, was in possession of the whole island of Cyprus, and of the rich cities of Tyre and Sidon, Seleucus foon began to blame himself for allowing him to seize Cilicia, and offered him a large fum of money for that province. Demetrius rejecting the offer, Seleucus, while he was absent in Greece, conquered Cilicia, while Ptolemy made himself master of Cyprus, and Lysimachus of all his other dominions in Asia.

Seleucia on the Tigris built.

Seleucus

Seleucus, after the conquest of Cilicia, built a city on the western side of the Tigris, about 40 miles from Babylon, which he called Seleucia, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates. This new city foon became one of the most populous and flourishing in those parts; for the country near Babylon being laid under water by the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, which river was there no longer navigable, most of its inhabitants fettled at Scleucia, leaving Babylon almost quite desolate. Ferom, who flourished in the 4th century of the Christian Æra, writes, that in his time Babylon was entirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the Parthian kings, who made the space within them a park for keeping of wild beafts. Seleucia, which was also sometimes called Babylon, became so populous, that in Pliny's time it had 600,000 inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the east. Seleucus built eight other cities of the name of Seleucia, fix called Laodicea, three of the name of Apamea, and one named Stratonicea, from his last wife. In these, as well as in the other cities he built, he planted the Yews, allowing them most ample privileges, being the first, according to Josephus, who granted them settlements in the provinces

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vinces of Asia on this side the Euphrates. While Seleucus was thus employed in building cities, Demetrius, who in the mean time had obtained possession of the kingdom of Macedon, made immense preparations for the recovery of his father's dominions in Asia. Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, alarmed at his proceedings, entered into an alliance against him, Pyrrhus king of Epire also joining in the confederacy. Demetrius being suddenly abandoned by the Macedonians, sled into Asia, where his troops were deseated by Seleucus, and himself obliged to surrender a prisoner. Upon his death, which happened three years after, Seleucus took possession of whatever he held in Syria and Asia.

Seleucus foon after engaging in a war against Lysimachus, to Seleucus

revenge the death of his eldest son Agathocles, whose widow, engages Lylandra, had fled to his court with her brother Ptolemy Cerau in a war nus, the fon of Ptolemy of Egypt, before he began his march he, against by an unparalleled example, gave up his beautiful daughter Lyfima-Stratonice to his fon Antiochus. The young prince had fallen chus. violently in love with her, but not daring to own his paffion, he filently languished under it, and at length fell dangerously ill. Erasistratus, an eminent Greek physician, soon discovered that love was his distemper; and by carefully watching the countenance and actions of the prince when visited by the ladies of the court, he discovered that Stratonice was the object of his paffion, and with great dexterity afterwards drew the fecret from his own mouth. The prince owned his paffion for his mother-in-law, and declared, that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquish it; but finding that impossible, he had refolved to put an end both to his shameful passion and unhappy life, by abstaining from all kind of food. Erafistratus, when Seleucus next asked him after his son's health, told him that the prince's difease was love, and that it was incurable, as it was impossible for him to have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. Seleucus, surprised at this answer, asked, "Why his fon could not have the person he "loved?" "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another." "How!" said Seleucus, "will Erassfratus, my "dear Erassfratus, refuse to part with his wife to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love?" "Make it your own case," replied Erafistratus; " if Antiochus were thus desperately in love "with Stratonice, would you part with her for the sake of "Antiochus?" "Ah! my dear friend," answered Seleucus, " may the gods put the fafety of the prince upon that issue! I " would part not only with Stratonice, but my empire, to pre-" ferve the life of Antiochus, my dearest Antiochus." Erasistratus taking him by the hand, faid, "You have then no need " of any physician but yourself; for the love of Stratonice is the

"fource of his diftemper, and nothing can recover him but He yields "your yielding her up to him." Hereupon Seleucus having his wife easily prevailed on Stratonice to accept of the young prince for Stratonice her husband, the nuptials were folemnifed with the utmost to his son B b 3

pomp and magnificence; after which Antiochus and Stratonice were crowned king and queen of upper Aja*. From this incestuous marriage sprung all the kings of Syria, who so tyrannically oppressed the Jewish nation in Judah and Jerusalem.

Seleucus being now eased of this inquietude, marched at the

head of a powerful army into Ana Minor, where after an obsti-

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nate siege he made himself master of Sardis, all the other places Lysimachus submitting to him. Lysimachus, in the mean time, passing the Hellespont, marched to a place called Curopedion in Phrygia, and flain. where he was totally defeated by Seleucus, being flain fighting at the head of his troops. Seleucus, who was now the only furvivor of the 36 captains left by Alexander, made himfelf mafter of all the dominions of Lysmachus; but about seven months after, as he was marching into Macedon, with the defign of paffing the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had bestowed innumerable favours, intending also to have restored him to his father's throne in Egypt. Such was the end of Seleucus, the greatest general, in the opinion of Arrian, and the most powerful prince after Alexander, of the age he lived in. He died in the 43d year after the death of Alexander, in the 32d of the Seleucian æra, and 73d, or as Justin will have it, in the 78th year of his age. Philaterus prince of Pergamus having, with a great fum of money, purchased his body of Ceraunus, sent it to his fon Antiochus, who burnt it with extraordinary pomp in Seleucia on the fea-coast, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his firname, he called Nicatorium. Scloucus was diffinguished above all the kings of his age for his remarkable love for justice, his great sweetness of temper, and peculiar regard to religion. He is highly commended by Polyænus, Seneca, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Lucian, and Plutarch. This last writer tells us, that he used to say, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in those days was thought the indispensible duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, tho' thrown at his feet.

Antioc us Soter. Bef. Ch. 280.

Seleucus was succeeded by his son Antiochus, who held the empire of Afia 19 years. Having fecured his dominions in the east, he sent a powerful army into Asia Minor under Patroclus, who on his first arrival marched against Heraclea in Pontus, as the Heracleans had formerly entered into an alliance with Mithridates king of Pontus, and the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon, against Seleucus. Patrocles coming to an accommodation with the Heracleans, entered the territories of the Bithymans, where, on what provocation is uncertain, he committed great devastations. The Bithynians having drawn him into an ambush, cut him off with his whole army, not one man escaping

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^{*} Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Val. Max. 1. v. Lucian. de dea Syr.

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the general flaughter. Antiochus having, in right of his father, Herefigns formed pretentions to the crown of Macedon, raised a great to Antigoarmy to disposses Antigonus Gonatus, who had taken possession nushis preof that kingdom. Nicomedes king of Bithynia having espoused tensions the cause of Antigonus, Antiochus commenced hostilities by in- to Macevading Bithynia: but before the armies came to a general ac-don. tion, an accommodation was effected, Antiochus renouncing his pretentions to the crown of Macedon, and Antigonus marrying Phila the daughter of Stratonice by Seleucus.

The Gauls, about this time, by the favour of Nicomedes, hav- Defeats ing got fettlements in Afia, where they greatly harafied the the Gauls. neighbouring provinces, Antiochus marched against them, and defeated them with great flaughter; on which account he he acquired the title of Sotor, or Saviour. Not long after, hearing of the death of Philaterus prince of Pergamus, he invaded his territories; but Eumenes, the nephew and successor of the deceased prince, defeated him in a battle near Sardis, and thereby not only fecured himself in the possession of what he had already enjoyed, but enlarged his dominions with feveral new acquisitions. Antiochus, after this defeat, returning to Antioch, put to death one of his fons for raising disturbances in his absence, and at the same time proclaimed the other, whose name was Antiochus, king of Syria.

The young prince foon succeeded to the throne by the death Antiochus of his father, and assumed the sirname of Theos, that is god, Theos. which was first bestowed upon him by the Milesians, who were Bef. Ch. delivered by him from the tyranny of Timarchus. This Timarthus being governor of Caria for Ptolemy Philadelphus, rebelled against his fovereign, and fetting up for himself, chose Meletus for the feat of his tyranny; but was flain by Antiochus.

Apame, the fifter of Antiochus, who had been married to Magas king of Cyrene and Lybia, upon his death married Demetrius the half brother of Antigonus king of Macedon, to prevent the marriage of her daughter Berenice with Ptolemy, who fought by that means to annex Cyrene and Lybia to his dominions. The Cyreneans, however, detesting Demetrius on account of his infolence, murdered him in his bed; upon which Berenice went into Egypt, and Apame came to her brother, and excited him to a war with Ptolemy. This war, which began in the third War beyear of the reign of Antiochus, continued for many years with twixt him great fury. Ptolemy left the whole conduct of the war to and Ptohis generals, his bad health rendering him unable to bear the lemy Phitatigues of a campaign; but Antiochus, who was in the flower ladelphus. of his age, took the field at the head of a numerous army. Hiltory has not transmitted to us the successes and defeats of either party, probably because they were not very considerable; for if any fignal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age when so many learned men and able hiftorians lived.

While Antiochus was engaged in this war, great commotions and revolts happened in the eastern provinces of his empire, B b 4

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The Far- which were occasioned by the lewdness of Agathocles, whom sbians and Arrian calls Pherecles, to whom Antiochus had committed the ad-Bastrians ministration of all the provinces beyond the Euphrates. Haying made an attempt on the modesty of a beautiful youth named Tiridates, his brother Arfases, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being supported by some friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor and flew him. Soon after he found himself strong enough to drive out the Macedonians, when he fet up for himself, fixing his residence at Hecatompolis, and there gave rife to the Parthian Much about the fame time Theodotus revolted in Bactria, and from governor, became king, of that province. His example, and that of Arfaces, were followed by all the nations in those parts, each of them setting up princes of their own, by which means Antiochus lost all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates.

He concludes a Ptolemy.

These commotions in the east making Antiochus weary of his war with Ptolemy, a treaty of peace was concluded bepeace with tween them on the following terms: That Antiochus should divorce his wife Laodice, who was his own fifter by the father, marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, and fettle the crown upon the male issue of that marriage. Antiochus, pursuant to this treaty, put away Landice, tho' she had already brought him two fons, and folemnized the nuptials with the daughter of Ptolemy in the most magnificent manner. Ptolemy granted a large dowry with his daughter, and ordered regular supplies of water from the Nile to be transmitted to her wherever she was, believing the water of that river to be more beneficial to her health than any other.

He is poifoned by his wife Laodice.

Ptolemy Philadelphus dying about two years after, Antiochus no fooner heard of his death, than he removed Berenice from his bed, and recalled Landice; who being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing left he might again alter his mind and receive Berenice, resolved to secure the succession to her fon. She accordingly poisoned Antiochus, and when she faw him expiring, ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one Artemon, who greatly refembled him in his features, and in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. Artimon personating Antiochus with great dexterity, recommended his dear Laodice and her children to the lords that visited him; and orders were issued, in the name of Antiochus, enjoining all his subjects to obey his beloved fon Seleucus Callinicus, and acknowlege him for their lawful fovereign.

Seleucus Bef. Ch. 246.

The death of Antiochus being then published, Callinicus, Callinicus, without any opposition, ascended the throne. Berenice and her young fon being foon after informed that Laadice intended to cut them off, fled to Daphne, a city within five miles of Antioch, and thut themselves up in the asylum. The cities of Asia hearing that the was closely befieged there by the forces of Seleucus, sent a strong body of forces to her relief. Her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes, haftened thither likewise, at the head

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of a formidable army; but both Berenice and her fon, with all the Egyptians who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue. These two armies determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The Afian forces joined the Egyptian, and Ptolemy at the Ptolemy head of both carried all before him. He not only flew Laodice, Euergetes but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and after-feizes Sywards subdued all the country as far as Babylon and the river ria and Tigris. If he had not been obliged by a fedition to return to Cilicia. Egypt, he would have brought under subjection all the provinces of the Syrian empire. Having appointed Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this fide mount Taurus, and Xantippus to command in those he had possessed himself of beyond it, he returned to Egypt with an immense booty. He is said to have brought with him 40,000 talents of filver, very many gold and filver veffels, and 2500 statues, among which were many Egyptian idols. These he replaced in their antient temples; in acknowledgement for which great favour, his superstitious subjects honoured him with the title of Euergetes, or Benefactor. Seleucus Callinicus, after the departure of Ptolemy, put to fea

with a large fleet to reduce the revolted cities; but almost all his ships were destroyed by a violent storm, himself, with a small number of his attendants, being, with the utmost difficulty, faved. This dreadful stroke, however, by a strange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-establishment of his affairs; for the revolted cities now turning their hatred into compassion, submitted to him anew. Having recovered, by this unexpected Seleucus revolution, the best part of his dominions, he raised an army to defeated reduce the rest; but was again defeated by Ptolemy, and obliged by Ptoto fly to Antioch. In this condition he folicited the affiftance lemy. of his brother Antiochus Hierax, promifing him all the provinces in leffer Asia, where he was governor, if he would extricate him out of his present difficulties. Antiochus, who was very ambitious, readily accepted the proposal; and tho' he was then only 14 years of age, formed a delign to feize his brother's dominions, and with that intention reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary Gauls. When Ptolemy heard that He con-Antiochus was preparing to join Seleucus against him, and that cludes a

Antiochus, however, still continuing his military preparations, Seleucus marched, without delay, over mount Taurus to suppress them. The two brothers came to an engagement near Defeated Ancyra in Asia Minor, in which battle Seleucus was entirely de-by his brofeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, he having very ther Antionarrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Antiochus, ochus. even after his victory, was exposed to great dangers, a body of Gauls in his service, upon a salse report of the death of Seleucus, having plotted his death, in hopes of making themselves masters

the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia had also formed a confede-peace

racy in favour of Seleucus, he concluded a truce with him for with Pth

of

of Afia. He was therefore obliged to redeem his life with all

the treasures he possessed.

Eumenes of Afia Minor.

Eumenes prince of Pergamus, taking advantage of these diviand Atta-fions, advanced against Antiochus, who, to defend himself, entered into a new treaty with the Gauls; which, however, did great part not prevent Eumenes and his fuccessor Attalus from seizing great part of Asia. The Syrian empire, in the mean time, was curtailed by Theodotus and Arsaces; the latter of whom possessed himself of Hyrcania, which he annexed to Parthia. Theodotus, who had possessed himself of Bactria, dying soon after, Arfaces entered into an alliance with his fon Theodotus for their mutual defence. Mean while the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, carried on the war against each other with implacable hatred. The Gauls, or Galatians, at this time came into Asia in numerous bands, and served under such princes as thought fit to hire them. Antiochus, as we have mentioned, entered into an alliance with them, and fent 120,000 of them into Babylonia, where they were defeated by 8000 Babylonih Jews, and 4000 Macedonians; which victory Judas Maccabaus mentions in his speech to his army. Antiochus, after several overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from place to place with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at length driven quite out of Mesopotamia. Having married the daughter of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he retired thither; but his father-in-law, foon wearying of entertaining fo chargeable a guest, formed a design to cut him off; which Antiochus being informed of, fled to Ptolemy in Egypt, who immediately caused

The mife-him to be imprisoned. After several years confinement, he rable end made his escape by the affiftance of a courtesan; but as he of Antio- was retiring out of the kingdom, he was murdered by a band chus. of robbers.

Arfaces his new possestions.

Seleucus having repaired the diforders occasioned by the war with his brother, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces; but Arfaces having had too much time to establishes strengthen himself, obliged him to return with shame and dishimself in honour. Some time after Seleucus undertook a second expedition against the king of Parthia, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by Arfaces in a great battle, but taken prisoner, dying about four years afterwards in Parthia by a fall from his horse. He reigned, according to some, 20, or, according to others, 21 years, and left behind him two fons, Seleucus and Antiochus, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Mithridates king of Pontus, yielding Phrygia to him for her dowry.

Seleucus Bef. Chr. 226.

Seleucus, upon succeeding to the throne, assumed the name Ceraunus. of Ceraunus, tho' he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind. During his short reign of three years, Achaus, the son of Andromachus, his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs with the greatest prudence. Attalus king of Pergamus having made himself master of all Afia Minor, Seleucus marched against him with an army;

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7; ut but wanting money to pay his forces, the foldiers began to despise him, and Nicator and Apaturius, two of his chief officers, put an end to his life by poison. Achaus, who was then He is point the army, revenged his death by cutting off the two ring-foned. leaders, and all those who were any ways concerned in the plot.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achaus, who had managed with fuch great prudence after the king's death, as prevented Attalus from reaping any advantage from that accident. Tho' feveral of the provinces Antiochus made him the same offer, yet he, with great integrity, pre-the Great. served the crown for his cousin Antiochus, the brother of the Bef. Chr. deceased king, who was but in the 15th year of his age. Achaus fending a detachment of the army to him at Antioch, under the command of Epigenes, remained with the rest of the troops in Afia Minor, where he foon recovered all the countries which Attalus had wrested from the Syrian empire: Antiochus feeing himself seated on the throne, sent Molo and Alexander into the east, appointing the former governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. These two brothers were no sooner fixt Alexander in their governments, but they refused to acknowlege the au- and Molo, thority of the young king, but set up for themselves in their two of his respective districts. What instigated them chiefly to the revolt, generals, was the cruelty and malice of Hermias the Carian, who was revolt. prime minister, and bore a great sway at court. This man was of an obstinate, haughty, and envious disposition, and suspected all those who had any share in the king's esteem, particularly hating Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time. Epigenes giving it as his opinion, that it was absolutely necessary that the king should, without delay, march in person against the rebels; Hermias replied, in a violent passion, that this was not the first treacherous advice he had given, and that he intended to betray the king into the hands of the rebels. He himself was really afraid to venture upon that expedition; but as the present king of Egypt was a most vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much lefs formidable enemy, and therefore advised the king to march in person against him, and attempt the recovery of Syria.

The opinion of Hermias prevailing, the king sent Zeno and Theodotus to suppress the rebellion in the east, and marched in person into Caele-Syria; and at Seleucia near Zeugma, celebrated his nuptials with Laodice the daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus. Before he lest this city, being informed that the re-Histroops bels had defeated his generals, he proposed to drop his Syrian deseated expedition and marched against them; but was again over-per-by the suaded by Hermias, and sent Xenetas an Achean, a creature of rebeis. the minister, with another body of troops into the east. Xenetas soon incurred the hatred of his officers and soldiers by his haughtiness and insolence, and was cut off, with his whole army, at the Tigris. This victory opened to the rebels the pro-

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vince of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they made

themselves masters without the least opposition.

Antiochus difappointed in his at-Syria.

Refolves to march against

Antiochus, in the mean time, found it impracticable to penetrate beyond Libanus, and therefore returned with his army. The fecond victory of the rebels not a little alarmed him, and proposing to march against them in person, he desired his countempt up- fellors to give him their opinion. Epigenes again urged him on Calo- to hasten his march against the rebels; but Hermias began to exclaim against Epigenes, and renew the antient charge, as if he defigned to deliver up the king to the rebels. The king, however, declaring for the opinion of Epigenes, Hermias, on a fudden, became quite another man, and feemed the most fanguine of them all in haftening the execution of what he had the rebels. hitherto opposed. After the troops had affembled at Apamea, a fedition breaking out among them about their arrears, Hermian offered to the king to fatisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take Epigenes with him in the expedition. The king, who was fenfible of the great abilities of Epigenes, yielded with the utmost reluctance to this proposal. Epigenes was ordered to remain at Apamea, and foon after the departure of the army, he was treacherously cut off by Alexis the governor of the place, who having bribed a fervant to put a forged letter among his papers, accused him of corresponding with the rebels, and, without a trial, put him to death, The king, at the bare fight of the letter, approved of his death; but the great men of the court understood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their mafter, being awed into filence by the great power of the minister.

Antiochus, upon his arrival at Antioch in Mygdonia, a province of Mesopotamia, put his troops into winter quarters in that neighbourhood. The following spring, having again assembled his army at Liba near the Tigris, Hermias, in a council of war, advised him to march along that river: but Zeuxes, tho' he had the fate of Epigenes before his eyes, could not help opposing that advice. He represented, that after a tedious march thro' a defart, they might eafily be opposed at a place called the King's Camp, and be obliged to return thro' the fame defart. On the other hand, he made it appear, that if they passed the Tigris, they should be well supplied with provisions, and would greatly diffress the enemy. The advice of Zeuxes being followed, the army passed the Tigris, and proceeded to Apollonia, where they came up with the rebels and entirely defeated them, Molo, and many of his accomplices, in despair killing themselves. Neolaus, or Nicolas, the brother of Molo, escaping from the battle, fled to his brother Alexander in Persia, where finding their affairs quite desperate, they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and, lastly, difpatched themselves. After Antiochus had pillaged the camp, he ordered Molo's body to be fixed on a cross, and placed on one of the highest mountains of Media. The remains of the conquered army submitting to the king, he after, having severe-

Antiochus entirely defeats Molo.

ly reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into Media, under the command of those he sent to regulate

the affairs of that province.

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Antiochus having re-established his authority in the revolted Artabazaprovinces, refolved to attack the barbarians bordering on his nes king dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking of Media part with his rebellious subjects. He first marched against Ar- submits tabaranes king of Atropatia, which country extended from the to him. Euxine to the Caspian sea, and had never been conquered by Alexander, but fince the fall of the Persian empire, had been governed by the ancestors of Artabazanes. The king being at this time far advanced in years, yielded to the necessity that pressed him, and submitted, without reserve, to such conditions as were demanded by Antiochus. Hermias, at first, had greatly opposed this expedition; but upon hearing that the queen was brought to bed of a fon, he warmly promoted a war with the barbarians, in hopes that the king might lose his life in that dangerous expedition; in which case he would become guardian of the fon, and mafter of the kingdom.

Since the victory of Antiochus over the rebels, Hermias had Hermias become intolerably arrogant. Apollophanes, the king's physi-put to cian, entertaining some apprehensions with respect to the perdeath by son of the king, took an opportunity to represent to him the the orders general discontent of his subjects, and the danger he himself of Antiowas in from his ambitious and wicked minister. Antiochus chus. thanking Apollophanes for his concern, acknowleged that he

thanking Apollophanes for his concern, acknowleged that he both feared and hated Hermias, and accordingly concerted measures for cutting him off. The design being communicated to such persons as were proper to be trusted, the king, accompanied by Hermias, walked early out of the camp, under pretence of refreshing himself with the cool morning air; and when he came to a solitary place, he stepped aside as on some necessary occasion, when his attendants put Hermias to death, to the great satisfaction of all the provinces of the Syrian empire. Upon the news of the death of Hermias, his wife was

killed at Apamea by the women of the city, and his children by the children.

As foon as Antiochus had returned to Syria, and dismissed his Acheus troops to their winter quarters, he made great preparations revolts. for the war against Ptolemy, and sent letters to Acheus, filled with expossulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to put on his head the royal diadem, and usurp the name of king. Acheus having drawn upon himself the envy of the prime minister in consequence of that, forged letters were produced to prove that he entertained treacherous designs against his prince, and held a correspondence with Ptolemy. He being informed that resolutions were taken at court to ruin him, thought that he had no other way to secure himself against the evil designs of his enemies, than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Asia, and was crowned at Lacdicea in Phrygia.

Antiochus,

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Antiochus the Egyptians.

Antiochus, the following spring, having assembled his forced at Apamea, began the campaign with the fiege of Seleucia, which leuciafrom had been for 27 years in the hands of the Egyptians, who from thence greatly incommoded Antioch, the city being fituated betwixt it and the sea near the mouth of the river Orontes. Having invested the place by land and sea, and corrupted someof the off. cers of the garrison, he made himself master of it by a general The inhabitants were treated by him with the utmost humanity, and restored to their possessions and antient privileges.

Antiochus himself master of

makes

Ptolemais

and Tyre.

Antiochus now marched with the utmost expedition into Cale-Syria, being invited thither by Theodotus the Etolian, whom Ptolemy had appointed governor of that province. Theodotus had formerly repulsed Antiochus, when he attempted to pene. trate into Cale-Syria; but instead of being honoured for his fervices, he found it difficult to fave himself, his conduct being blamed by Ptolemy, who spent his whole time in the most abominable debaucheries of every kind. Antiochus, upon his arrival before Ptolemais, was put in possession of that place, and of Tyre, by Theodotus, who delivered into his hands also the magazines which Ptolemy had prepared in those two cities for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of 40 sail which lay in the two harbours. As Egypt was at this time overflowed, Antiochus laid aside his design of marching thither, and employed himself in reducing the rest of Cale-Syria. He recovered almost the whole country; but Dura, or Dor, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel, baffled all his attempts; fo that winter drawing on, he hearkened to the ambassadors of Ptolemy, and agreed to a truce for four months. During this truce, negotiations were fet on foot for a peace; but as both parties infifted on their right to Cæle-Syria, in consequence of the division made by the four kings after the defeat of Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus, nothing was concluded upon, and the conferences were broke off.

Antiochus advances into Syria,

The following spring Antiochus again took the field, and on his arrival at Marathos was met by the Aradians, with whom he concluded an alliance; and having composed some differences betwixt the Aradians in the island and those on the continent, he advanced into Syria. Nicolaus the Ætolian, who commanded the Egyptian forces, having received supplies of all kinds from Egypt, occupied a narrow pass, betwixt mount Libanus and the fea, and the Egyptian fleet, under the command of Perigenes, was stationed on the coast. Antiochus, after viewing the entrenchments of the enemy, ordered them to be attacked, while his fleet engaged that of the Egyptians. At lea, it was a drawn battle; but at land, the forces of Antiochus diflodged Nicolaus, and obliged him to retreat to Sidon, with the loss of 2000 men killed, and the like number taken prifoners. Antiochus, after the victory, encamped with all his forces before Sidon; but the place being frongly garrifoned, and furnished with all kinds of stores, he made no attempt against

and defeats the Egyptian army.

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against it. Having sent his fleet to Tyre, he marched with his army into Galilee, where he reduced the cities of Philoteria, Scythopolis, and Attabyrium, which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country submitted to the conqueror. From Galilee he croffed the fordan, and entering Gilead, poffessed himself of all that country, which had formerly been the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and one of the half tribes of Manasseh. After this success, his army being plentifully supplied with provisions, he reduced Rabbah of the children of Ammon, called by Polybius Rabatamana; and then giving 5000 men to Hippolochus and Cereas to defend the frontiers of Samaria, he marched with his army to Ptolemais, where he intended to pass the winter.

The following spring, Ptolemy took the field in person, at the head of an army of 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 73 elephants; and marching thro' the defarts on the east of Egypt, encamped at Raphiæ, a city lying between Rhinocolura and Gaza. Antiochus, whose army consisted of 72,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants, came and encamped within five furlongs of the enemy. Here Theodotus the Ætolian gave a fignal instance of his intrepidity and resolution; for during the night, he entered the enemy's camp with two companies, and advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent with the design to kill him; but the king lying that night elsewhere, he killed his first phylician, wounded two other persons, and then, amidst the alarm and confusion which his attempt occasioned, escaped to his own camp.

The two kings, after remaining five days in fight, at length Antiochus engaged in a decifive battle, in which Antiochus was defeated, entirely with the loss of 10,000 men flain, and 4000 taken prisoners. defeated After this battle, Antiochus retiring with the remainder of his at Raphia. army to Antioch, the cities of Cale-Syria and Palestine strove, Bef. Ch. as it were, which of them should first submit to Ptolemy; who, after he had passed three months in that country, and restored Ptolemy peace and order among all the cities, returned to Egypt. An- recovers tiochus finding his authority much lessened by his late defeat, Caleand fearing lest Achaus should take advantage of the present Syria and state of his affairs, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy to sue for a Palestine, peace; which offer that indolent and luxurious prince em- and conbraced with immoderate haste. Cale-Syria, Phenice, and Pa- cludes a lestine being accordingly refigned to him by Antiochus, the peace with peace was immediately concluded.

Antiochus now bent all his thoughts on profecuting the war against Achæus, and after making vast preparations for that expedition, croffed mount Taurus with an army. Attalus king Antiochus of Pergamus entering into an alliance with him, the two kings takes acted with all their force against Achaus, and so distressed him, Sardis. that he was obliged to shut himself up in Sardis; which city, after it been besieged by both princes above a year, was at length taken by a stratagem. Achaeus, when the city was taken, retired into the castle, where he defended himself with incredible

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dible bravery. Ptolemy king of Egypt, in the mean time, being eager to deliver Achaus at all events, Sosibius, his prime minister, conferred for that purpose with one Bolis a Cretan, who was well acquainted with the by-paths among the rocks on which the castle of Sardis stood. Bolis, who had a relation and intimate friend of his named Cambylus, a captain of the Cretan mercenaries in the army of Antiochus, undertook to prevail with him to favour the escape of Achaus, and receiving ten talents from Sosibius, immediately proceeded to Sardis, being accompanied by a messenger, who carried a letter in cyphers from Sosibius to Achaus. The two Cretans having, by frequent mes. fages, prevailed on Achaus to trust himself to them, agreed to reveal the whole matter to Antiochus, and to betray Achaus into his hands. Antiochus was overjoyed when they first made their proposal, and promised them most ample rewards. Achaus, to proceed with all possible caution, told Bolis and Cambylus, that he would first send out three or four of his friends, and when he should receive an account from them of their being fafely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own person. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with Bolis and Cambylus, and when they were ready to depart, disguised himself and joined them. They were all four disguised, and one of them only took upon himself to understand the Greek tongue, and to serve as interpreter; which greatly perplexed Bolis and Cambylus, who could not be certain whether Achaus was there or no. Bolis at length observing, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up and down, he concluded the person so bonoured to be Achæus; and when they came to a certain place where some soldiers were posted, Bolis clasped him about the middle, and gave the fignal agreed on. The foldiers immediately put Achaus in irons, and carried him to Antiochus; who, when he faw him loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and feemed to be touched with compassion at the missortunes of a man to whom he owed his crown. Motives of state, however, prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him and put to to be beheaded that very morning, thereby puting an end to the war of Asia. All the Asiatic provinces, upon the death of Achaus, submitting, Antiochus committed the government of them to persons in whom he could confide, and returned with his army to Antioch.

death.

Achaus

by two

Cretans,

betrayed

Antiochus recovers Parthia.

Antiochus having now greatly enlarged his dominions, turned his arms the following year against the Parthians, Arfaces, the Media and fon of that Arfaces who had founded the Parthian empire, having lately conquered Media. Antiochus, after marching fafely thro' the immense desarts, drove him from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in fettling all things in their former or der, and providing for the war. Early next fpring he marched into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media. He pursued Arfaces into Hyrcania, and being

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made himself master of Syringis, the capital of that province.

Mr, aces, in the mean time, gathering what forces he could, at length assembled an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with which he opposed Antioshus; who finding it impossible to overpower so valiant an enemy, consented to a peace, which He conwas accordingly concluded on the following terms: That Arcludes a saces should hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on condition of his peace affisting Antiochus to recover the other provinces which had with Arrevolted.

Saces.

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with Arfaces, turned Makes his arms against Euthydemus king of Bactria, who had expelled war with Theodotus, the fon of that Theodotus who had usurped the pro- the king vince. Antiochus maintained a long war with Euthydemus, and of Bastria. on several occasions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. At length, finding that the war was both tedious and unprofitable, he confented to a peace; and being taken with the maiestic mien and agreeable conversation of the son of Euthydemus, he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and beflowed on his father the title of king. Antiochus having then received all the elephants of Euthydemus, which was one of the articles of the peace, crossed mount Caucasus and entered India; where having renewed his alliance with Sophagasenus king of He rethat country, and received likewise his elephants, he returned news his by the way of Arochosia, Drangiana, and Carmania, settling in alliance all those countries due order and discipline. He passed the with the winter in Carmania, and thence returned by Persia, Babylonia, king of and Mejopotamia to Antioch, having, in these expeditions, spent India. seven years. Having, by the boldness of his attempts and the wisdom of his conduct, raised his reputation both in Europe and Afia, he acquired the furname of Great; which he might have carried with glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the Romans.

Not long after the return of Antiochus, Ptolemy Epiphanes, a He enters child of five years of age, succeeded to the throne of Egypt; into a conwhich kingdom, at the fame time, was greatly distracted by federacy several factions. Antiochus, encouraged by the confusions in with Phithat kingdom, entered into an alliance with Philip king of lip of Ma-Macedon, with a defign of Aripping the infant king of his do-cedon aminions, and dividing them between them. Philip was to have gainst the Caria, Libya, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Antiochus all the rest. king of Antiochus, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest Egypt. of Cæle-Syria and Palestine. As the same of the Romans, who had now put an end to the second Punic war, began to spread very extensively, the guardians of the young king, finding The Rothemselves reduced to great straits, sent an embassy to Rome, mans unoffering the Romans the guardianship of their king, and the re-dertake gency of the kingdom during his minority; and left the fenate the guarshould refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had dianship recommended both to them at his death. The Romans, think- of the ing this would redound greatly to their glory, accepted of the young offer, and immediately required Antiochus and Philip to desift king. Cc VOL. III.

from invading the dominions of their pupil. Marcus Emilius Lepidus, who was one of the ambassadors sent to both kings, went to Egypt, and took upon him the guardianship of the king and kingdom. Having regulated affairs there in the best manner he could, he appointed Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, to be chief minister to the king, and then returned to Rome. Antiochus paying but little regard to the threats denounced by the Roman ambassadors, still kept possession of Coele-Syria, and marched into Asia Minor against Attalus king of Pergamus. During his absence, Scopas, an Ætolian, being appointed general of the Egyptian army, reduced all Judea, put a garrison

The Egyptians under Scopas into the castle of Jerusalem, and having recovered several other

reduce fe- cities, returned on the approach of winter to Alexandria. Anveral pro-tiochus, however, the following year, no fooner marched in perfon into Cæle-Syria, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who returned with a He is de- powerful army, was defeated at Paneas near the fource of the feated by Jordan; upon which he retreated to Sidon, where he shut him-Antiochus. felf up with 10,000 of his men, all the rest having been killed or taken prisoners. Antiochus, soon after, obliged him and the garrison to furrender on terms of having only their lives spared, and difmissed them, stript of their effects and quite naked, Gaza, which was next belieged, making for some time a vigorous refistance, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his foldiers. Having then fecured the paffes leading from Egypt, he marched back, and reduced the remain-The Jews ing parts of Palestine and Caele-Syria. The Jews, when Antio-Submit to chus advanced towards their country, went out in crowds to Antiochus, meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities. At ferufalem, the priefts and elders received him with great demonstrations of joy, and the Jews joined his forces in reducing the castle, which had been strongly garrisoned by Scopas. Antiochus, in return for these services, granted the Jews many privileges and favours, having also in his eastern expedition been

very kind to the Fews fettled in Babylonia and Mesopotamia. He next resolved to carry his arms into Asia Minor; but to prevent the Egyptians from invading his new conquests during his absence, he made proposals to them of a marriage between Cleopatra his daughter, and the young king, to be consummated as foon as they were of age, promifing to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dowry with the young princess. The treaty was accordingly concluded and t

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fuffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation. The king, early the next spring, sent his army to Sardis, under vades Afia the command of his two fous Ardyas and Mithridates, while he himself embarked with a large force on board a fleet of 100 gallies and 200 other vessels of all fizes. As he sailed along the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, many maritime cities of those provinces voluntarily submitted to him. While he was employed in the flege of Coracefium, a strong city betwixt

ratified, and the Egyptians relying on the promifes of Antiochus,

Cilicia and Pamphylia, which alone had refused to submit to him, he received an embally from the Rhodians, who required him not to extend his conquests farther. Antiochus repressed his refentment, and fent ambaffadors to Rhodes to renew the antient treaties which his ancestors had made with that state: He at length took Coracefium by affault, and also reduced several other cities of Ionia and Eolis; but Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and the island of Samos, were preserved by the good offices of the Rhodians, and the large supplies of men and provisions which they fent them. Antiochus having reduced Ephefus, took up his winter quarters in that city, employing himfelf in concerting fuch measures as were most proper for accom-

plishing his vatt defigns.

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Smyrna, Lampfacus, and other Greek cities in Afia, refolved The free to oppose Antiochus, and for this purpose implored the protec-cities in tion of the Romans, who willingly granted it to them, and im- Afia immediately dispatched ambassadors to the king. Before their ar- plore the rival, however, Antiochus had fent two detachments of his army protection to besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus, and with the rest had crost- of the Rofed the Hellespont, and feized all the Thracian Chersonese. Here mans. he made it his first business to rebuild and repeople the great Antiochus city of Lysimachia, which then lay in ruins. As it was very seizes the commodiously fituated, he proposed to make it the capital of a Thracian great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his fecond Cherfofon Seleucus. While he was bushed in the restoring of Lysima-nese. chia, the Roman ambassadors, with the deputies from the Greek cities in Afia, arrived in Thrace, and were received in an hofpitable and polite manner by Antiochus; but the Romans, in the first conference, giving themselves those imperious airs which they affumed wherever they came, Antioebus infifted, after much debate, that the Romans should not be his judges; fo that the affembly broke up, without any fatisfaction being given on either fide.

Mean while, a report being spread that the young Ptolemy was Antiochus dead, Antiochus hastened on board his fleet to take possession of leaves Egypt, which he looked upon as his own. Having left his fon Thrace Seleucus with the army at Lysimachia, he proceeded to Ephefus, with the and from thence to Lycia; but being there informed that the intention report of Ptolemy's death was false, he directed his course for of invadthe illand of Cyprus, with a defign to feize it. In his way thi- ing Egypt.

ther he was overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed a great many of his men and ships, so that he was forced to put in at Seleucia on the Cilician coafts, and from thence return to Antioch, without attempting any thing else that year. The report of Ptolemy's death had been occasioned by the discovery of a plot formed against him by Scopas the Ætolian, who intended, after he had affaffinated him, to have seized the kingdom for himself; but was put to death, with his accomplices, by Ariftomenes.

Early the following fpring, Antiochus returned to Ephefus; but he had scarce left Antioch, when Hannibal arrived there, claim-Ccz ing Hannibal ing his protection. This great general had been obliged to puts him-abandon his native country by a Roman faction at Carthage, felf under who disliked his proceedings, and were apprehensive that he the pro-intended to embroil their republic at Rome. One of the sons tection of of Antiochus kept Hannibal some days at Antioch, being desirous Antiochus, that he should be present at the festival celebrated near Daphne Bes. Ch. in honour of Apollo and Diana. Hannibal, as soon as the ceremony was over, set sail for Ephesus, and quickly determined

the king to engage in a war with the Romans.

Antiochus judging himself now able to cope with the Romans, employed all that year and the following in making the necessary preparations for a war with that republic. Hearing that Flaminius, who was at the head of the Roman troops in Greece, was also making great preparations for a new war, which he suspected might be against his son Seleucus, who was then at Lysimachia, he sent deputies to Flaminius to propose an alliance with Rome. Antiochus, by this embassy, designed only to gain time, and discover what the Romans were doing. Flaminius answered the envoys, that if their master desired to treat with the republic, he must send an embassy to Rome, as his own power was now expired. Antiochus not having yet sinished the preparations he intended, sent Menippus, Hegesinax, and Lysias, to Rome, to desire of the senate, in his name, the friendship and alliance of the republic.

who fends These ambassadors, on their arrival at Rome, were not rean embass-ceived with that civility and regard which the dignity and resty to Rome. putation of their master required. The Romans, in an indi-

rect manner, affronted them; for they would not admit them into the fenate, but referred them to the ten commissioners, who had been formerly fent into Macedonia to conclude a peace with Philip, and settle the affairs of Greece. The ambassadors appeared before this new court, where the debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ten commissioners gave this final answer, Either let Antiochus forbear ever setting foot in Europe, or expect that we shall fend our troops The ambaffadors then declared, that their over into Aha. mafter would not enter into an alliance with Rome upon fuch dishonourable terms, but would hazard a war rather than give up his antient right to vast countries in Asia and Europe. The Romans, at the same time, treated the ambassadors that had arrived from the Afiatic states and princes with great kindness, and told them, that the republic was determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus. The senate, however, did not then come to a final resolution, but sent three ambassadors Hannibal to the king, who was continually infligated by Hannibal to

endea- hazard a war.

vours to Hannibal having still many friends at Carthage, endeavoured draw Car- also to engage the Carthaginians to break with Rome. For that thage into purpose he sent thither one Aristo a Tyrian merchant, who on a confede other occasions had executed several important commissions for racy with him. He gave him his instructions, and without committing Antiochus.

any thing to writing, taught him feveral figns, by which he might fatisfy his friends that he acted in his name. Though Aristo acted with great caution, yet his business was quickly suspected by the Carthaginian senate, who cited him to appear before them; but as they had no proof for their suspicions, they deferred the full consideration of the affair for some days. Aristo in the mean time took an opportunity of escaping; but before he set sail, he affixed the following words over the president's seat, Aristo had orders not to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage. The Roman party immediately sent intelligence to Rome of the proceedings with regard to Aristo.

Antiochus, in the mean time, without declaring himself openly, took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. In order to strengthen himself by new alliances, he
went to Raphia, and there married his daughter Cleopatra to
Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, and resigned to him, as her
dowry, the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Palestine, but upon
condition, that he himself should still retain half the revenues
of those provinces. On his return to Antioch, he gave his sesecond daughter Antiochis to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.
He offered to bestow the third on Eumenes, king of Pergamus;
but that prince refused the match, contrary to the advice of his
brothers. The event sufficiently proved, that herein he acted

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Antiochus, having celebrated these marriages, returned about Antiochus the middle of winter to Ephefus, and the following spring invades marched against the Pisidians, and made himself master of all Pisidia. the country round Selga, a city on the banks of the river Cestrius. While Antiochus was in Pisidia, the Roman ambassadors, who had been fent into Asia, arrived at Pergamus, where they found king Eumenes ready to take up arms against Antiochus. From The Rothence they proceeded to Ephesus to visit Hannibal, being or- mans send dered by the senate to gain him over, if possible, or at least by an embastheir civilities, to make Antiochus suspect him as keeping a se- sy to Ancret intelligence with his enemies. Hannibal often appeared in tiochus. public with them, frequently conversed with them in private, and lastly even fuffered them to lodge with him in the same house, which raised such a jealousy in Antiochus, that he no longer treated him with the same confidence as formerly. Apamea the ambassadors had a conference with Antiochus; but as the Romans were too proud to abate any thing of their pretentions, and infifted on Antiochus's confining himself to Asia, on his giving up some cities which he actually possessed, and his renouncing all his rights in Europe, the interview was foon at an end, without any thing being concluded.

The king, about the same time, received the melancholy news of the death of his son Antiochus, a young prince, who had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was universally beloved. What heightened the king's grief on this occasion, was a report spread

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abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rifing merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuchs of his court. Though this report had no good foundation, it was necessary to destroy it by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. When Antiochus arrived at Ephefus, Hannibal soon found that he was not the same favourite as formerly; for the king, under pretence of grief, thut himself up in his palace, and refused him admittance. Antiochas spent his whole time in private conferences with a favourite courtier named Minio, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his mafter's war with the Romans only by the victories he had gained in the east. The Roman ambassadors, on occasion of the king's grief, having retired to Pergamus, Minio prevailed with Antiochus to fend for them, undertaking to answer them in his name. When they arrived, he treated them with more haughtiness than Antiochus himself would have done: he urged in behalf of his mafter's pretentions, that he had as good a right to the countries possessed by the eaftern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the Romans had to those of the western Greeks in Italy and Sicily. Minio nevertheless declared, that his master was ready to give up his claim to some Greek cities in Afia, and consent that Cyzicus, Byzantium, and Rhodes should remain free, and be at liberty to enter into an alliance with Rome: but the ambassadors still infisting that Ionia and Æolis should partake of the common liberty of Greece, which Antiochus would not consent to, they returned to Italy, leaving matters in the fame fituation they had found them on their first arrival.

Antiochus refolves on a war with the Romans.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a council on the present affairs, in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to their king. Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, and was now in great favour with Antiochus, affured the king, that the Macedonians would join him as soon as he landed in Greece; Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, he said, would join him with all his forces; and the Atolians, who were exasperated against the Romans, would unanimously declare for him. Antiochus, being jealous of Hannibal, did not admit him to this council; but that general afterwards taking an opportunity of declaring to the king, that when a boy he had sworn at the altar to be a perpetual enemy to the Romans, by that declaration in some measure regained his considence.

At the persuasion of the Ætolians, the king soon after went with a small body of men into Greece, whither he was attended by Hannibal, who insisted, that the surest way to distress the Romans would be to carry the war directly into Italy. Antiochus, however, from a mean jealousy neglecting this advice, soon found himself unable to oppose the Romans in Greece, and the following year, as we have mentioned in the history of Ætolia,

was obliged to return with difgrace to Afia.

Soon after his return, he failed with his fleet to the Thracian Chersonese, where he fortified Lysimachia, Sestos, Abydos, and

the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from croffing the Hellespont into Asia. Upon the intelligence that the Roman fleet had appeared off Delos, Antiochus returned to Ephefus, and fent his fleet in fearch of the enemy, with orders to engage them. Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, foon His fleet found the Roman fleet, and an engagement enfued, in which defeated he was defeated with the lofs of 30 ships taken and 10 funk. by that o The Romans lost but one ship, which was taken in the very the Robeginning of the action; but the whole crew leaped over board, mans. and escaped flavery by swimming to the Roman vessels. Roman admiral, after having blocked up the port of Ephelus for some time, retired to Cana, a port in Mysia, where he drew his thips on thore for the entuing winter. Antiochus, hearing that his fleet had been defeated at Corycus, haftened to the sea coasts, and applied himself with great care to the fitting out a new fleet, and fent Hannibal to Syria, to bring from thence the Swian and Phænician fleets. He fent his fon Seleucus with part of the army into Atolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and keep that country in awe; and he put the rest of the troops into

winter-quarters in Phrygia.

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The following year, the Romans gave the command of the army against Antiochus to L. Cornelius Scipio, and of the fleet to L. Emilius Rhegillus. Scipio Africanus served under his brother as lieutenant, and Hannibal at the same time being a subaltern under Antiochus, the general attention on this account was The two Scipios, being in haste to pass over greatly raised. into Afia, granted a truce of fix months to the Ætolians, who were now weary of the war, which to them had proved very unfortunate. Upon their arrival at Amphissa in Thessaly, Acilius, who was belieging that place, religned the command of his two legions to the conful, who had brought with him from Italy 13000 men, including auxiliaries and volunteers. Livius, the Roman admiral, in the mean time, had failed to the Hellefpont, and made himself master of Sestos on the side of Europe, and invested Abydos on the opposite shore. While Livius was thus employed, Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, by pretending to deliver the fleet under his command to his countryman Paufistratus, the commander of the Rhodian fleet, filled him with such fecurity, that he surprized him, and destroyed almost his whole squadron: this disaster obliged Livius to raise the siege of Abydos. After ravaging the territory in the neighbourhood of Phocae, he failed to Samos, where he was joined by twenty new gallies from Rhodes. With this reinforcement he failed to Ephefus, and after infulting the fleet in that harbour, challenged them to an engagement on shore; but they declining it, he returned to Samos, and religned the command to Æmilius his fuccellor. Emilius, after appearing before Ephefus and Patara, without, however, effecting any thing, returned with his fleet to Samos.

Antiochus and Seleucus, in the mean time, invaded the king-dom of Pergamus in two different places. While Seleucus be-

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Antiochus fieged the capital city, which was named Pergamus, the king. who had in his army 4000 Gauls, employed them in plundering and laving waste the country. Eumenes, hearing that his dominions were invaded, failed back immediately to the port of Pergamus, Elaa, and landing there, reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The Roman and Rhodian fleets following him without delay, and news arriving, that the Scipios were advancing through Macedon, Antiochus began to be alarmed, and entrenching himself near Elæa, sent an embassy to Emilius, desiring him to enter into a treaty with him. Amilius, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the Scipios arrived, readily hearkened to the proposal; but Eumenes prevailed on him to return this answer, that nothing could be determined till the arrival of the Scipios; Antiochus, hereupon, leaving his fon to ravage the kingdom of Pergamus, marched into the country of Troas, and encamped at the foot of mount Ida, the Roman admiral and Eumenes following him thither to protect their allies. Mean while, 1000 Achaen foot, and 300 horse, entering the city of Pergamus under the command of an experienced officer named Diophanes, behaved with fuch gallantry as to oblige Seleucus to raile the fiege of that city, and to quit the dominions of Eumenes. Antiochus, after ravaging part of Troas, finding that he could not make himself master of Adramyttium, returned to Sardis, After he had evacuated Troas, the confederate fleets failed back to Samos, from whence Eumenes failed to the Hellespont, and the Rhodian admiral returned home. The latter foon after attacked and entirely defeated Hannibal, who had arrived with a Syrian fleet on the coast of Pamphylia. Antiochus, being now sensible of the imminent danger he was

and endeavours to bring fias king of Bithymia.

in, used his utmost endeavours to engage all the powers of Asia in the war. He began with Prusias king of Bithynia, whose over Pru- alliance was at the same time sollicited by the Scipios: Prusas continued for some time wavering between Antiochus and the Romans, till a new embaffy quite fixed him; Livius, the late admiral of the Roman fleet, came to Bithynia, and made fuch propofals to him, in the name of the republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of Syria.

Antiochus now meditated chiefly how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, which he concluded would be best effected by his being master of the sea. With this view he came to Ephefus, where there were a great many ships, all well equipped, and stored with arms and provisions. Having ordered Polyxenidas to fail out, and venture another engagement, he himself marched, and invested the city of Colophon. The Colophonians folliciting the affiftance of Æmilius, he left Samos, and failed to the island of Teos, where he was informed that Polyxenidas was waiting for him off Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia. Æmilius failed towards him with his ships in line of battle, and an engagement enfuing, he gained a compleat victory over the Syrian fleet, destroying 39, or, according to fome

The Syrian fleet defeated by the Romans.

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fome accounts, 42 of their gallies, and taking 13, with the loss of only two of his own. The victory was chiefly owing to an invention of the *Rhodians*, who hung out at the prows of their gallies cauldrons full of combustible and burning materials, which terrified the Syrians, and threw them into disorder.

The news of this defeat so affected Antiochus, that, as if he The imhad been deprived of his judgment, he took such measures as prudent were quite opposite to his interest. He immediately sent orders conduct of to his forces in Lysimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont, Antiochus. to return to Asia, though Lysimachia alone, if well garrisoned, might have stopped for a long time the whole consular army. His troops, in consequence of his orders, abandoned those cities so precipitately, that they left behind them great magazines of ammunition and provisions, which the Romans sound in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army. Antiochus, about the same time, raised the siege of Colophon, and retired first to Sardis, and then to his son-in-law Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, making it his chief business to assemble as great a land army as he could.

As the Romans found no enemies at the Hellespont to dispute The Rotheir passage, they crossed over in good order, by the care of mansenter Eumenes and the Rhodians. The Romans stopt for some time at Afia. Troy, which city they looked upon as the place they had ori- Bef. Ch. ginally fprung from, and were highly pleased to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers. Antiochus no sooner heard that the Romans had entered Asia, than he was seized with fresh terror; and being fully convinced that some deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He accordingly fent an embaffy to the Roman camp, and offered to deliver up to the Romans the cities of Lampfacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria, and to evacuate fuch places in Ionia and Æolis as the Romans had demanded; and laftly, that he would confent to pay half the expence which Rome had been at in bringing the war into Asia. Heraclides, the head of the embassy, who was a Antiochus Byzantine, was defired to make his court chiefly to Africanus, fends an and to affure him in private, that Antiochus was ready to restore embassy him his fon, whom he had lately made a prisoner; that all the to the king of Syria's treasures were at his service; and that he was Scipios. willing to share with him his dominions, and whatever else he had. Africanus, when Heraclides disclosed his instructions to him, returned him a friendly answer; but declared, that as a servant of the public, he could not of himself promise any thing to the king. The final answer of the council to Heraclides was, that peace would not be granted to Antiochus, unless he defrayed the whole expence of the war, restored liberty in general to all the Greek cities in Asia, and relinquished all Asia on this fide mount Taurus. Antiochus, judging that worse terms of peace could not be prescribed to him if he were conquered, turned all his thoughts to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and encamped near Thyatira in Lydia with all his torces.

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Mean while, the Romans advancing to Elaa, a city subject to Eumenes, that king immediately waited on the Scipios, and then returning to Pergamus, fent from thence all manner of provisions for the army, which he soon after joined with all his forces. Scipio Africanus, in the mean time falling fick, was conducted to Elea, which Antiochus no sooner heard of, than he fent his fon to him without ransom; a most noble instance of generofity in an enemy. Scipio, after embracing his fon a long time in his arms, strictly charged the person who conducted him to return his most hearty thanks to Antiochus, and to tell him, that the only testimony he could give of his gratitude was. to advise him not to hazard a battle till he was recovered, and returned to the camp. Antiochus, to avoid an engagement for fome time, accordingly retired from Thyatira, and croffing the river Hermus, encamped near Magneha at the foot of mount Sipplus. The Romans foon after arriving, encamped within two miles and a half of his entrenchments, and in a few days a general engagement ensued, Scipio being eager to engage, even in the absence of his brother. The army of Antiochus, according to Livy, confifted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 54 elephants. The Roman army did not amount to 30,000 men, horse and foot, whereof 2000 were left to guard the camp.

A thick fog rifing in the morning of the battle, the fky grew tirely de- fo dark, that it was not possible for the king's foldiers to diffinfeated at guish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great Magnefia. extent. The damp also, occasioned by this fog, flackened the strings of the Syrian bows, and fostened their slings and the thongs which were used for throwing javelins. The armed chariots, which Antiochus had placed in the front of his first line, and had flattered himself would throw the enemy into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed himself to them with the Cretan archers, the flingers, and horse who discharged javeling, ordering them to charge in small platoons, and to shout as loud as possible all the while. His orders being obeyed, the horses in the chariots were so frightened, that they could no longer be kept in order, but turned on their own troops, which occasioned a great confusion in that quarter. Those in the Syrian army, who were at a distance, hearing the noise and outcries, and not knowing the eause of them, were struck with no small terror. The Roman cavalry advancing, fell on those whom the chariots had put in disorder, and easily routed them. The legionaries, about the same time, driving the elephants of Antiochus upon their own phalanx, threw that body into diforder, which was followed with the total rout of the whole army. The Syrians for fome time fought with great bravery, and had even forced the left wing of the Romans to fly to their camp; but the enemy returning to the charge, Antiochus fled, and was followed by his troops: the Romans, walking over heaps of dead bodies, attacked and plundered the Syrian camp. The riches found in ubicct

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it are not to be described; but the taking of it cost the Romans anew battle, which proved more fatal to the Syrians than that in the field; for the Romans having, in spite of a most desperate resistance, forced the entrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the sword without distinction. Of the Syrians were slain in the battle, in the pursuit, and in the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot and 4000 horse; 1400 men were taken prisoners, and 15 elephants. The Romans lost only 300 foot, and 25 horse.

Antiochus, with part of the forces that remained, retired to Sar- Many cidis, from whence he soon marched to rejoin his son Seleucus, who ties dehad fled to Apamea, and both of them with the utmost diligence clare for passed mount Taurus, in order to reach Syria. In the mean the Rotime Thyatira, Magnesia, Trallis, Magnesia in Caria, all Lydia mans. and Ephesus itself, tent deputies to the consul, and submitted to the Romans. Antiochus, now judging it in vain to oppose the Romans, sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia, to the Romans to sue for peace, which was accordingly granted them. Africanus, to whom they applied, told them the resolutions of the council, and is said to have expressed himself in the following terms:

"We are sensible that the victory which we have lately gained is owing to the gods, and therefore shall treat the vanquished

"with moderation. Antiochus shall obtain a peace on the sol- Articles of lowing terms; that he confines his dominions to Asia beyond peace be"mount Taurus, pays us 15,000 Euboic talents for the expences tween An"of the war, 500 down, 2500 when the senate and people shall riochus
"confirm the articles, and 1000 more every year for twelve and the
"years together; that he pays Eumenes 400 talents which he Romans.
"owes him, and what remains due for corn, which his father
"sent to the king of Syria. It is likewise the pleasure of the
"council that you deliver up to us Hannibal the Carthaginian.

"Thoas the Étolian, Mnesilochus the Acarnanian, and Philo and Eubulis two Chalcidians, and likewise twenty such hostiages as we shall chuse, of whom Antiochus, the king's

All these conditions being accepted, L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to obtain the ratification of the treaty. Soon after, the 500 talents were payed the consul at Ephesus, and hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and the security of the other articles of the treaty. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was on foot, concluding that they should be facrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded. The Roman senate, after ordering all the hostages, except Antiochus, to be changed every year, confirmed the treaty, the articles of which were engraved on brass, and fixed up in the capitol. All Asia, on this side mount Taurus, being now delivered to the Romans, the Greek cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of Caria and Lydia given

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to the Rhodians, and all the rest, that had belonged to Antio.

chus, bestowed upon Eumenes.

Antiochus plunders the tem-

is flain.

Antiochus did not long survive his downfal: being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he was to pay the Romans, he made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy ple of Ju- the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of Syria piter Belas, to his fon Seleucus, whom he declared his successor. Upon his arrival in the province of Elymais, hearing that a confiderable treasure was lodged in the temple of Jupiter Belus, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and seized on all the riches, upon a false pretence, that the inhabitants of the province had rebelled against him. The populace, highly exasperated at this Bef. Chr. facrilege, rose up in arms, and slew him with all his followers.

This is the account of St. Jerom, upon the testimony of Strabo; but, according to Aurelius Victor, after his defeat he gave himfelf up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his guests, whom he had struck and Antiochus died in the 37th year of his reign, and 52d of his age, and is highly commended by most of the antient historians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. His extraordinary regard for justice appears from a decree, which he is faid to have enacted, giving his subjects permission, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws. His great exploits and misfortunes were foretold by the prophet Daniel *.

Szleucus

Seleucus, furnamed Philopater, or, as Josephus stiles him, ter. succeeded his father Antiochus. This prince reigned ele-Philopater. Soter, succeeded his father Antiochus. ven years and some months; but made a very poor figure, by reason of the low state to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans, and the exorbitant fum of 1000 talents, which he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. Seleucus plundered the temple of Jerusalem, and heaven did not long defer punishing him for his facrilegious attempt, by that very hand which he had employed in it. Antiochus, the fon of Antiochus the great, having been thirteen years at Rome, was fent for by his brother Seleucus, who offered his own fon Demetrius, then but ten years of age, by way of exchange. The affair was warmly debated in the Roman fenate, but at length the exchange was accepted, and Antiochus set out for Asia about the same He is poi time that the young Demetrius set out for Rome. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, Heliodorus, his prime minister, who had gone to Jerusalem to plunder the temple, thinking this a fair opportunity for feizing the throne, poisoned Seleucus, and placed the crown on his own head. It is manifelt from the second book of Maccabees, and also from Josephus,

foned. Bef. Chr. 176.

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^{*} Liv. lib. xxxviii. Polyb. legat. 35. Appian. in Syriac. p. 112. Justin. lib. xxxi. Aurel. Vict. Diod. Sic. 1 & 2 Maccab. Dan. chap. xi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii.

that Seleucus, some years before his death, was in possession of Cale-Syria, Phaenice, and Judea; but by what means, or on what occasion, these provinces became subject to him, we find

no where mentioned.

Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, on his arrival at Athens, in Antiochus his way to Asia, was informed of his brother's death, and that Epiphanes. Heliodorus had feized the crown, and was supported by a strong party; but that another party was forming in favour of Ptolemy. who claimed the kingdom of Syria in right of his mother, the late king's fifter. Hereupon, Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and his brother Attalus, who feated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus. On his being fettled on the throne, he affumed the name of Epiphanes, that is, illustrious, which title was never worse applied; the whole conduct of his life shewing, that the epithet of vile, or despicable, given him by the prophet Daniel, suits better with his character. Polybius and Philarchus, who were his cotemporaries, and also Livy and Diodorus Siculus, tell us, that he used frequently to go out of his His extrapalace, accompanied by two or three of his domeffics, and vagant ramble about the streets of Antioch; that he spent whole days behaviin the shops of goldsmiths and engravers, disputing with them our. about the mysteries of their trades, which he ridiculously pretended to understand as well as they; that he was not ashamed to stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the people, and mix indifcriminately with them in the places to which they reforted, drinking and caroufing with them, though he had never feen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleasure, he used to intrude himself, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency; that fometimes, divesting himself of his royal robes, and putting on a Roman gown, he run from freet to street, as he had seen done in the elections of magistrates at Rome, taking some by the hands, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes, fetting up fometimes for edile, and fometimes for tribune. likewise told, that he was much given to drunkenness, that he fquandered away great part of his revenues in riotous exceffes. and when intoxicated with liquor, would run wildly through the streets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace. At other times he appeared in a Roman gown, with a garland of roses on his head, and in that garb walked about the streets, quite unaccompanied; if any one offered to follow him, he was fure to be pelted with stones, which he carried under his gown for that purpose. He used often to go into the public baths among the common people, where he committed fuch extravagancies, as made every body despise him; so that, instead of Epiphanes, his subjects bestowed on him the title of Epimanes, or the madman.

His fifter Cleopatra, who was queen of Egypt, dying foon after his accession to the throne, the guardianship of her young fon was committed to Eulaus an eunuch, and the administra-

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tion of affairs to Lennæus, an Egyptian nobleman of great difinction. The new regents immediately demanded Cale-Syria and Palestine of Antiochus, and this demand foon occasioned a war between the two crowns. Before the rupture, the king of Egypt being declared of age, Antiochus fent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambaffador, to affift at the folemnity of his coronation. The real motive of this embassy was to discover the designs of the Egyptian court, and the measures they were taking with regard to the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Palestine. Apollonius, on his return, informing him that war was intended against him, he went by sea to Joppa, and visiting the frontiers towards Egypt, put them into a state of defence. In this progress he took ferufalem in his way, the Jews receiving him with the greatest acclamations, little judging that they were soon to experience his tyranny. From Jerusalem he went into Phænice, and having fettled all things in the places he paffed through, he returned to Antioch, which city he was foon obliged to quit, to quell an infurrection in Cilicia. The revenues of Mallus and Tarfus, two cities in that province, having been allotted to Antiochis, one of the king's concubines, the inhabitants role up in arms, and committed great diforders; Antiochus therefore hastened thither in person to appear the fedition.

Antiochus, having greatly advanced his warlike preparations, thought it prudent not to defer the war against the Egyptians, but to carry it into their country, instead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined, that as Ptolemy was then but fixteen years of age, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased, especially as the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were then engaged in a war with Perseus To keep as fair with Rome as the cafe would king of Macedon. admit, he fent an embaffy thither, to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and, at the fame time, to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of Cele-Eyria and Palestine, then in his possession. The Romans received his ambaffadors very gracioufly, defrayed their expences, and made them prefents of a confiderable value. They also renewed the alliance made betwixt their republic and his father; but returned no answer to his representations concerning Cale-

Syria and Palestine.

Antiochus, before his ambassadors returned from Rome, put himself at the head of his army, and marching to the frontiers of Egypt, defeated the army of Ptolemy between mount Casus and Pelusium. After this victory, he fortified his frontiers to well on that fide, that they ever after checked the Egyptians in

all their efforts to recover those provinces.

Having spent the whole winter at Tyre, Antiochus, the following spring, gained a second victory over the forces of Ptolemy, took Pelusium, and led his army into the very heart of Egypt. into Egypt. In the late battle, he had it in his power to have destroyed the whole Egyptian army; but he rode about the field, and reftrained

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nd ed restrained his men from the slaughter, which clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; so that he easily made himself mafter of the whole country, except Alexandria, which held out against him. In this second invasion Philometor fell into the Ptolemy hands of the conqueror, who carried him with him to Memphis, falls into and affected for some time to be extremely careful of the interest his hands. of the young king; but when he faw himfelf in possession of the country, he seized all that was valuable for himself, pillaged the cities, and caused such terrible desolations as are not to be expressed. It was about this time that Antiochus took Ferusalem, profaned the temple, and miferably haraffed the Jews, as is mentioned in the books of Maccabees.

The Alexandrians, seeing their king in the hands of Antiochus, Ptolemy placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the fur- Euergetes

name of Euergetes, which was afterwards changed into Physcon, placed on or great bellied, his luxury and gluttony having made him re- the throne

markably corpulent. On his afcending the throne, Cineas and of Egipt. Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers. Antiochus, under pretence of restoring the deposed king, made a third expedition into Egypt. Having defeated the Alexandrians in a fea-fight near Pelufium, he advanced with a powerful army to Alexandria. The young king, dreading the consequences of a siege, prevailed with the Greek ambaffadors, who were then at his court, to interpose their mediation, which they readily agreed to. Antiochus received them very kindly, and proved to them his right to Cæle-Syria and Palestine; but, under pretence of waiting for two persons who were absent, deferred entering upon a negotiation, and proceeding to Alexandria, laid fiege to the city. Ptolemy Euergetes, in this extremity, implored the protection of the Romans, who, confidering that it would be dangerous to fuffer Antiochus to unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, fent three ambassadors to Egypt, to order Antiochus and Ptolemy, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war. In the mean time ambassadors arrived at Alexandria from Rhodes, to effect a reconciliation between the two When they addressed Antiochus in favour of Euergetes, he interrupted them, and declared that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and that if they would restore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. The refiftance he met with at Alexandria had made him change his plan; and concluding, that the furest way to compass his design would be to engage the two brothers in a war against each other, with this view he raised the fiege of Alexandria, and at Memphis put Philometor in Antiochus possession of the whole kingdom, except Pelusium, which he restores retained. Having thus fettled things agreeable to his new Philome-

icheme, he returned to Antioch. Philometor, being at length roused from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to fee into Antiochus's design. He immediately therefore fent to his brother, entreating him to lay afide

The two Ptolemies agree to reign wintly.

all animofity, and make a thorough reconciliation, left Antiochus, taking advantage of their domestic feuds, should disposses them both of the kingdom. Ptolemy Physicon readily embraced the proposal, and an accommodation was effected, by which the two brothers agreed to reign jointly. The two brothers, not doubting but Antiochus would foon invade the kingdom anew, fent to hire fome auxiliaries in Greece, which was a very prudent step; for Antiochus, hearing of their reconciliation. fell into a great rage, and resolved to employ the whole force of his kingdom against both.

Accordingly, early in the fpring, having fent his fleet to fecure the island of Cyprus, he marched with a powerful army towards Egypt, to seize it for himself. On his arrival at Rhinolocura, he was met by ambassadors from Philometor, who conjured him to fuffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. Antiochus haughtily replied, that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the island of Cyprus, the city of Pelusium, with all the lands on that branch of the Nile on which it stood, and the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Palestine, were delivered up to him for Antiochus ever. The answer to his demand not being satisfactory, he entered Egypt in a hostile manner; and having reduced the whole country as far as Memphis, received there the submission of most of the other cities and provinces.

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again invades Egypt.

From Memphis he marched towards Alexandria, with a defign to beliege that city; but when he arrived within four miles of the city, he was met by the Roman ambassadors, who shewed him the decree of the fenate. As Antiochus, while he was an hostage at Rome, had contracted a great familiarity with one of the ambassadors, named Popilius, when he came up to him he offered him his hand, which the proud Roman refused, infisting that he should comply with the orders of the senate, before he Heiscom-would look upon him as his friend: Antiochus faying that he peiled by would advise with his council about the decree, Popilius immediately drew a circle round him in the fand with his staff, and in a peremptory tone faid, "You shall not go out of this circle, leave that " till you either accept or reject the proposal I have made to " you." After hesitating a moment, Antiochus gave the followkingdom. ing answer, which would have better become a flave than a great king: "Popilius, I will do what your republic expects from me." He had no sooner spoke, than all the three ambassadors offered him their hands at once.

He vents his rage upon Jerufalem.

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Antiochus accordingly evacuated Egypt, and also restored Cyprus to the Ptolemies: but being highly provoked to see himself obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, he vented his rage against the Jews and the unhappy city of Jerusalem. After several of his generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut in pieces by Judas Maccabæus, Antiochus fent, at length, Lysias, one of the greatest lords of his court, to compleat the abolition of the law of God, and the destruction of its few defenders. The Syrian army, defigned for ntio-

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this purpose, consisted of 60,000 men, which alarming the sufpicions of Tiberius Gracchus, whom the Roman senate had sent to visit all the kings and free states in the east, he went to Antioch to watch the deligns of the king. During his stay in that city, Antiochus, hearing that the Roman general, P. Emilius, after conquering Macedon, had celebrated games at Amphipolis, caused the same to be exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. Haying invited spectators from all parts, and, at an immense expence, brought to Daphne the best actors and most skilful workmen in Europe and Asia, he celebrated the games with incredible pomp and magnificence, a particular account of which is given us by Polybius *. But most of the spectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleased with all the rest. Antiochus behaved towards Gracchus with the meanest flattery; he attended him like a slave, and even offered to refign his crown to him, which offer the Roman rejected with the utmost indignation; and judging of the king by what he had feen of him, acquainted his republic, that they had no reason to be apprehensive of his schemes.

Antiochus, soon after the celebration of the games, being informed that the Jews had entirely cut off his army, he in a great rage assembled all his troops, with the resolution of destroying the whole Jewish nation, and settling new colonies in their country; but having expended vast sums in the late shews, and squandered away the greatest part of his revenues in presents to his friends, he found himself unable to pay his army.

He was, at the same time, greatly perplexed, according to Armenia the prophecy of Daniel, by tidings that came to him out of the and Persia east and out of the north. In the north, Artaxias, one of his revolt. sather's generals, who, with the permission of Antiochus the great, had made himself sovereign of a small state in upper Armenia, now revolted from him, and Persia, which was in the east, paid no longer the usual tribute, all things being in confusion there as in other parts of the empire, by reason of a decree which the king had enacted, enjoining all the nations subject to him to renounce the religion of their ancestors, and conform He takes to that of the Greeks. Antiochus, having left part of his army the king under Lysias to reduce the Jews, marched with the rest of his of Armenia troops into Armenia, and defeating Artaxias, took him prisoner. prisoner.

From Armenia the king marched into Persia; but attempting to plunder the temple of Elymais, he was repulsed by the inhabitants with the greatest ignominy, and obliged to retire to Echatan in Media, where he was informed that two of his generals had been deseated in Judæa. He immediately hastened thither; and being informed on his march, that the Jews had also deseated Lysias, had thrown down the images and altars, and restored their former worship, his rage and sury encreased. He commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed,

^{*} Polyb. ap. Athen. lib.v. Diod Sic. in excerpt. Valef. Vol. III. Dd threatning

threatning to extirpate the whole nation, without leaving one fingle person of the Jewish race alive. He had scarce uttered these words, when he was seized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. He nevertheless gave orders still to proceed; but falling soon after from his chariot, he was fo bruifed by the fall, that his attendants were forced to put him in a litter. However, not being able to bear the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called Tabæ, fituate among the mountains, on the confines of Persia and Babylonia, where he suffered inexpressible torments. occasioned chiefly by the vermin that bred in his body, and the ftench which made him insupportable even to himself. The torments of his mind furpaffed, by many degrees, those of his body. His uneafiness of mind, according to Polybius, grew at last to a constant delirium, by reason of several spectres and apparitions, which he imagined were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. Polybius looks upon his terror and despair, as a punishment for his facrilegious attempt upon the temple at Elymais; but Josephus thinks his fufferings were drawn upon him, by his profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, which seems to have been the opinion of Antiochus, who, as we read in the first book of the Maccabees, hoped to appeale the Almighty by the great promises he had made. He died at Tabæ in the greatest torments, after he had reigned eleven years and some months *.

His death. Bef. Chr. 165. Antiochus Eupator.

Antiochus, before he expired, fent for Philip, his chief favourite, and appointing him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his fon, delivered into his hands the enfigns of royalty, charging him, above all things, to give his fon, then nine years old, fuch an education, as might qualify him to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, usurped by another. Upon the first advice of the king's death, Lysias, who was tutor to his fon Antiochus, placed him on the throne, and giving him the name of Antiochus Eupator, assumed the administration of his kingdom; so that Philip, not being able to contend with fo formidable a rival,

retired into Egypt.

Demetrius, the fon of Seleucus Philopater, who was still a hoftage at Rome, and was now in the twenty third year of his age, fuse to al- hearing of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the succession low Deme- of Eupator to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the fon of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and represented to them the indisputable right he had to the crown of Syria. Some of the fenators were for keeping the young prince still at Rome, thinking that it would be more advantageous for the republic, that the throne of Syria should be possessed by a child. They even proposed, that Antiochus should be declared the

The Romans retrius to return to Syria,

^{1 &}amp; 2 Maccab. Polyb. in excerpt. Vales. Appian. in Syriac. Joseph. Antiq. Lb. xii.

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ward of the republic, and guardians be fent to govern his dominions, in the name and under the direction of the Roman fenate. This opinion, though repugnant to all the laws of equity, pre- and vailed, and three perfons were immediately named to give law the guarto Syria, under pretence of affifting and advising the new king dianship during his minority. These guardians were Cn. Octavius, of Eupa-Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, and they were ordered by the tor. senate to burn all the Syrian ships with decks, to hamstring all the king's elephants, and in short, to weaken, by all means possible, the strength of that powerful kingdom.

During these transactions, Lysias, who had usurped the guardianship of the young king, pursued with the utmost ardor the war against the Jews. At the same time Philip, who Philip had been appointed regent by the king, finding it impossible to seizes the get any assistance from the kings of Egypt, who were then at crown of variance, hastened into the east, and raised a considerable army Syria; of Medes and Persians. While Lysias was absent in his expedition into Judæa, he seized Antioch, the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. Lysias, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against his rival, granted a peace to the Jews upon very honourable and but is advantageous terms, and soon after defeating Philip, and taking taken and him prisoner, by his death put an end to all the disturbances he put to had raised.

Philip had not been long dead, when the Roman ambaffadors, or rather guardians, entered Syria, which raised no small jealouly in the heart of Lysias, who, as he was himself of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners should deprive him of what he thought his right. Octavius, without even notifying his arrival to Lysias, advanced towards Antioch, with the pride of the republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a Roman. Lysias, being too wife to oppose the designs of Rome by open force, hired an African to dispatch Octavius, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himself. Octavius arriving at Laodicea, between Tripolis and Antioch, with an unheard of presumption began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the fovereign, before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the Syrian ships which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the Scipios, Antiochus the great had engaged to build no more ships of war, and to tame no more elephants. The Laodiceans being greatly ex- Octavius, asperated against Octavius, the African took an opportunity of the Roman killing him in the gymnafium. Lysias fent ambassadors to Rome ambassato assure the senate, that neither he nor the king had any hand dor in Syin the affaffination; but the Romans fent back the ambaffadors ria, flain. without any answer, reserving the whole to a future enquiry.

Demetrius now resolved to address the senate a second time; Demetrius but as he had contracted an intimate friendship with Polybius escapes the historian, who was then a prisoner at Rome, and was gene-from pd d 2

rally deemed one of the best politicians of his age, he first advised with him. The counsel of Polybius was to the following purpose; "Take care not to stumble twice against the same frone; have you but one way of getting into Syria? Should " a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjust " fenate? Only dare to fet yourfelf at liberty, and you will "reign of course." These words made an impression on Demetrius; but he, nevertheless, suffered himself to be swayed by the timorous counfels of Apollonius, a young Syrian nobleman. who had been bred up with him, and again applied to the fenate, who perfifted in their former resolution. He now began to think of putting the advice of *Polybius* in execution, and again confulted him, as to the manner in which he might best elude the vigilance of the Romans. Polybius took the management of the whole affair upon himself, and a Carthaginian vessel being then at Oftia, with the defign of failing to Tyre, he prevailed with his friend Menithyllus, who resided at Rome as agent for one of the Egyptian kings, to hire a passage on board that Thip for himself and his attendants. Demetrius, to conceal his defign from the many domestics he had in his houshold, sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to Anagnia, as if he defigned to follow them thither the next day. The evening before his departure, Demetrius gave a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired house, which alarmed Polybius, who, knowing that the young prince, when in company with his friends, used to indulge himself in mirth and jollity, without bounds or referve, fent him a letter, containing feveral fentences out of the antients, touching the courage, fecrecy, and fobriety necessary for the executing of great designs. Demetrius, upon perusing the letter, pretended to be out of order; and taking leave of his friends, returned home, from whence, in the dead of night, he fet out for Offia, accompanied by some Syrian noblemen, to whom he had communicated his defign. Menithyllus, pretending to have received orders to continue for some time longer at Rome, recommended Demetrius and his retinue, to the number of fixteen persons, to the commander of the Carthaginian vessel, telling him, they were officers of distinction, who were going to serve in the Egyptian army. Carthagini n weighed anchor by break of day, to the great joy of Demetrius, who was not missed in Rome for three days. After two days fearch for him, the fenate, being fully convinced that he had made his escape, resolved to take no further notice of it for the present, but only to send three ambassadors into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce in that kingdom.

Demetrius no fooner landed at Tripolis, than he was acknow-ledged as king by all the inhabitants. In all the places through which he passed, he gave out, that he was sent by the Roman senate to take possession of his hereditary dominions; which report being credited, Eupator's cause was looked upon as lost, and the cities and strongholds strove which should first submit to Demetrius.

The Syrians join him.

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Demetrius. The citizens of Antioch received him with the greatest joy, and Lysias and Eupator, being seized by their own Eupator soldiers, were delivered up to him, and by his orders put to put of death. Eupator, according to Josephus and Eusebius, reigned death. only two years; but the author of the second book of Maccabees says, that he died in the third year of his reign, or after he had reigned three years.

Demetrius was no sooner fixed on the throne, than he deli-He sucvered the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Hera-ceeds to clides, two brothers, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had raised to the crown. great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural lust. This deliverance was so acceptable to the Babylonians, that they gave Demetrius the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards. Demetrius not long after renewed the war against the Jews, in which the samous Judas Maccabæus, after repeated victories over the Syrian armies, lost his life. Upon his death, Jonathan his brother took upon him the command of the army; but the Syrians soon after withdrew their forces from Judæa.

Demetrius, being extremely follicitous to get himself acknow- He is acleged king of Syria by the Romans, no fooner heard that three know-Roman ambassadors were at the court of Ariarathes, king of leged Cappadocia, than he fent thither one of the chief lords of his king by court to treat with them on this subject. He afterwards fent the Roother deputies to them, and at length, by continually preffing mans. and folliciting them, he obtained what he defired, being acknowleged as king first by the ambassadors, and afterwards by The following year, to cultivate the friendship the republic. of the Romans, he fent an embaffy to Rome, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknowlegement of the kind entertainment he had received while an hoftage in that city: he also at the same time sent the affassin who had murdered Octavius. Demetrius, not long after, turned his arms against Cappadocia, where young Ariarathes then reigned, and fet up a pretender. named Holofernes, to his crown.

The king, upon being disengaged from wars, gave himself He gives up entirely to pleasures and ease. He caused a castle to be built himself up near Antioch, and there shutting himself up, cast off all care of to drunkthe public, being feldom fober the whole time he lived in that ennessand retirement. As he entirely neglected all care of the govern- debauchment, his subjects formed a conspiracy for the deposing of him, ery. which, however, was discovered before it could take effect. Holofernes, whom he had endeavoured to place on the throne of Cappadocia, engaged in this plot against his benefactor. Demetrius caused Holosernes to be kept under close confinement at Seleucia, and finding that the kings of Cappadocia, Pergamus, and Egypt had been also concerned in the plot, he judged, that Sends his the fafest way to secure the succession to his son, would be to son to be fend him to Rome. The young prince accordingly went this brought ther; but the Romans reviving their former resentment against up at Dd3

his father, for making his escape, received him very coldly, and scarce treated him as a nobleman. The young prince's governors, offended with the behaviour of the Romans, carried him back to Syria, when they had scarce shewn him at Rome. fudden escape of the son was no less resented by the senate than

that of the father had been some years before.

Heraclides, whom Demetrius had banished from Babylon, and who had been for some time at Rome, now resolved to seize the Alexander opportunity of raising disturbances in Syria. While he had re-Balus lays fided at Rhodes, he found a young man named Balas, of mean claim to extraction, but of parts and address, whom he had instructed the crown, to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of Syria. The kings of Egypt, Cappadocia, and Pergamus, acted in concert with Heraclides, and acknowleged Balas as the fon of Antiochus. Heraclides conducted the impostor to Rome, with Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus, whom he had gained over, and introduced them both to the senate a few days after the flight of the young Demetrius. The fenate received them very graciously; and though the whole city, as Polybius, who was then at Rome, mentions. was fully convinced of the imposture, they passed a decree in favour of the pretenders, defiring their allies to affift Balas, who had taken the name of Alexander in the recovery of his father's dominions.

and is countenanced by the Romans.

> Alexander being thus countenanced by the Roman fenate, upon his arrival in Syria quickly raised a powerful army, Ariarathes, Ptolemy, and Attalus sending him powerful succours, which enabled him to make himself master of Ptolemais in Palestine. As the Syrians, on this conquest, flocked to him in great numbers, Demetrius was obliged to raife an army in his own defence, and, to appeale the Romans, sent Andrifcus, who pretended to be the son of the late king of Macedon, to Rome. The Roman fenate, though pleafed to have that mock king in their hands, did not, however, discountenance in the least the pretender to the crown of Syria. Demetrius, to strengthen himself against his rival, endeavoured, by large offers, to secure the friendship of Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas Maccabæus; but as he had, on all occasions, betrayed an ir-reconcileable hatred against the Jews, Jonathan seemed rather to hearken to the offers of Alexander, and resolved to enter into an alliance with him.

The two kings having taken the field, at the head of their respective armies, Demetrius gained the victory in the first battle; but Alexander, being speedily reinforced by the three kings who had declared for him, and supported also by Jonathan and the Romans, still maintained his ground. Demetrius, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, as his subjects deferted from him to the impostor, fent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidus, a city of Caria, and there committed them with a great treasure to the care of a friend of his in that place. He Joon after hazarded a decifive battle with his rival, in which,

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after an obstinate dispute, he was entirely defeated. When Demetrius

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his troops gave way, he displayed an extraordinary skill in mi-defeated litary affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men and kiltogether. But in the retreat, his horse having unluckily plung-led. ed into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and fur-Bef. Chr. rounded by the enemy. In this fituation he quitted his horse, and for a confiderable time fought on foot with incredible bravery, putting all those to death who dared to approach him. Having at length received a great many wounds from darts, arrows, and javelins, he funk down and expired. Polybius and Porphyrius, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince. tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years.

Alexander, after the death of Demetrius, being acknowleged Alexander as king of Syria, married Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy king abandons of Egypt, and foon after abandoned himself to his natural in-himself to clination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery. He shut him-debaufelf up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, chery. fpending his whole time with them, and leaving the management of affairs to a favourite called Ammonius, a man of a fufpicious, cruel, and favage disposition. All those of the blood royal who fell into his hands, were most inhumanly massacred; which conduct foon brought upon himself and his master the hatred of the whole nation. Demetrius, the eldest son of the Demetrius late king, hearing that the Syrians were greatly distatisfied with attempts Alexander, hired fome companies of Cretans by means of Laf- to recover thenes, who had been trusted with the care of his education, his faand fetting fail for Cilicia, foon made himself master of that ther's province, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. kingdom. Alexander, alarmed by his fuccess, drew together what forces he could; but foon after, upon advice that Apollonius, governor of Cale-Syria and Phanice, had declared for Demetrius, he began to suspect the fidelity of the Syrians, and called in Pto-

lemy, his father-in-law, to his affiftance. Apollonius endeavoured, but with very bad fuccess, to reduce Jonathan, the commander of the Jews. Ptolemy Philometor, in the mean time, advanced into Palestine with a very numerous army, all the cities thro' which he passed receiving him with loud acclamations. The king of Egypt, upon his arrival at Ptolemais, was informed, to his great aftonishment, that Alexander had a design upon his life, and that his favourite Ammonius had taken upon himself the chief direction of the affafimation.

Ptolemy, at first, would not believe that Alexander was con-Ptolemy cerned in the plot; but ascribing the whole to the jealous tem-concludes per of Ammonius, who, without the knowlege of his master, an alliance had put to death many Syrian lords of great distinction, he with Dewrote to his fon-in-law, complaining of the attempt, and de-metrius. manding the criminal to be delivered up to him. Alexander refuling to comply with so just a demand, Ptolemy concluded from thence that he was privy to the plot, and refolved to turn his arms against him. He accordingly sent ambassadors to young D d 4

Demetrius

ed king

of Syria.

Demetrius, offering him his daughter Cleopatra, Alexander's wife. in marriage, and promising to settle him on his father's throne. Demetrius embracing the offer with joy, waited on Ptolemy, and received from him his daughter, who was not ashamed to

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The inhabitants of Antioch, upon hearing that Ptolemy had declared for Demetrius, rose up in arms in a tumultuous manner, and flew Ammonius, as he was attempting to escape from his palace in the attire of a woman. Tho' they detested Alexander, and were now resolved to shake off his yoke, Ptolemy, however, could not prevail upon them to declare in favour of Demetrius. They opened their gates to Ptolemy, and offered to put the crown on his head; but that prince, with a generosity scarce to be paralleled, refused their offer, and in an assembly of the inhabitants pleaded in favour of Demetrius, offering to be their guarantee for his conduct, and undertaking to affift him with his advice. Demetrius, in consequence of the repreproclaim- fentations of Ptolemy, was at length proclaimed king of Syria, and placed on the throne of his ancestors. Alexander being soon after defeated by Ptolemy and his new fon-in-law, fled with a Alexander few followers to Arabia, where he was treacherously murdered murdered. by one whom the author of the book of Maccabees calls Zabdiel, and Diodorus Siculus, Diocles, who had received him in a friendly manner into his house. Ptolemy was mortally wounded in the action, and died five days after. Demetrius, who now assumed the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, without any further opposition took possession of his father's dominions. Alexander Balas, according to Fosephus, reigned five years, but fix years, according to the history of the Maccabees.

This is the account of the troubles of Syria at this period according to Josephus; but the author of the book of Maccabees relates, that Ptolemy advanced into Palestine with the design of feizing that country for himfelf, and left Egyptian garrisons in all the cities thro' which he passed, Alexander having ordered them to admit him as a friend. Upon his arrival at Seleueia on the Orontes, he threw off the mask, and concluded a treaty with Demetrius, whom he foon after also deceived; for upon entering Antioch, he caused himself to be declared king of Syria; but the battle with Alexander, put a period to his ambition.

Demetrius discontents his jubjects.

Demetrius being altogether a stranger to state affairs, left the whole care of the government to Lasthenes, who being a man of a severe and imperious temper, soon alienated the minds of the Syrians from their new king. The first wrong step he took, was to command all the Egyptians, left by Ptolemy in the maritime cities of Phænice and Syria, to be cruelly massacred by the Syrian troops who were in the same garrisons. Hereupon the Egyptian army, which was still in Syria, and had placed Demetrius on the throne, abandoned him, and returned home. Demetrius, soon after, at the instigation of his prime minister, caused a strict search to be made after all those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. death. Having now, as he thought, got rid of all his enemies, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, by which means he raised disaffection among those veterans who would otherwife have hazarded their lives to keep him on the throne.

Not long after, being informed that Jonathan was belieging the fortress which the Syrians still held at Jerusalem, he proceeded to Ptolemais, and summoned Jonathan to wait on him Jonathan ordering his troops to pursue the siege with all possible vigour, waited on Demetrius with some of the priests and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable prefents. He was fo successful as to appeale the king, who confirmed him in the office of high prieft, and annexed to Judea the three governments of Apharema, Lydda, and Ramatha. He agreed also to free the whole country under his government from all duties for 300 talents, to be paid to him

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Demetrius, upon his return to Antioch, gave himself up to He abanall kind of excesses, being prompted thereto by Lasthenes. Dio-dons him-notus, afterwards called Tryphon, observing the general distaf-self to all fection of the people occasioned by the wild conduct of the excesses. king, refolved to make an attempt to feize the crown. He had been appointed by Balas governor of Antioch in conjunction with Hierax, and having been very zealous in his cause, had no share in the confidence of Demetrius. According to Strabo. in the very beginning of the reign of Nicator, he seized the fortress of Coracesium in Cilicia, and from thence scouring the seas with impunity, took many of the inhabitants of the coasts, and carrying them to Delos, fold them for flaves to the Romans. After he had formed the defign of making himself king, he went to Zabdiel in Arabia, and prevailed with him to deliver into his hands Antiochus the son of Balas, under pretence of putting the youth on the throne of his father; his real defign, however, was to put the crown on his own head, after he had driven Demetrius from the throne.

Jonathan, in the mean time, defiring Demetrius to withdraw Seditions the garrison from the fortress of Jerusalem, the king promised and tuto grant his request, on condition he would fend him some mults at troops to keep the Antiochians in awe. Hereupon Jonathan fent Antioch. him 3000 men; by which reinforcement, the king believing himself sufficiently strengthened, resolved to disarm the Antiochians, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their

The inhabitants, upon this unexpected order, ran to arms, and to the number of 120,000 men invested the king's palace with a defign to kill him. All the fews in the city haftened to his relief, fell upon the mutineers, killed about 100,000 of them, and fet fire to the city, which foon obliged the rest to fubmit and fue for pardon; which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the Jews returned loaded with spoils to ferusalem.

Demetrius, notwithstanding the pardon he had granted to the Antiochians, put many of them to death, and treated the inhabitants in the most cruel and tyrannical manner, which alienated from him the hearts of the whole nation. He likewife disgusted the Jews by refusing to stand to the treaty concluded with Jonathan at Ptolemais, and exacting the taxes and

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tributes from them with the utmost rigour.

While things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon ar-Antiochus the fon of rived with Antiochus in Syria, and was immediately joined by the veterans whom Demetrius had disbanded, and multitudes of Balas claims the others whom he had provoked by his tyranny. Demetrius being defeated in an engagement, was forced to shelter himself crown, and is ac- within the walls of Seleucia, while the other party being receivknowleg- ed into Antioch, there placed the young prince on the throne ed king. of Syria, and gave him the furname of Theos, or the god. Bef. Chr.

Jonathan and his brother Simon having received large offers from Tryphon, declared for Antiochus, and having drawn together a great army, they marched round the country as far as Damascus, and secured all those parts for the new king. In the mean time, the forces which Demetrius had in Coele-Syria and Palestine, invaded Galilee, which obliged Jonathan to turn his arms that way. He gained a compleat victory over them, and after pursuing them to the banks of the Eleutherus, turned his arms first against the Arabians, who were of the party of Demetrius, and afterwards entered the territory of Damascus, putting all those to the sword who refused to side with Antiochus, while his brother Simon did the same in the country of

the Philistines.

Jonathan treacheroufly feized by Tryphon,

144.

Tryphon thought it now time to put in execution the delign he had formed of seizing the crown for himself; and foreseeing that Jonathan would oppose such a treacherous attempt, he resolved in the first place to rid himself of so formidable an enemy. With this defign he entered Judea with a powerful army; but fonathan meeting him at the head of 40,000 men, he thought it best to have recourse to artifice, and accordingly told the high-priest that he had come only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put Ptolemais into his hands. Jonathan too easily believing him, dismissed all his army except 3000 men, and of these he afterwards sent 2000 into Galilee, so that he entered Ptolemais with a guard of only 1000 men. He was no fooner got within the walls, but the gates were flut upon him, and he himself seized, after all his followers had been put to the fword. The Jews choosing Simon for their general instead of Jonathan, applied themselves with all possible speed to the finishing of the fortifications of Ferusalem. When Tryphon entered Judea, Simon marched out against him; but was perfuaded by him to fend him 200 talents and the two fons of Jonathan, in hopes of recovering his brother's liberty. Tryphon again violated his promise, and returned into Syria, carrying Jonathan and his two fons along with him; and having reinforced his army, he marched back into Judea, with a design utterly to destroy the whole nation. Being forced by to be mur. Simon, however, to retire with difgrace, he, on his retreat, put Fonathan

who causes dered, Jonathan to death, and soon after caused Antiochus to be pri-

vately murdered.

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Upon the death of the young king, Tryphon took possession and usurps of the throne of Syria, without meeting with any opposition, the crown The first step he took after he had ascended the throne, was of Syria. to try whether he could prevail with the Romans to acknow- Bef. Chr. lege him as king. He therefore fent an embaffy to the Romans, to notify his accession to the throne of Syria, and presented them with a statue of a Victory of massy gold, weighing 1000 of those pieces of gold which were called Aurei. The Romans, without acknowleging his title, received his prefent, and ordered the name of young Antiochus, whom Tryphon had lately murdered, to be engraven on it, as if it had been fent by him. About this time Sarpedon, one of the commanders of Demetrius, attempted to recover Phænice; but was defeated by the forces

which Tryphon had in those parts.

Demetrius, in the mean time, remained at Laodicea, where Demetrius he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debau-concludes chery, without fo much as feeming to be fensible of his mif-analliance fortunes. However, receiving an embally from Simon, he grant- with ed all he requested with regard to himself and the fews, on Simon. condition they joined him against Tryphon. Not long after, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom, by other ambassadors sent to him out of the east, and inviting him thither. The Parthians having over-run and reduced most of the eastern provinces from the Euphrates to the Indus, such of the inhabitants of those countries as were originally Macedonians, not being able to bear that usurpation, earnestly entreated Demetrius to come and put himself at their head. Demetrius accordingly left Syria and went into the east, where He gains he was joined by the Elymaans, Persians, and Bactrians, and several defeated the Parthians in several engagements. Being at last, advantahowever, deceived by false appearances of a treaty of peace, he ges over inadvertently put himself into the power of a Parthian com- the Parmander, who feized on his person, and cut his whole army in thians, The king of Parthia, who was named Mithridates, but is at carried Demetrius round the provinces which had revolted, last made that the people might be easier brought to submit to their for- a prisoner mer yoke. After this, he fent him as a prisoner at large to by them. Hyrcania, and even gave him his daughter Rhodagune in marriage.

Cleopatra, wife to Demetrius, upon advice of her husband's Cleopatra captivity, thut herfelf up with her two children in Seleucia on the his wife Orontes, whither many of Tryphon's foldiers flocked to her; but to claims the strengthen herself the more against the usurper, she invited An-crown, tiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, to join his interest with and marhers, promifing, on that condition, to marry him, and pro-ries Antiocure him the crown. This Antiochus seems to have continued chus Sideabout Cnidos, where he was educated, even after his brother's tes his accession to the crown. Having accepted the offer made him brother.

by Cleopatra, he immediately assumed the title of king of Syria,

and wrote a letter to Simon dated from the isles of the sea, that is from Rhodes, as is commonly understood, since he had been there a little before. To gain him over to his interest, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the Jewish nation, and exempted Jerusalem from the jurisdiction of the kings of Syria, by which means Simon was prevailed upon to declare for him.

Sidetes marches against Tryphon,

The young prince accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, landed in Syria, and marrying Cleopatra, joined what forces she had to his own, and marched against Tryphon. Most of the usurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, went over to Antiochus, whose army was thereby augmented to 120,000 foot and 8000 horse. Tryphon having thut himself up in Dora. Antiochus invested that city. Simon, on this occasion, sent the king 2000 men, with confiderable prefents in gold, filver, arms, and engines of war; but prosperity had changed the heart of Antiochus. He sent back to Simon his presents and troops, and with them Athenobius, to demand the restitution of the fortress of Ferusalem, with several other places then held by Simon, or else 500 talents in lieu of them, and 500 more for the damages done by the Yews in his dominions. Simon not returning a fatisfactory answer to this demand, Antiochus was greatly enraged against the Jews, and sent part of his troops under the command of Cendebæus against Simon, while he in person pursued the fiege of Dora. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, Tryphon escaped from thence to Orthosia, another maritime town of Phænice, and from thence to Apamea, his native city, which being taken by affault, he was there flain, according to Josephus, in the third year of the captivity of Demetrius.

The death of Tryphon having put an end to the intestine broils, Antiochus ascended his father's throne without any further opposition. Having reduced all the cities of Syria which had shaken off the yoke and made themselves independent, he turned his arms against Judea, and reduced Jerusalem to such straits, that John Hyrcanus, who had succeeded his father, was

obliged to capitulate and deliver up the city. Antiochus having concluded a peace with the Jews, marched with a numerous army against Phraates king of Parthia, under pretence of delivering his brother from his captivity; but in reality to recover some provinces lately usurped by the Parthians. He is faid to have had in this expedition above 80,000 men well armed and disciplined; but the train of luxury confifting of futlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, fingers, lewd women, &c. were near four times as numerous as the army; for according to Athenaus, they amounted to above 300,000 persons. Being greatly favoured by the Babylonians and Medians, he defeated Indates the Persian general on the banks of the Lycus, and afterwards routed Phrahates himself in three fuccessive battles; by which means he recovered all the provinces that formerly belonged to the Syrian empire, except Parthia

who is killed at Apamea. Antiochus marches against the Parthians.

thia alone. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and at the end of the campaign returned to Jerusalem loaded with glory and rich spoils. The rest of His army the army wintered in the east; but as they cruelly oppressed massacred the inhabitants in all places where they were quartered, the in their people of the country entered into a correspondence with the quarters, Parthians, and agreed to massacre their troublesome guests all and himin one day in their feveral quarters. This they accordingly felf flain. executed; and the flaughter was fo general, that out of fuch a prodigious number of persons, scarce one had the good fortune to return into Syria. Antiochus, it is faid, was flain as he was marching to the affiftance of the quarters that were next to him*. From the book of the Maccabees, some have concluded that Antiochus was slain by the priests of the goddess Nanea, supposed to be Diana, whom he declared he would marry, that he might have a good pretence for carrying off the treasures out of her temple. All Syria was struck with consternation and grief upon the news of the death of Antiochus, and of the loss of their army. Antiochus was particularly lamented, he being a prince endowed with many excellent qualities. Plutarch relates a faying of his very much to his honour. Having one day loft his way in pursuit of a wild beaft, he was obliged to pals a night in a cottage without any of his attendants. The poor people, who were ignorant of his rank, entertained him with great hospitality; and at supper, the conversation turning upon the person and conduct of the king, the master of the house told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his ministers, whose actions did not always answer the goodness of his intentions. Next morning, when the lords of the court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their presence for his kindness, but more especially for having told him the truth, "which none of these," faid he, "has honesty " enough to do, though I have taken them into my service for " that purpose +."

Some time before the general massacre of the Syrian army, Demetrius Phrahates had set Demetrius at liberty, and sent him with a recovers body of troops into Syria; but upon the news of the massacre the kinghe endeavoured, tho' in vain, to overtake and bring him back. dom of Demetrius, upon arriving at Antioch, made great rejoicings for Syria. the recovery of his kingdom, while all Syria was in tears for Bef. Chr. the loss of the army in the east, there being scarce a family 130. in the whole country which had not a share in that common

calamity.

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A civil war, about this time, breaking out in Egypt between Ptolemy Physicon and Cleopatra his divorced queen, the latter so-

^{*} Justin. I. xxxviii. Joseph. I. xiii. Oros. I. v. Euseb. † Plut. in Apophtheg.

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The Antiochians revolt,

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Zebina.

licited the affiftance of Demetrius, and promifed him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius accepting of the proposal without hesitation, marched with a powerful army into Egypt, and laid siege to Pelusium. The inhabitants of Antioch, Apamea and other cities, who detested him on account of his tyrannical government and vicious manners, took this opportunity of revolting from him, which obliged him to abandon Egypt. and return to his own dominions. Physcon, upon his departure, having driven Cleopatra from Egypt, and fettled the affairs of that kingdom, resolved to revenge the late invasion of Demetrius; and knowing that he was universally hated by the Syrians, he set up an impostor against him called Alexander Zebina. He was the fon of a pawn-broker of Alexandria, but prétending to be the fon of Alexander Balas, under that title laid claim to the crown of Syria, Physicon furnishing an army to take possession of it. On his arrival in Syria, multitudes flocked to him, without examining the justice of his pretentions, or caring whom they had for their king, provided they got rid of Demetrius, whose tyranny they could no longer bear. Deme-Alexander trius being entirely defeated by his rival in the neighbourhood of Damascus, fled with a few attendants to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra then was: but she still retaining her former refentment against him for his marrying Rhodagune, shut the gates against him. From Ptolemais he sailed to Tyre, with the design of taking fanctuary in a temple built there by his brother Antiochus; but he had no sooner entered that city, than he was Demetrius treacherously put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his captivity. Upon his death, Cleopatra reroully put tained a small part of the kingdom. Zebina reigned over all to death. the rest, and for the better securing himself in the possession of the crown, entered into a strict alliance with John Hyrcanus prince of the Fews.

treache-

Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius Nicator by Cleopatra, being now in the 20th year of his age, caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother, who was for reigning alone, was highly offended with the conduct of her fon; and fearing left in time he should revenge his father's death, which was afcribed to her, she, with her own hand, plunged a dart into his breaft and killed him, after he bore the title of king one

year.

Notwithstanding this unnatural murder, which raised an universal indignation all over Syria, three of Zebina's captains revolted from him to Cleopatra, and seized on Laodicea. But Zebina, who was of a mild temper, prevailed upon them to return to their duty, by promising to pardon them, and to restore them to their former rank. He not only generously forgave them, but reposed in them the same confidence as formerly, without once reproaching them with their defertion. Cleopatra, in the mean time, fent for her other fon, named Antiochus, from Athens, whither she had sent him for the benefit of his education; and upon his arrival, declared him king of Syria, allowing

Cleopatra murders her fon

Seleucus.

allowing him, however, no more than the bare title. To diftinguish this from the other Syrian princes of the same name, he is generally called Grypus, a furname taken from his aquiline Fosephus calls him Philometor; but on his medals, he

bears the name of Epiphanes.

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Zebina refuting to pay homage to Physcon, which he demanded because he had been settled on the throne by his troops, the king of Egypt, therefore, gave his daughter Tryphana in marriage to Grypus, and fent a confiderable army to Syria, to drive from the throne the person he had a few years before Zebina being entirely defeated by his rival, fled Zebinadeplaced on it. to Antioch, where, as he was in great want of money, he al-feated by lowed his foldiers to seize on the rich furniture of the temple Antiochus The citizens taking up arms in defence of their Grypus, of fupiter. temple, drove him from their city, and his troops dispersing, he embarked in a small vessel for Greece: but being taken by a pyrate, he was delivered up to Grypus, and by him put to death, in the fourth year of his reign.

Grypus, on the death of his rival, beginning to take on him who is the authority as well as the name of king, Cleopatra resolved acknowto cut him off, and call to the crown another fon the had by leged as Antiochus Sidetes, who was but an infant. With this view, she, king. one day, offered a poisonous draught to Grypus, as he returned Bef. Chr. hot and weary from some exercise: but that prince having been forewarned of her defign, infifted upon her drinking the liquor which the had prepared for him. The unhappy woman being obliged to yield, the poison immediately had its effect, and delivered Syria from a monster, who, by her unheard of

crimes, had been long the fcourge of the state.

Antiochus Grypus, upon her death, enjoyed the kingdom of Antiochus Syria eight years without the least disturbance, at the end of Cyzicenus which Antiochus Cyzicenus, his half brother, contended with claims the him for the fovereignty of Syria. This prince, who was born crown of while Demetrius was prisoner in Media, upon his return to Sy- Syria. ria was fent by his mother to Cyzicus, a city lying on the Pro- Bef. Chr. pontis. Grypus ordering him to be poisoned, Antiochus, in his own defence, took up arms, and laid claim to the crown. Gleopatra, the divorced queen of Lathyrus king of Egypt, marrying Cyzicenus, raised an army in the island of Cyprus, or, according to some, gained over the army which Grypus had there, and brought it instead of a dowry to her new husband.

Grypus having defeated Cyzicenus, foon after made himfelf master of Antioch, where he found Cleopatra, his rival's wife. Tho' fhe had taken fanctuary in one of the temples of the city, yet fuch was the barbarity of her fifter Tryphana, that, contrary to the inclination of her husband Grypus, the tent attaffins, who murdered her at the altar. Her death did not remain long unrevenged; for Cyzicenus defeating his brother in a fecond engagement, in the pursuit took the inhuman Tryphana, whom he immediately facrificed to the manes of his deceased wife. Grypus now retired to A pendus in Pamphilia; but the next year

The kingdom of Syria divided between Grypus and Cyzicenus.

he returned with a great army, recovered Syria, and put an end to the intestine broils by consenting to a division of the empire; in virtue of which Cyzicenus reigned at Damascus over Cæle-Syria and Phænice, and Grypus at Antioch over all the other provinces. Both brothers now abandoned themselves to a most idle and debauched manner of life.

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John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, in the mean time, made himself master of all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria. Cyzicenus, indeed, attempted to put a stop to his progress; but being defeated by the two fons of Hyrcanus, Samaria, after that defeat, was obliged to furrender to the conquerors. The two brothers foon renewing the war against each other, several cities, namely, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Gaza, Inoject to the that opportunity of making themselves independent. In others, Thus Theodorus caused himself to be acknowleded the sovereign lord of Gadara and Amathus; Zoilus possessed himself of Dora and Stra-

to's tower, and others of other places.

Grypus af-Bef. Ch.

97.

Seleucus defeats

The un-

Eusebes defeats the two fons of Grypus.

Demetrius and Philip quarrel about their territories.

During these transactions, Grypus was affassinated by one fassinated. Heracleon, after having reigned, according to Josephus, 29, or according to Porphyrus, 26, years. He left behind him five fons, namely, Seleucus, Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius and Antiochus Dionysius. Antiochus Cyzicenus, on the death of Grypus, feizing Antioch, used his utmost endeavours to make himfelf mafter of the whole empire; but was defeated and flain by Seleucus, who took possession of his part of the kingdom. Antiochus son of Cyzicenus, who was named Antiochus Eusebes, escaping Cyzicenus, from Antioch, which was reduced by Seleucus, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Syria at Aradus, and affembling an army, defeated Seleucus. This prince was now obliged to shut himdefeated Seleucus. felf up in Mopfuestia, a city of Cilicia, where he was foon after burned in his palace by the inhabitants, who were provoked happy end against him on account of the exorbitant taxes with which he of Seleucus, had loaded them. Antiochus and Philip, the twin fons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother, marched against Mopfeufiia, which they razed to the ground, after having put

> was drowned. Eusebes, to strengthen his interest, married Selene, the widow of Grypus, who after the death of her hufband had retained fome territories in her own possession. Lathyrus king of Egypt, whose wife Selene had been, taking offence at this alliance, fent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchæres, the fourth fon of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king of Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent this blow. Not long after, however, Philip entirely defeated Eusebes, and obliged him to take refuge among the Parthians. Demetrius, the brother of Philip, not being contented with his share of the empire, drove Philip out of Antioch, and pursued him as far as Beræa, now Aleppo, which he closely befieged. While Demetrius

> all the inhabitants to the fword. On their return they were

routed by Eusebes on the banks of the Orontes, where Antiochus

trius was employed in this siege, Zizus, an Arabian king, and Mithridates, a Parthian, attacked and routed his army, and taking himself prisoner, conducted him to Parthia, where he died of a

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Philip, after the defeat of his brother, ranfomed all the Antiochian prisoners, which gained him the hearts of the inhabitants of that city, who on his return welcomed him with loud acclamations. Soon after he was again employed in oppofing his old competitor Eusebes, who over-ran, with great rapidity, the Syrian provinces bordering on Parthia. While Philip was absent in the northern parts of his dominions, his younger brother Antiochus Dionysius, seized on Cale-Syria, and chose Damascus for the capital of his new kingdom. He having imprudently engaged in a war with Aretas king of Arabia Petraa, Philip, by the treachery of Milesius, made himself master of Damascus; but neglecting to reward the traitor as he expected, he was again thut out from thence, and obliged to retire. After his departure, Antiochus renewed the war with the Arabians, and was cut off in Arabia, with the greatest part of his army. Ptolemy prince of Chalcis, now wanted to make himself master of Damascus; but the inhabitants bearing an utter aversion to him, chose rather to submit to Aretas, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off.

The Syrians feeing no end to the devastations, slaughters, and The Syother calamities which attended the dissensions among the prinrians subsects of the race of Seleucus, resolved at last to exclude them all, mit to
and submit to a foreign prince, and restore tranquillity to their Tigranes
country. They pitched upon Tigranes king of Armenia, who king of
accepting of their offer, came and took possession of the kingdom of Syria, which he governed 18 years in great tranquillity. Bef. Ch;
Tigranes no sooner entered Syria, but Eusebes sted into Cilicia,
where he passed the rest of his life in obscurity. What became
of Philip, is not known. Selene, the wife of Eusebes, retained
Ptolemais, with part of Phænice and Cæle-Syria, and reigned
there many years without molestation, which enabled her to

was in possession of the Egyptian throne, had spent all his treafures in bribing the senate, they confirmed him in the kingdom,

This design of Selene proving unsuccessful, she attempted to enlarge her dominions in Syria, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from Tigranes and side with her. The king of Armenia, to put a stop to the designs of Selene, entered Syria at the head of 500,000 men, and having reduced Ptolemais, and taken Selene prisoner, she having shut herself up in that city, he caused her to be put to death at Seleucia in Mesopotamia. Tigranes,

give her two fons an education fuitable to their birth.

her two fons to Rome to folicite the fenate in her behalf. The Romans kept them there two years; but after Alexander, who

eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus

Cybiolactes. Some disturbances happening about this time in

Egypt, Selene hoped to procure that kingdom for herfelf, and fent

Vc1. III. E e not

not long after, being defeated by Lucullus the Roman general, was obliged to recall Megadetes the governor of Syria. Antiochus Asiaticus seized this opportunity of asserting his claim, and took possession of some provinces of Syria, where he reigned

quietly four years.

Eusebius.

Pompey, the Roman general, having then obliged Tigranes to Antiochus confine his ambition to the inheritance of his forefathers, An-Asiaticus robbed of tiochus Afiaticus thinking that none could shew a better claim his crown to Syria than himself, appeared before Pompey, and entreated the Roman not to exclude him from a crown which his anby the ceftors had long wore with great glory. But as the Romans, Romans. Bef. Chr. in the age we are writing of, had only the bare appearance and outfide flew of virtue, and scrupled not, when it served their 65. interest, to commit the most flagrant acts of injustice, Pompey gave Antiochus a haughty and disobliging answer, and stripping him of his inheritance, reduced Syria to a Roman province. Antiochus spent the rest of his life in obscurity. His brother Seleucus survived him a few years: for the Alexandrians having placed Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes on the throne of Egypt, fent an embassy into Syria, inviting Antiochus Asiaticus, who was the next male heir to the Egyptian crown, to marry Berenice, and to reign in conjunction with her. The ambaffadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the Alexandrians fent another embaffy to Seleucus his brother with the same proposal; which he readily accepting, reigned in Egypt till Berenice, growing weary of him, caused him to be put to death *. In him ended the whole race of Seleucus, after the empire of Syria had continued in that family



270 years, according to Appian, or 251 years, according to

CHAP. IV.

The history of the PTOLEMIES in Egypt, from the death of Alexander the Great, till that kingdom was reduced by the Romans.

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^{*} Dion. Caff. 1. xxxix. Strab. 1. xvii. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Appian. in Syriac.

another man's child, as foon as his wife was brought to bed, exposed the new infant according to the barbarous custom of those times. An eagle, according to Suidas, touched with compassion, performed, with wonderful care and assiduity, all the duties of a fond parent, sheltering the helpless infant with his wings, and nourishing him with the blood of his prey. Lagus, greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, acknowleged the child for his fon, and as fuch brought him up with great care. According to Theophilus Antiochus, Ptolemy was of the royal family of Macedon by his mother Arsince, who was nearly related to Philip. Justin fays, he served under Philip, and afterwards under Alexander, in the capacity of a common foldier; and it appears, that he was commonly believed to be of mean descent, from a circumstance relating to him mentioned by Plutarch. When he one day asked a vain grammarian, "Who was the father of Peleus?" the grammarian answered without hesitation, "Pray tell me, Oking, "if you can, who was the father of Lagus *?"

Ptolemy seems to have preferred the name of Lagides, or the son of Lagus, to all other appellations, since he transmitted it with his own to all his descendants. According to Epiphanius, he even instituted a military order in honour of his father, calling it from his name Lageon. Whatever was his descent, all the antients who write of those times, give him an extraordinary character. He was one of the chief favourites of Alexander the Great, who reposed in him the greatest trust, and relied entirely upon his wisdom, conduct and courage, in the execution of his most important enterprizes. He was no less dear to the

foldiers than to the king.

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After the death of Alexander, he was appointed governor of Appoint-Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which borders upon ed gover-Egypt; which provinces he held to his death, transmitting nor of them, with many new acquisitions, as an hereditary kingdom Egypt. to his descendants. He is commonly distinguished from the other Ptolemies his fuccessors, by the surname of Soter, or Saviour, which was first given him by the Rhodians, in consideration of the fuccours they received from him when their metropolis was befieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Upon his first being appointed governor of Egypt, he chose the city of Alexandria for the usual place of his residence; and his successors likewise making it their capital, that city became thereby one of the most wealthy and populous in the world. Ptolemy granted great privileges to all who should settle there, whether Greeks, Jews, or Egyptians, which drew such crowds of new inhabitants out of Judea, that their quarter was one of the largest in the place.

Tho' Ptolemy, from the time he was first vested with the government of Egypt, had exercised the regal authority, yet he

^{*} Theoph. ant. 1. ii. Plut. de Ita cohib. Epiphan. de mensur. & pond: E e 2 did

pire.

Assumes did not assume the title of king till he saw himself firmly setthe tide thed in his new kingdom, which happened after the unfuccefsof king. ful invalion of Egypt by Antigonus and Demetrius, that is, Bef Chr. 19 years after the death of Alexander. From this time Soter, agreeable to Ptolemy's canon, reigned 20 years; which with the former 19, makes 39 years, which authors commonly al-Makes his low him to have reigned alone. In the 40th year of his reign, fon Phila-being 80 and upwards, he placed Ptolemy Philadelphiis, one of delphus his his fons by Berenice, on the throne, declaring him his partner partner in in the empire, and successor to the crown after his death. He had feveral fons by his other wives, and among these Ptolemy Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, who was the eldest of his male issue, and the son of Eurydice the daughter of Antipater. Berenice, who had been companion to Eurydice, and was afterwards wife to Ptolemy, had fuch an afcendant over her husband, that the prevailed upon him to fettle the crown on her iffue, and exclude Ceraunus. Hereupon Ceraunus retired to the court of Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had married his sister Lysandra, Upon the death of Agathocles he fled to Seleucus, who engaged in a war with Lysimachus on his account; but was basely murdered by him. He himself was soon after slain by the Gauls in Macedon.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the famous watch tower, in the isle of Pharos, was compleated. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square tower, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course.

Much about this time the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by repeated embassies, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. In this negotiation three years were spent, Ptolemy sparing no entreaties nor charges, but fending continually new ambaffadors loaded with fresh presents both for the king and his favourites. The king at length being warned by a dreadful spectre to send away the deity, affembled the people, and endeavoured to obtain their confent to part with the statue. They, however, envying Egypt fuch a bleffing, furrounded the temple in a tumultuous manner, and threatned to put any one to death that offered to remove their god. Hereupon the god, as some authors write, of his own motion conveyed himself into the ambaffador's ship, which lay close to the shore, and the vessel, the third day after, arrived fafe at Alexandria. Other writers fay, that the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they confented to refign the idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn; which he fent them. The statue of Serapis being thus brought to Alexandria, was fet up in one of the fuburbs of that city called Rhacotis, where a most magnificent temple was afterwards erected in his honour, and called Serapeon. Within fet-

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Within the verge of this temple, which Amnianus Marcel-The celelinus fays surpassed all other edifices in the world in magnifi-brated licence, except the capitol at Rome, was a library, which in af-brary and ter ages became very famous for the number and value of the academy books it contained. Ptolemy Soter being a learned prince, to of Alexencourage and inprove the liberal arts in his dominions, found- andria. ed an academy at Alexandria, or a fociety of learned men, who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy and all other sciences. For the use of these, he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his fuccessors to a prodigious bulk, the books lodged in it at length amounting to 700,000 volumes. This library was formed by the following method: All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt, were feized and fent to the mufæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. transcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. Ptolemy Euergetes, for instance, borrowed of the Athenians the works of Sophacles, Euripides, and Æschylus, and only returned them the copies, retaining the originals for his library, and prefenting the Athenians with 15 talents for the exchange, that is, with 3000 pounds sterling and upwards*. The musæum was first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion; but when 400,000 volumes were collected in that place, the rest were deposited within the verge of the Serapeon. In the war which Julius Cafar carried on in Alexandria, the library in Bruchion was unfortunately burnt. The library in Serapeon, however, still remained, and afterwards became more numerous and confiderable than the former. Tho' it was plundered and ranfacked more than once during the troubles and revolutions, yet it was again and again repaired, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and ule in those parts, till it was at length burnt by the Saracens in the 64cth year of the Christian Æra. The museum on the quarter called Bruchion, stood after the library adjoining to it was confumed, and lasted till that whole part of the city was destroyed by the emperor Aurelian. Strabo, in his description of this musæum, says, that it was a large structure adjoining to the palace, and fronting the harbour; that it was furrounded with a portico, where the philosophers walked and converfed together; that the members of the fociety were under the government of a prefident, whose station was so honourable, that under the Ptolemies he was always nominated by those princes, and in the Roman times by the emperors. The celebrated Demetrius Phalereus, according to Plutarch (in Apoph.) was the first who proposed to the king the founding both of the museum and the library; and he is supposed to have been the first president of that seat of learning.

^{*} Plin. 1. xxxvi. Strab. xvii. Appian in Syriac. Lloyd Lex Geog. E e 3 Ptolemy

The death Soter. Bef. Ch. 284.

Ptolemy Soter, having reigned two years in partnership with of Ptolemy his fon, died in the 84th year of his age. He was the best prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which none of his successors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners and aversion to all pomp and oftentation, which he had shewn while in a private station. He was easy of access, and always ready to redress the grievances of his subjects. He frequently made public entertainments; and on fuch occasions thought it no disparagement to borrow the plate of his friends, having no more of his own than what was necessary for his common use. At the time of his death he held the following countries, which we find enumerated by Theocritus; namely, Egypt, Phænice, Arabia, Syria, meaning Cæle-Syria, Lybia, Æthiopia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and some of the Cyclades. Ptolemy had four wives; 1. Artonis the daughter of Artabazus, who brought him no children. 2. Thais, who had been formerly one of Alexander's concubines, by whom Ptolemy had Leontiscus, or Lenticus, Lagus, and Irene; Solon king of Cyprus, Atheneus tells us, married Irene. 3. Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, who bore him two fons, one of whom was named Ptolemy Ceraunus, and two daughters; namely, Ptolemais and Lyfandra. 4. Berenice, by whom he had Ptolemy Philadelphus and Argaus; with two daughters, Arsmoe, who was married to Lysmachus, and Philotera.

Ptolemy Philadel-1 bus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, on the death of his father, became fole mafter of Egypt, and the many countries we have mentioned above. During his father's life, Philadelphus had carefully concealed his refentment against Demetrius Phalereus, who had counselled Ptolemy Soter not to part with the crown in his lifetime, and had also advised him, in his choice of a successor, to prefer the children of Eurydice to those of Berenice; which advice, however, the king did not follow. Philadelphus no fooner found himself solely in possession of the sovereign power, than he commanded Demetrius to be seized and sent under a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined. till he should determine what further punishment to inflict upon Death of him; but in the mean time the accidental bite of an afp, put Demetrius an end to the life of this great man, whose extraordinary learn-Phalereus. ing and other qualifications deserved a far better fate.

Ptolemy Geraunus, not long after the accession of Philadelphus, being killed by the Gauls in Macedon, Arsinoe, his fifter and wife, whom he had confined in Samothrace, retired into Egypt, where here brother Philadelphus married her, after he had divorced another Arsince the daughter of Lysimachus, whom he had married on his accession to the crown. The first wife being convicted of entering into a conspiracy against the king, was sent a prisoner to Upper Egypt, after she had brought to her husband two sons, the eldest of whom was his successor, and a daughter. The

Prolemy marries his fifter Arfinoe.

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The Romans, about this time, having obliged Pyrrhus king Sends an of Epire, after a fix years war, to abandon Italy, and return embassy with difgrace into his own country, thereby raifed their repu- to Rome. tation among the Greeks. Ptolemy Philadelphus, therefore, fent ambassadors to desire their friendship, and the Romans were charmed to find it folicited by fo great a king. In return for the civilities of Ptolemy, an embassy was sent from Rome to Egypt the year following. At Ptolemy's court they met with a reception fuitable to their rank, and worthy of fo great a prince. He gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they accepted, being unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended to confer upon them: but the very next morning they crowned with them the statues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the Romans great reputation in Egypt, and the king would not fuffer the ambaffadors to depart without new presents, both for their republic and themselves; but they shewed the same difinterestedness at Rome, depositing all their presents in the public treasury before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embally.

After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatas king of Mace-Ptolemy don, having made himself very formidable to the states of Greece, enters in-Ptolemy entered into an alliance with the Athenians and Lacedæ- to an allimonians against him, and when Athens was belieged by Antigo- ance with nus, fent a fleet to the relief of the city; which, however, re- the Atheturned without entering the port, as we have related in the hif- nians and tory of Greece. Ptolemy, in the 20th year of his reign, was Lacedædisturbed by the revolt of Magas, who was his half brother, monian: being the fon of Berenice before her marriage with Ptolemy Soter. Magas re-Berenice had prevailed with Soter to confer on Magas the go-volts. vernment of Lybia and Cyrene, who having married Apame the Bef. Ch. daughter of Antiochus Soter, now endeavoured not only to render himself independant in his government, but even to disposfels his brother of the kingdom of Egypt. While he was on his march towards Alexandria, he was obliged to return home, on intelligence that the Marmarides, a people of Lybia, had re-

volted from him. Ptolemy, by a like revolt at home, was prevented from purfuing him; for 4000 Gauls, whom he had taken into his service, had formed a defign to drive him out of Egypt, and feize it for themselves. Having drawn the conspirators into an island in the Nile, he there shut them up so effectually, that they all perished. Magas having quelled the disturbances in his territories, renewed his defigns upon Egypt, and engaged in the fame war Antiochus Soter, his father-in-law. Ptolemy, however, by invading the maritime provinces of Syria, obliged Antiochus to keep at home; and Magas, without his affistance, did not think it adviseable to make any farther attempts.

Ptolemy being delivered from the apprehension of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by draw-E e 4 mg

Ptolemy enlarges . the trade of Egypt.

ing to it all the trade of the east, which the Tyrians had to this time carried on by fea, and from thence to Tyre by the way of Rhinocolura. To draw this trade to Egypt, Ptolemy built a city on the west side of the Red Sea, from whence he sent out fleets into all those countries to which the Tyrians traded from Elath; but observing that the Red Sea, towards the bottom, was very dangerous by reason of its rocks and shelves, he built a city on the same coast near the frontiers of Æthiopia, which from his mother he called Berenice. The harbour here, however, not being convenient, the trade was transferred to Myos Hormos in that neighbourhood, and from thence conveyed on camels to Coptus on the Nile, and there shipped for Alexandria. Magas king of Cyrene and Lybia growing old and infirm, pro-

poled, as a means to accommodate his differences with his

Magas proposes

between

Ptolemy

chus.

an accom- brother Ptolemy, a marriage between his only daughter Berenice. modation and king Ptolemy's eldest son, promising to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The proposal was accepted by Ptolemy; but Magas dying before the affair was concluded, after he held the government of Cyrene and Lybia for the space of 50 years, his wife Apame did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the fon of Ptolemy; but her attempts only served to kindle a war between Ptolemy and her brother Antiochus Theos king of Syria. The particulars of this war have not been transmitted to us; but the articles of the peace concluded between the two kings, A peace concluded are mentioned by Polyanus, Strabo, and others. One of these was, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, and fettle the crown on the male-iffue of and antio that marriage. Antiochus agreeing to these terms, tho' passionately fond of Landice, we may conclude from thence that Ptolemy had gained confiderable advantages over him. This marriage, which was contracted merely on political views, was attended with most fatal consequences, which we have related in the history of Syria.

Ptolemy dies.

Not long after the conclusion of this peace, Ptolemy was afflicted with the loss of Arsinoe. He did not long survive his beloved wife; for being originally of a tender conflitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loss of a confort whom he loved beyond measure, sunk him into a languishing distemper, which put an end to his life in the 63d year of his age, and 40th of his reign. Philadelphus was a prince of great prudence and abilities; but his many excellent qualities were stained with very considerable vices. He dishonoured the beginning of his reign by his refentment against Demetrius Phalereus. He put two of his brothers to death, having, as fome writers tell us, forged plots in order to give fome colour of justice to his blind jealoufy; and hence he was called ironically Philadelphus, or a lover of his brothers. He was much addicted to effeminate pleafures, and entirely neglected all kind of military discipline. On the other hand, as he was himself a prince of great learn-

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ing, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an industrious collector of books, and a generous patron of those who were eminent in any branch of literature. had a peculiar taste for the sciences, he applied himself nevertheless with indefatigable industry to business, studying all posfible methods to render his subjects happy, and raise his dominions to a flourishing condition. This enticed great multitudes of foreigners to fettle in Egypt, infomuch that, according to Theocritus, this prince is faid to have had in his dominions 33,339 well peopled cities. He built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all persons without distinction who came to settle in them. In Palestine he particularly rebuilt Ace, which he called Ptolemais, and Rhabbah of the children of Ammon. He left fo many public monuments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary tafte and grandeur were proverbially called Philadelphian works. Appian fays, that as he was the most magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, so he was of all the most skillful and industrious in raising it. Besides two large fleets, he maintained in constant pay an army of 200,000 foot and 40,000 horse, with 300 elephants, 3000 armed chariots, and had his armory at Alexandria stocked with 300,000 complete fuits of armour, and all other necessary implements and engines of war; leaving behind him nevertheless an immense treasure.

He was fucceeded by his eldest fon Ptolemy Euergetes, who Ptolemy in the beginning of his reign engaged in a war with Antiochus Euergetes. Theos king of Syria. On his return from that war he brought Bef. Chr. with him out of Syria 2500 pictures and statues, among which were many of the Egyptian idols which Cambyfes, when he had conquered Egypt, had fent into Persia. These Ptolemy restored to their antient temples; in acknowlegement for which fayour, the Egyptians gave him the furname of Euergetes, or the In this expedition, according to Justin, Appian, His exten-Benefactor. Polybius, Ferom, and others, he made himself master of all the sive concountries that lie between mount Taurus and the confines of quelts. India*. When Ptolemy Euergetes first marched against Antiochus, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, made a vow to confecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in case he fhould return fafe; and accordingly, when he came back crowned with glory and fuccess, the cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had built in honour of his beloved Arfmoe, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus, on the promontory Zephyrium in Cyprus. This confecrated hair being loft foon after, or perhaps contemptuously flung away by the priests, Ptolemy was much offended, and threatned to punish the priests for their neglect. Conon of Samos, a great mathematician, to appeale the king's

Justin, I. xxvii, Appian in Syriac, Polyb. I. v. Hieron in Dan. wrath

wrath and gain his favour, gave out that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to Heaven, and pointed out feven stars near the tail of the lion, which till that time had not belonged to any constellation, declaring that they were the queen's hair. Several other altronomers, to gratify the king, affirmed the same; hence Coma Berenices, or the hair of Berenice, became one of the constellations, and is so to this day.

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Ptolemy, on his return from this expedition, having paffed thro' Jerusalem, offered there many sacrifices to the God of Israel in acknowlegement for the victories he obtained over the king of Syria, shewing thereby that he preferred the true God

to all the idols of Egypt.

He im-Alexandria.

Euergetes having agreed to a peace with Seleucus the successor proves the of Antiochus Theos, devoted most part of his time to the cultilibrary of vating of the sciences and the improving of his father's library at Alexandria. With this view he fent persons of learning into distant countries, to purchase, at any rate, what books they should think proper for his design, and invited from Athens Eratosthenes the Cyrenean, and scholar of Callimachus, a man of uni-

verfal learning, whom he appointed chief librarian.

The Terus pay the tribute.

Onias, the high-priest of the Jews, who was of a very coneglect to vetous temper, having neglected, for some years, to pay the annual tribute of 20 talents, Ptolemy threatned the Jews, that if they did not immediately pay their arrears, he was determined to fend a body of troops into Judea, who should drive them out of the country, and divide it among themselves. This message, which was carried to Ferusalem by one Athenion, throwing the Jews into the utmost consternation, Joseph the ne-phew of the high-priest, prevailed on his uncle to appoint him ambassador to Ptolemy, and then inviting Athenion to his house, entertained him with great kindness and splendor, and at his departure made him confiderable presents; by which means he procured his friendship. Soon after, having borrowed about 20,000 drachmas, or about 700 pounds sterling, and thereby furnished himself with an equipage, he set out for Alexandria, joining on the road feveral of the chief nobility of Cæle-Syria and Palestine, who were travelling to the same place, with the intention of offering terms for farming the revenues of those provinces. As their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at Joseph for the meanness of his. He taking all in good part, hearkened to the conversation they had with each other about their business at court, and got such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in their turn. Foseph, on his arrival at Alexandria, finding that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, set out for that city to wait on him, and had the good fortune to meet him on his return with the queen and Athenion in the same chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from Athenion, was overjoyed to fee him, and taking him into his chariot, complained, in a friendly manner, of his uncle Onias. Foseph excused his uncle in so handsome a manner, that he not only satisfied the king, had

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king, but raised in him such an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When Joseph, the the day came, whereon the king used annually to farm out the nephew of revenues of the several provinces of his empire, Joseph doubled the highthe sum offered by his fellow travellers for the provinces of priest, ad-Cæle-Syria, Phænice, Judæa, and Samaria, and proffered mitted to 16,000 talents, besides the forfeitures which had hitherto been the trust of appropriated to the farmers. Ptolemy demanding what fecurity receiverhe could give for the performance of his agreement, Joseph an-general. fwered, that he would give him the fecurity of fuch persons as he could not except against, and named the king and queen, which pleafantry was fo agreeable to Ptolemy, that he trufted him on his word, without any other fecurity. Joseph, borrowing 500 talents to pay his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of receiver-general of all the revenues of the abovementioned provinces, and having received a guard of 2000 men. left Alexandria, in order to act in his new station. On his arrival at Askelon, the inhabitants of that city not only refused to pay him the king's duties, but abused him with opprobrious language. Having caused 20 of the ringleaders of the tumult to be immediately executed, he fent their forfeited estates, which amounted to 1000 talents, to the king. The same rigour he practised at Scythopolis, where he met with the like opposition, and by this means fo awed the rest of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's duties. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him fuch favour at court, that he was continued in his office by the two succeeding kings for the space of twenty-two years, till Antiochus the great made himself master of those provinces.

Ptolemy, after the peace with Seleucus, king of Syria, applied Ptolemy himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward, and was enlarges therein attended with great fuccess; he made himself master of his kingall the coasts of the Red Sea, both on the Arabian and Æthio-dom. pian fides. Upon his return, his affiltance was follicited by the Achaeans against the Ætolians and Cleomenes king of Sparta; but the Achaens having also applied to Antigonus, king of Macedon, for affistance, Ptolemy was so much offended, that he fent powerful succours to Cleomenes, hoping by that means to humble both the Achaens and Antigonus. However, he had the mortification to see Cleomenes expelled from Greece, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. Ptolemy received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness, allowed him a yearly pension of 24 talents, and assured him, that in due time he would use his utmost efforts to replace him on the throne of Sparta: but before he could fulfill his promise, he died in the His death. 27th year of his reign, and was fucceeded by his fon Ptolemy Philopator. Ptolemy Euergetes was the last of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity, or moderation appeared, those who succeeded him abandoning themselves to all manner of vices. unitated his father and grandfather in the generous protection

which he gave to learning and learned men, and was himself well verfed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous Aristarchus. In his youth he wrote historical

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commentaries, which were in great repute *.

Ptolemy Philopafor. Bef. Ch. 217.

His base

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Ptolemy Philopator, the fon of Euergetes, in the very beginning of his reign, caused his brother Magas to be murdered, being jealous of his abilities, and of the interest he had with the army. The death of Magas was foon followed by that of Cleamenes, who was a refugee at his court. As Cleamenes was generally esteemed a man of great wisdom and sagacity, Sosibius, who was Ptolemy's prime minister, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his most fecret councils, even imparting to him his defign of cutting off Magas, which Cleomenes used all his persuasions to prevent. After the death of Magas, Ptolemy devoted all his time to pleafures and diversions, not suffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example being followed by the courtiers, vice and licentiousness universally prevailed; fo that the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy. Cleomenes, not able to bear the diffolute manners of the Egyptian court, and hearing that Antigonus was dead, and the Acheans were engaged in a war with the Ætolians, he follicited treatment the fuccours which Ptolemy had formerly promifed him. These being denied him, he defired leave to depart for Greece with his menes king followers; but Ptolemy, who was wholly immersed in pleasures, of Sparta, paid no regard to his request, and Sosioius, fearing his interest with the foreign troops, caused him and his followers to be confined. Cleomenes making an unfucceisful attempt to recover his liberty, he and his followers rushed on their own swords.

> Antiochus, king of Syria, taking advantage of the dissolute and voluptuous life of Ptolemy, attempted the recovery of Cæle-Syria, Palestine, and Judea, which had belonged to his predeceffors. Ptolemy, after having gained a fignal victory over Antiochus, as we have related in the history of Syria, concluded a peace with him, which filled his own kingdom with fuch difcontent, that it foon broke out into an open rebellion; but the particulars of the civil war are not mentioned by any author.

A civil war kindled in Egypt.

After the victory over Antiochus, Ptolemy, before he returned to Egypt, visited all the states and cities of note in Caele-Syria and Judea, and among the rest Jerusalem, where he took a view of the temple, and offered facrifices to the God of Ifrael, beflowing, at the fame time, rich donations on that holy place. Not being fatisfied with viewing the temple from the outer court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter the fanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself, into which none but the high-priest ever entered, and he once a year, on the day of the great expiation. priests and levites, informing him of the holiness of the place,

Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. Polyb. lib. ii. Athen. lib. ii. Plut in Cleom. drew

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frew together in a body to oppose his rash design, the people also affembling from all parts to withstand him. His curiolity being only more inflamed by their opposition, he forced in as far as the fecond court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this account, being highly Ptolemi provoked against the Jews, he began, on his return, to vent persecutes his rage upon such of the Jewish nation as lived in that metro- the Jews. polis. In the first place, by a decree, he excluded from his balace all those who did not facrifice to the gods he worshiped. By another decree, he ordered that they should be degraded from the first rank of citizens, and enrolled among the common people of Egypt, who were of the third rank. In the fame decree it was enacted, that all the fews should, at an appointed time, appear before the proper officers, in order to be enrolled among the common people; that at the time of their enrollment, they should have the mark of an ivy leaf impressed with a hot iron upon their faces, and be declared flaves. Those who rerufed to fubmit to the decree were to be punished with death; but those who facrificed to his gods were to enjoy their former privileges. Notwithitanding this tempting offer, 300 only, out of the many thousand Jews that lived in Alexandria, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion. The others chose rather to be fligmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark, by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers, excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, which io enraged Ptolemy, that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation. Pursuant to this The Jews resolution, he commanded all the Jews, who lived in any part miracuof Egypt, to be brought in chains to Alexandria, and there to be loufly dethut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place livered. without the walls, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races, and other public shews. He then ordered 500 elephants to be let loofe upon the prisoners in the hippodrome; but the execution was deferred for two days, on account of the drunkenness of the king. The Jews, who were shut up in the hippodrome, in the mean time, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he granted them: for on the third day, when the king was prefent, and the elephants were let loofe upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the Jews, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers and destroyed great numbers of them; which, with some appearances seen in the air, so terrified the king, that he commanded the Jews to be immediately fet at liberty, acknowleged the power of the God they worshipped, and, to appeale his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with prefents at their departure. The Jews, feeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, obtained leave from him to put all those of their wn nation to death, who had abandoned their religion, which permission

permission they soon made use of, without sparing a single man *.

Ptolemy receives fy from

Rome.

In the ninth year of the reign of Philopator, the Romans, who were then at war with Carthage, fent an embaffy to Egypt, to an embaf- renew their friendship and alliance with the king.

Arsinoe, who was both wife and fifter to Ptolemy, after having been barren for feveral years, brought him at length a fon, who was furnamed Epiphanes, or the Illustrious. His birth occafioned great rejoicings all over Egypt, and the neighbouring provinces subject to that crown. The king, in the mean time, pursuing his old course of life, abandoned himself to vicious pleasures and excesses of every kind. Sosibius, an old and crafty minister, who had served under three kings, managed the affairs of state, not indeed in the manner he defired, but as the favourites would permit him. Arfinoe, the king's fifter and wife, had no authority at court; the favourites and prime minister did not flew her the least respect. On the other hand, the queen was not patient enough to fuffer every thing without murmuring, and they at last grew weary of her complaints. He causes The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibius

his wife be murdered.

to rid them of her, and the wicked minister complied with their Arfinoe to request. Upon her death, the king fell in love with one Agathoclea, a woman of a mean extraction, and was entirely governed by her, by her brother Agathocles, who was subservient to his unnatural luft, and by their mother Oenanthe. The murder of Arsinoe, and several actions of the same nature, provoked the people to fuch a degree against Sosibius, that they obliged the king to dismiss him from his service, and raise to the office of prime minister one Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had fignalized himself in the army.

The death Philopa-

tor.

Ptolemy having, by his continued debaucheries, worn out a of Ptolemy very strong constitution, died in the flower of his age, after he had reigned feventeen years, and was succeeded by his fon Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child only five years old. Agathocles, his fifter, and their creatures, concealed the king's death as long as they could, and in the mean time carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace which they could lay their hands on. They also formed a scheme for usurping the regency during the minority of Epiphanes, and publishing the king's death, they summoned a general council of the Alexandrians of the Macedonian race. In this affembly, Agathocles, holding the young king in his arms, and shedding abundance of tears, told the Macedonians, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of Agathoclea, and recommended him to the fidelity of his Macedonians; he therefore begged their affiltance against Tlepolemus, who, as he was informed, intended to feize the crown for him-The malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the p

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^{*} Maccab. lib. iii.

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people, instead of falling upon Tlepolemus, vowed the utter ruin His late of the speaker, his sister, and all their creatures. Having taken favourites from them the young king, and placed him on the throne on the put to hippodrome, they caused Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their mother, death to be put to death in his presence. The other sisters, the relations, and creatures of Agathocles met with the same treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people whom they had oppressed and abused.

The guardianship of the young king was, for the present, Sofibius committed to Sosibius, the son of that Sosibius, who had been made prime minister during the three last reigns. In the beginning of guardian the reign of Epiphanes, Antiochus the great, king of Syria, en- of the intering into an alliance with Philip, king of Macedon, made fant king. himself master of Palestine and Cæle-Syria; but was soon dispossessed of them again by Aristomenes, the prime minister of Egypt, as we have related in the history of Syria. In the third year of his reign, an embaffy arrived at Egypt from Rome, to notify to the Egyptians the victory which the Romans had gained over Hannibal, and the treaty of peace concluded between Rome and Carthage. The Egyptian lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this embaffy, put their young prince and his kingdom under the protection of the Roman fenate, who fent M. Lepidus to take upon him the guardianship. Lepidus, The Roafter a short stay in Egypt, appointed Aristomenes, an Acarna-mans afnian, as guardian, who acquitted himself of his charge with sume the great prudence and fidelity. In the beginning of his administra- guardiantion, being informed of the ravages committed by Philip of thip of Macedon in Attica, he fent an embally to the senate, offering to Epiphanes. deliver Athens from the danger that threatned her, provided it were agreeable to the Romans. About the fame time, he renewed the alliance between the crown of Egypt and the republic of Achaia, on which occasion Lycortas, the father of Polybius the historian, and two others, were fent by the Achaen confederacy into Egypt, to fign the treaty.

The king soon after attaining to the 14th year of his age, his His bad enthronization, called by the Alexandrians Anacleria, was cele-adminibrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the administration tion of affairs put into his hands. As soon as Epiphanes became his own master, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous, the flattery

remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous, the flattery of his worthless courtiers having more influence with him than the wise counsels of *Aristomenes*, whom he soon caused to be put to death. Having thus, as he thought, got rid of a troudle-some censor, he plunged himself into all the vices, which hab rendred his father's name and reign so odious, and exercised a

most cruel tyranny over his subjects.

The Egyptians, not being able to bear the grievances they His subfuffered under his arbitrary administration, entered into a con-jects respiracy, with a design to depose him, which they were very volt; near putting in execution. To extricate himself out of these but are redifficulties, he appointed Polycrates his prime minister, who duced by was Polycrates.

was a man of great abilities, and had been general under his father at the famous battle of Raphia. By his means, having got the better of the rebels, their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, capitulated, and submitted upon certain The king, however, forfeited his promise to them, and caused them all to be put to death; which treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he

was again delivered by the wisdom of Polycrates.

He maintained, during his whole reign, a strict friendship with the Romans. Livy tells us, that he offered them 100 pounds weight of gold, and 20,000 of filver to carry on the war against Antiochus the great, and that he afterwards sent an embally to Rome, to congratulate the senate on the slight of Antiochus, and to offer them, in his name, and in that of his queen Cleopatra, who was the daughter of Antiochus, what ships, money, or provisions they wanted, to pursue the war with the king of Syria. Ptolemy also cultivated with care the friendship of the Achean republic, but while he was preparing to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, he was cut off by poison. After reducing his rebellious subjects, he meditated a war with Seleucus, king of Syria; but as his finances were exhaufted, one of his chief officers asked him, by whiat means he would raife money to support the expences of the intended war; he replied, that his friends were his treasure; which answer being spread abroad among the chief men about him, they inferred from thence, that he intended to carry on the war with their fortunes and estates, and, to prevent this evil, caused poi-The death fon to be given him, of which he died in the 24th year of his reign. of Ptolemy He left two fons, both under age, namely, Ptolemy Philometor, Epiphanes. and Ptolemy Physcon, and one daughter, by name Cleopatra.

Prolemy Philome. tor. Bef. Ch.

176.

War be-.and the king of Syria.

Ptolemy Philometor, who was but fix years old, fucceeded his father, under the guardianship of his mother Cleopatra, who governed for eight years with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death, the regency fell to Lannaus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country, and to Eulæus, an eunuch. These no sooner entered upon the administration, than they demanded Cæle-Syria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes. This tween him demand occasioned a war between the two crowns, in the course of which Philometor, either of his own accord, delivered himself to Antiochus, or, according to some, was taken prisoner by that prince. The Alexandrians, looking upon him as loft, declared his younger brother king, who at first assumed the surname of Euergetes, Physicon being afterwards given to him on account of his prominent belly. Antiochus, returning soon after into Egypt, conquered the whole kingdom, except Alexandria, and left Philometor in possession of the throne. His design was, to kindle a war betwixt the two brothers; but Philometor, concluding an accommodation with Physcon, Antiochus again invaded Egypt, from which, however, he was obliged to depart, by the peremptory command of the Roman ambaffadors.

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The two brothers, after the retreat of Antiochus, quarrelled He reigns with each other, and the divisions between them rose to such a jointly height, that the Roman senate ordered their ambassadors in Syria with his to proceed to Alexandria, and use their utmost endeavours to brother reconcile the two kings. Before the two ambassadors reached Physican. Egypt, Philometor, being expelled the kingdom by Physcon, failed to Brundusium, and travelled from thence to Rome on Is obliged foot, meanly drefled, and with very few attendants. He refused to take the royal equipage that was brought to him on the road by $D_{\ell-}$ refuge at metrius, the fon of the late king of Syria, who was then an hof- Rome. tage at Rome, and took up his lodging in the private house of a painter of Alexandria, his subject. The senate was no sooner informed of his arrival, but they fent for him, and excused themselves for not having received him with those ceremonies which were usual on such an occasion. After defiring him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the fenate, he was conducted to lodgings fuitable to his dignity, and the quæstor was ordered to supply him, at the public expence, with all things necessary.

The senate decreed his restoration; and sending two of their The Roown body with him to Alexandria, an accommodation was ef- mans refected between the two brothers, in virtue of which Physican concile was put in possession of Lybia and Cyrene, and Philometer of all the two Egypt and the island of Cyprus, each of them being declared in-brothers. dependant of the other. Not long after, Physicon, being diffa- Theilland tisfied with the part allotted him, fent ambassadors to Rome, of Cyprus desiring that Cyprus might be also affigned him. He even went adjudged in person to Rome to solicit it, and the senate being no ways scru- by the pulous to violate the late partition, granted him what he de- Romans to

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Physcon, during his residence at Rome, sell in love with Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who was the pattern of her fex, and the prodigy of her age: but she being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul, and once censor, despised the offers made to her by Physcon, thinking it more honourable to be one of the first matrons in Rome, than to reign with Physicon in Lybia and

Physcon set out from Rome with the two ambassadors, who were to put him in possession of Cyprus. One of the ambassadors, on his arrival at Alexandria, found Philometor no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the fenate. Physican, who had gone to Lybia with the other, fent him also to affift his collegue. Philometor treated them both for forty days with Philometor great kindness; but when they insisted upon a positive answer, refuses to he told them, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and would hearken to no other. With this answer, one of the up. ambaffadors returned to Physcon, and the other to Rome.

The Cyreneans, in the mean time, being informed of the ill The Cyreconduct of Physicon, during his short reign at Alexandria, re-neans refolved to keep him out of their country by force. Physicon volt marched against VOL. III.

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marched against the Cyreneans with all his forces; but being defeated by them, he fent a fecond embaffy to Rome, to renew his complaints against his brother. The senate, to express their refentment against Philometer for not submitting to their decree, renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his

ambassadors to leave the city in five days.

Physcon, having foon after re-established himself at Cyrene, was one night attacked by some Cyreneans, who wounded him fo desperately, that they left him for dead upon the spot. This he laid to the charge of his brother Philometor, whom he accused Though Philometor was known to be a in person at Rome. prince of a most mild and humane disposition, yet the senate hearkened to the false accusation of his brother, would not hear the defence of his ambassadors, and sent five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, enjoining all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for taking poslession of the island. Physcon landed in Cyprus with some forces; but was taken pri- defeated by his brother, and afterwards taken prisoner. Philometor, on this occasion, gave a fignal proof of his good-nature and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave his brother, but restored to him Lybia and Cyrene, adding some other territories in lieu of the island of Cyprus, and promising him his daughter in marriage *. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the Romans being ashamed any longer

to oppose Philometor.

Demetrius, king of Syria, having endeavoured to get posfession of Cyprus, by bribing the governor of the island, Ptolemy, in refentment, joined Attalus king of Pergamus, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, in fetting up a pretender to his crown. The pretender was Alexander Balas, who, after he was placed on the throne of Syria, being suspected of entering into a plot against Ptolemy, his benefactor, he marched into Syria against him, and defeated him near Antioch; The death but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement. Philometer is, by all the profane historians, commended on account of his clemency and good-nature. Polybius, who was his cotemporary, fays, that he was an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppression, and averse from spilling the blood of his subjects. His mean behaviour towards Antiochus, in the beginning of his reign, is attributed, not to his want of natural courage, but to his effeminate education, the eunuch, Eulæus, having endeavoured to enervate him by all manner of luxury. He allowed the Yews, to build a temple in Egypt like that of ferusalem, being induced thereunto by Onias, who was in high favour both with him and his queen Cleopatra. The author of the history of the Maccabees represents Ptolemy as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the most facred laws of justice and nature.

foner by Philometor, who generoufly pardons him.

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Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, on the death of Philometor, her Piolemy brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the throne for the Physical, or fon she had by him; but the greater part of the nobles declaring Euergeses. for Physcon, the had recourse to Onias and Dositheus, two Ferus, who hastened to her assistance with an army of their countrymen. Before hostilities were committed, Thermus, a Roman ambassador, then at Alexandria, mediated an accommodation, Physcon agreeing to marry Cleopatra, to reign jointly with her during her life, and to declare her fon by Philometer next heir to the crown. Physcon, on the day of the nuptials, murdered the His baryoung prince in his mother's arms, and foon after caused all barity. those who shewed any concern for the prince's murder to be put to death. Transported against the Jews for having espoused the cause of Cleopatra, he used them more like slaves than subjects. His own people he treated no better than the fews, putting every day some of them to death for the smallest faults. and fometimes merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. In the fecond year of his reign, queen Cleopatra brought him a fon, at which he expressed great joy; he named him Memphitis, from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of Memphis. He could not, however, forbear his cruel practices, even during the public rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth. Upon his return to Alexandria, he banished all those who had been brought up with his brother *Philometer*, and allowed his guards, who confifted of His cruel-Greek and Asiatic mercenaries, to murder and plunder the inha- ty to the bitants of that rich metropolis at their pleasure. Justin and Alexan-Athenæus tell us, that upon this licence, not only the private drians. houses, but the streets, and even the temples, streamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens. The Alexandrians, to avoid these repeated massacres, sled into other countries; so that Physicon was obliged by edicts to invite strangers to repeople the place. Great multitudes accordingly flocked thither, and were admitted to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of

In the mean time, three Roman ambassadors, namely, Scipio He re-Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, landed ceives an at Alexandria, having been fent by their republic to visit the embassy countries which were subject to Rome, and those also that were from only in alliance with her. The more conscious Physicon was of Rome. his crimes and wicked administration, the more respect he affected to shew to the ambaffadors. He entertained them during their stay at Alexandria with all the varieties of the most sumptuous viands; but they, scorning that rich fare, as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was necessary for the support of nature. After they had viewed the great metropolis, and made themselves well acquainted with the state of affairs there, they failed up the Nile, to see the other parts of Egypt. In this progress, observing the great number of cities, the vast multitudes of inhabitants, and the fertility of the foil, they concluded that Egypt, if governed by a prince

prince of abilities and application, might be one of the most powerful states in the world; and were therefore well pleased to find a prince on the throne entirely destitute of every noble

qualification.

The ambaffadors no fooner left Egypt, but Physicon began to exercise the same cruelties upon the new inhabitants of Alexandria, which had obliged the antient citizens to abandon their country. Falling in love with a daughter which his queen Cleopatra had to his brother Philometor, he first ravished, and afterwards married, her. His many excesses, at length, wholly alienated his subjects from him; but they were prevented from taking up arms by Hierax, his chief minister, who was a native of Antioch, and had once governed that city in the reign of Alexander Balas. Having entered into the service of Physicon, he was raifed to the chief command of the army, and charged with the chief management of affairs. He gained the affections of the foldiers, by paying them punctually, and endeavoured, by his good and wife administration for feveral years, to balance, as far as in him lay, the wicked conduct of his master.

He causes men of Alexan-

Is driven from the throne.

Afterwards, upon his death or removal, the Alexandrians the young began openly to complain of the oppressions they groaned under. Physcon, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing against him, massacred all the young men of the city, dria to be while they were one day affembled in the gymnasium. massacred. people, being exasperated to the highest degree, instantly assembled in a tumultuous manner, and fet fire to the king's palace, which they reduced to ashes. Physicon had the good fortune to make his escape undiscovered, and to retire to the island of Cyprus, with his young wife and his fon Memphitis.

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Upon his flight, the Alexandrians placed on the throne his divorced queen and fifter; but he fearing left they should beflow the crown on his fon, whom he had appointed governor of Cyrene, sent for him into Cyprus, and ordered him to be affaffinated. He also caused the throat of his son Memphitis to be cut in his own fight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head intire, to shew to whom they belonged, and fent as a present to Cleopatra on her birth-day. The Alexandrians were struck with horror at the fight, and, to prevent Physicon from ever reascending the throne, they raised an army, and gave the command of it to Marsyas. This general was defeated on the frontiers of Egypt by the king's mercenaries, and being taken prisoner, was fent in chains to Physcon, who, to the furprize of every one, pardoned him, and gave him his liberty: for, finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exasperate the people, he resolved to try whether he could, by using lenity, regain their affections. Cleopatra, being greatly diffrested by the loss of her army, which in the late battle was almost cut to pieces, solicited the aid of her sonin-law Demetrius king of Syria, offering him the crown of Egypt

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as a reward. Demetrius accepted the proposal without hesitation; but while he was besieging Pelusium, the Syrians revolted, which obliged him to abandon Egypt. Cleopatra, finding herself unable to make head against Physcon, put all her valuable effects on board a ship, and set sail for Ptolemais, where her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria, then resided.

Physican, upon the flight of Cleopatra, returned to Alexandria, He recoand reassumed the government. From this time he held the vers the
kingdom of Egypt undisturbed till the 20th year of his reign, governand 67th of his age, when he died at Alexandria. One would ment.
hardly believe, that a prince, who is represented by historians His death.
as a monster rather than a man, should have deserved the reputation of the restorer of letters, and the patron of learned men.
Such, however, is the character given of him by Athenaus, Vitruvius, Epiphanius, and others. On account of his extensive
learning, Athenaus says, he acquired the surname of Ptolemy
the physologist. The same author adds, that he wrote an history in twenty-four books, and a learned comment on Homer.
He lest three sons behind him; Apion, whom he had by a concubine, Lathyrus and Alexander, whom he had by Cleopatra his
niece.

He gave Apion the government of Cyrene, and left Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, in conjunction with one of her sons, whom she should think fit to chuse. She gave the preference to Alex-Ptolemy ander, the youngest; but the Alexandrians taking up arms, Lathyrus, obliged her to admit Lathyrus to reign jointly with her. But Bef. Ch. before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, she forced him to divorce his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to marry his youngest sister Selene, for whom he had no inclination. Cleopatra soon saw her daughter, whom Lathyrus had divorced, and her other daughter Tryphana, both come to an untimely end, as we have related in the history of Syria. Their sate, however, made but a slight impression upon her, as she was wholly bent upon supporting her authority in Egypt. She gave the kingdom of Cyprus to her younger son Alexander, Cleopatra

She gave the kingdom of Cyprus to her younger fon Alexander, Cleopatra that she might from thence be affished by him against his brother gives Cy-Lathyrus, in case he should ever dispute the authority which she prus to her was determined never to part with.

Lathyrus having, contrary to his mother's inclination, sent ander. 6000 men to the assistance of the Samaritans against the Jews, she, to resent this, and some other attempts of the like nature against her authority, first took his wife Selene from him, tho' she drives he had already two sons by her, and then drove him out of the out Lathykingdom. The Alexandrians were prevailed on to assist her rus, against him by the following artifice: she caused some of her savourite eunuchs, on whom she could depend, to be wounded, and bringing them covered with blood into the public assembly of the Alexandrians, pretended that they had been treated in that manner by Lathyrus, for defending her person against his wicked attempts. Upon the slight of Lathyrus, Cleopatra sent and plafor her younger son Alexander, and declaring him king of Egypt, ces Alexander on bliged ander on

Latherus invades

obliged Lathyrus to be content with Cyprus. This happened, according to Porphyry, in the 8th year of Alexander's reign in

Cyprus, and the 11th of Cleopatra's reign in Egypt *.

Not long after this revolution, the inhabitants of Ptolemais being besieged by Alexander Jannæus prince of the Jews, folicited the affistance of Lathyrus; but afterwards reflecting that they might thereby draw upon themselves the resentment of Cleopatra, they defired him not to interest himself with their affairs. Ptolemy, however, landed on their coast with an army of 30,000 men, when his affiftance, which was now rejected Phanicia. by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, was defired by the Gazaans, and Zoilus prince of Dora. Lathyrus accordingly marched to the relief of Dora and Gaza, which obliged Jannaus to raile the fiege of Ptolemais, that he might be at leifure to watch his

motions.

Fannæus entered into a treaty with him, and engaged to pay him 400 talents of filver, on condition that he would deliver Zoilus into his hands, with all the places which he held. Ptolemy agreed to the proposal, and seized on Zoilus; but being informed that Jannaus was treating underhand with Cleopatra, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces, he broke off all friendship with him, and the following year, dividing his army into two bodies, detached one of them to form the fiege of Ptolemais, and with the other marched against Alexander. He took Asochis, a city of Gallilee, on a sabbath-day, and carried away from thence 10,000 captives, with an immense booty. He next advanced to Sepphoris; but hearing that Alexander was coming against him at the head of 50, or, as some write, of 80,000 men, he marched to Ajophos, not far from the fordan, where he gained a compleat victory over Alexander, who lost in the battle 30,000 men, or, according to Timagrines, 50,000, exclusive of the prisoners. Lathyrus, after this victory, ravaged and laid wafte the whole country without opposition; till Cleopatra, who was roused by his success, landed a powerful army at Phænice. Upon her arrival, he abandoned the siege of Ptolemais, and retired in great hafte to Cæle-Syria. Cleopatra dispatched Chelcias with part of her army against Lathyrus, and with the rest sat down before Ptolemais, which had refused to open its gates to her. While she was engaged in this siege, Chelcias died, and Lathyrus marched into Egypt, hoping to find it unprovided of forces in the absence of his mother. He was, however, disappointed in his expectation, and returned to Gaza, where he took up his winter quarters. Cleopatra, in the mean time, having reduced Ptolemais, Alexander Jannaus hastened thither to implore her protection. She renewed her alliance with him, after which he returned to Jerusalem, and recruiting his army, marched beyond the Jordan against Gadara.

Cleopatra marches thither with an army to oppose hun,

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^{*} Justin. lib. xxxix. Pausan, in Attic. Porphyr, in Græc. Euseb. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiii.

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following spring, Lathyrus, finding all his efforts against Palef- He retine ineffectual, abandoned that country, and returned to Cyprus, turns to and Cleopatra, also, about the same time, returned to Egypt.

Cleopatra, understanding that Lathyrus was treating with Antiochus Cyzicenus, who promised to affist him with a body of troops to make a fecond attempt on Egypt, she rendered their measures abortive, by giving her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Gripus, the competitor of Cyzicenus, fending him at the same time a considerable supply of men and money. Ptolemy Alexander, in the mean time, being at last tired out with the indignities he was forced to suffer from his mother, stole away privately from Alexandria. queen, being well apprized that the Alexandrians would never fuffer her to reign without one of her fons, prevailed upon Alexander to return, though foon after she formed a conspiracy against his life. Alexander, having notice of her design, pre-Cleopatra vented it, and caused her to be put to death, which was no murdered fooner known, than the Alexandrians drove him out with igno- by Alexminy, and fending to Cyprus for Lathyrus, replaced him on the ander, Alexander, the following year, made an attempt to who is return to Egypt; but being defeated at fea by the Egyptian ad-driven miral, he was killed as he was attempting to land on the island from the of Cyprus. He died in the 19th year of his reign, and left a throne. fon behind him named also Alexander.

Apion, the natural fon of Physcon, in the mean time, main- Apion betained peace and tranquillity in Cyrene, and other parts of his queaths dominions, and after a reign of twenty-one years, left them by the kingwill to the Romans. In this country were the following chief dom of cities, Cyrene, Berenice, Arfinoe, Ptolemais, and Apollonia, whence Cyrene to it was called the African Pentapolis. Cyrenaica comprehended the Roother countries besides the Pentapolis, which the Romans, upon mans. the death of Apion, did not fail to take possession of. But they were at first very moderate in the exercise of their power, declaring the people a free people, and only obliging them to pay

an annual tribute of lafer, which grew here in great quantities. Ptolemy Lathyrus, upon the death of his mother and brother, Lathyrus being delivered from two formidable competitors, began to re- returns to medy, as far as in him lay, the many diforders and abuses that Egypt, and had crept in during the late troubles. The city of Thebes, in takes upper Egypt, however, refufing to submit to his regulations, Thebes. Lathyrus, after defeating the revolters in a pitched battle, invested the city, which stood a siege of three years; but being at last taken, was given up to be plundered by the soldiers. Lathyrus not long after died, having reigned eleven years jointly His death; with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death, in all thirty-fix years.

He was succeeded by Cleopatra his daughter, whose proper name was Berenice, Cleopatra being the general name given to all the females of the royal family. Sylla, who, at this time, Alexans was perpetual dictator at Rome, and gave and took away crowns der II. at pleasure, sent Alexander, the son of the brother of Latbyrus, Ff4

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to fucceed his brother in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line. This Alexander, when his grandmother Cleopatra marched against her son in Phænice, was sent by her into the island of Cos, with a great sum of money, all her jewels, and her most valuable effects. Mithridates, king of Pontus, making himself master of that island, the young Egyptian prince was delivered up to him, and received from him an education fuitable to his birth. Alexander afterwards fled from the court of Mithridates, and took refuge in Sylla's camp, while that general was making war in Asia. He lived in the dictator's family, and, in a manner, among his domeftics, till he was fent to take possession of the crown of Egypt. The Egyptians prevailed on him to marry Cleopatra, who was placed on the throne fix months before his arrival, and to reign jointly with her.

He marries Cleopatra the daughter of Lathyrus, ders her.

He is driven out.

The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but Alexander, with the greatest barbarity, caused his young wife to be affaffinated nineteen days after the and mur- marriage. This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himself so odious to his subjects, that they at last rose in arms, and would have facrificed him to their resentment, if he had not withdrawn himself from their fury. He fled first to Pompey, who was then in that neighbourhood, carrying on the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and in vain endeavoured to prevail with him to espouse his cause. He then took refuge in the city of Tyre, whither he had fent before great part of his treasures, and there died some months after. Before his death he had appealed to the Roman senate concerning the difpute betwixt him and his rebellious fubjects; but dying before the negotiation was finished, he declared by his last will the Roman people heirs to his kingdom, that he might thereby raile up a competitor against his rival Auletes, whom the Egyptians had placed on the throne. The Romans thought proper to wave any right they might have to Egypt by the will, and only took possession of the effects of the deceased king at Tyre.

Ptolemy Auletes. Bef. Chr. 61.

Ptolemy Auletes, that is, the flute-player, whom the Egyptians had placed on the throne, was one of the natural fons of Ptolemy Lathyrus. Another of his natural fons held the kingdom of Cyprus, where he reigned till he was, with the greatest injustice, deprived of it by the Romans. Auletes, king of Egypt, was so mean as to contend for the prize in the public games at playing on the flute. He took great pleasure also in imitating the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, dancing in a female dress, and in the fame measures used during the solemnity of their god Bacchus, and hence he had the name of the new Dionysius, or Bacchus. According to Strabo, he was no lefs infamous on account of the effeminacy of his manners, than his grandfather Physicon was for his wickedness.

Buys the title of king from Fulius Cæ ar.

To support himself on the throne, he applied to the Romans to acknowledge his title, and Julius Cafar, being then conful, and immensely in debt, granted his request, in consideration of 6000 talents, that is, 1,162,500 pounds sterling, paid partly to himself,

himself, and partly to Pompey, whose interest was necessary for obtaining the confent of the people. To raise this sum he was obliged to overtax his subjects, which occasioned a general difcontent throughout the kingdom. At the same time, news arriving, that the Romans had passed a decree for dethroning the frother of Auletes in Cyprus, the Egyptians pressed their king to demand the island as part of the territories of Egypt, and in case of a denial, to declare war against the Romans, which he refuling, they furrounded his palace, and threatned violence. He escaped their fury, and failed to Rhodes, where he had a He is conference with Cato the Roman, who told him, that the Ro-driven mans would not concern themselves about a king, who brought from the nothing with him but wants and complaints; wealth, pomp, throne, and grandeur, being the only things in request at Rome. He therefore advised him to return to Egypt, and even offered to reconduct him thither in person. The king, however, was perfuaded by his followers to purfue his journey to Rome, and Cato proceeded to Cyprus to dethrone his brother. The Egyptians, The in the mean time, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne, Egyptians and proposed a marriage betwixt her and Antiochus Asiaticus, place his who, by his mother Selene, was next male heir of the family. daughter The Egyptian ambassadors finding Antiochus dead, made the Berenice fame proposal to his brother Seleucus, who readily accepted of the on the offer. This Seleucus, according to Strabo, was no less deformed in throne. body than in foul, and the Egyptians, foon discovering his true character, gave him the nick-name of Cybiofactes, that is, the scullion. He was no fooner feated on the throne, than he feized the maffy gold coffin, in which the body of Alexander was deposited; which crime fo provoked Berenice, who was already grown weary of him, that, breaking through the most sacred ties, she caused him to be strangled. She then married one Archelaus, high-priest of Camana in Pontus, who pretended to be the son of Mithridates the great, though he was in fact only the fon of that king's chief general.

Auletes, upon his arrival at Rome, was received with great expressions of kindness by Pompey, who gave him an apartment in his house. But notwithstanding the protection of so power- Solicits ful a man, the king was forced to go from house to house, like the affilea private person, soliciting the suffrages of the senators. After ance of he had spent immense treasures in procuring a strong party at the Ro-Rome, he was at last admitted to lay his complaints before the mans in a The Alexandrians, in the mean time, fent 100 of their base manprincipal citizens to Rome to justify their revolt; but Ptolemy ner. found means to destroy the most of them, either at Rome, or before their arrival in that metropolis; which so intimidated the rest, that they declined acquitting themselves of their com-

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Some of the fenators, however, on the rumour of these murders, accused Auletes in the senate. Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embasly, being summoned to give an account of the asfassinations, Pompey, Lentulus, and the other great men at Rome,

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whose interest the persidious king had bought at a vast price, declared so openly in his favour, that Dio was asraid to appear. He was soon after stabbed by an assassin, and Ptolemy, knowing he could depend upon Pompey's protection, was not assamed to own himself the chief author of the murder, which he even pretended to justify. A prosecution, however, was carried on against the assassin, who, though convicted by unexceptionable witnesses, was nevertheless acquitted. An action was then brought by the adverse party against the judges, for selling themselves to Ptolemy, and betraying their trust; but by the interest of Pompey the venal judges were cleared, and injustice tri-

umphed.

Though Auletes, by his scandalous behaviour, had made himfelf contemptible to the Romans, yet, by the powerful interest of Pompey's party, a decree was carried in the senate, whereby it was enacted, that the Egyptians should be compelled by sorce of arms to receive their king. All the great men of Rome were ambitious of being charged with the commission of reconducting a king, which they well knew would be attended with immense profit. Pompey was excluded, after several months warm debates, under this honourable pretence, that his presence was necessary at Rome. All things seemed next to favour Lentulus, who was governor of Cilicia; but the Sybilline books being consulted, on account of an omen, C. Portius Cato, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took that opportunity of baulking his avaricious citizens. He was highly incensed at the meannels of the Roman magistrates, and was a zealous advocate for virtue.

He read, or pretended to read, in the Sybilline books, the following words, If a king of Egypt shall apply to you for succour, affish him, but not with an army. If you use violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes. Cicero acknowleges, that all men of sense were convinced that the pretended prediction was forged; nevertheless, the young tribune obliged the keepers of the Sybil-

line books to rehearfe the words in full comitia.

Several expedients were then proposed for facilitating the king's return, without disobeying the pretended oracle: but the whole year being spent in fruitless debates, Ptolemy lest Rome, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and took sanctuary in the temple of Diana at Ephesus. From thence he wrote to Ammonius, his ambassador at Rome, desiring that Pompey might be named to replace him on the throne. One of the tribunes supported this request, but he was opposed by the senate, in which the debates were very warm, as to the manner of the king's restoration. Cicero greatly favoured Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia and Cyprus, who had been his friend during his exile. He even wrote to him after he was gone to Cilicia, advising him to advance, without any further orders from the senate, with all his sea and land forces to Alexandria, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, by the advice of Pompey, applied to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in quality of proconful.

Gabinius

Auletes leaves Rome. price,

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Gabinius was a man of a most infamous character, and ready to Gabinius, undertake any thing, without the least regard to justice or reli- governor gion. Finding that the Syrians, whom he had most cruelly of Syria. oppressed, could no longer gratify his avarice, he had under-undertaken, in hopes of acquiring immense treasures, to restore Mi-takes to thridates, who had been expelled Parthia by his brother Orodes. replace Ptolemy came up with him as he was approaching the borders of him on the Parthia, and delivered into his hands the letters of Pompey. It throne, was against an express law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war with the neighbouring princes and states, without positive orders from the senate and people of Rome. Gabinius, however, made no scruple of violating the law, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, except Mark Anthony, who commanded the horse. Gabinius rated his affiftance very high, and was not ashamed to demand of the king 10,000 talents, or near two million of pounds sterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as soon as he should be settled on the throne. The proconful refusing to stir till the first payment was made, the king was obliged to borrow the money from a Roman knight, Pompey becoming furety for the payment of the capital and interest.

Gabinius, upon receiving 5000 talents, left Mithridates to Gabinius shift for himself, and began his march towards Egypt. Anthony, defeats who was detached before him, soon made himself master of the Egyptelusium. Ptolemy, on his entering the place, was for putting tians. all the Egyptian inhabitants to the sword; but Anthony opposed so barbarous an execution. Gabinius soon after penetrating into the heart of Egypt, defeated Archelaus, the husband of Berenice, and took him prisoner. He might now have put an end to the

war; but he gave Archelaus his liberty, upon his paying a confiderable ransom, and then demanded fresh sums of Ptolemy to pursue the war. Archelaus, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, again took the field; but after several defeats, he

was obliged to shut himself up in Alexandria. After sustaining a siege for some time, he hazarded another battle, which put

an end both to his reign and life. Ptolemy, having recovered Alexandria, foon reduced all the Ptolemy rest of Egypt; but he no sooner thought himself in quiet posses-recovers fion of the crown, than he began to vent his rage on all those his throne. who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. He put his daughter Berenice to death, for having accepted of the vacant throne, when the Alexandrians offered it her. Afterwards he cut off most of the wealthy citizens of Alexandria, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and conficated their estates, in order to raise the vast sums he was fill to pay to Gabinius. The king, according to Dio Cassius, filled his dominions with blood and flaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treasures of his unhappy subjects. The Alexandrians, being awed by the Roman garrison left by Gabinius, bore the oppressions of their king with great submission; but neither their fear of the Romans, nor their au-

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thority, could make them put up with an infult to their fuperstition: for a Roman soldier having killed a cat, which animal was worshipped by them, the Alexandrians made a general infurrection, forced their way through the Roman guards, dragged

the foldier out of his house, and tore him in pieces.

Rabinius, the Roman knight, who had supplied Ptolemy with money, came to Egypt, in hopes of being paid; and as an expedient for recovering his money, accepted the post of generalcollector of the king's revenues; but Ptolemy foon after ordered him and all his fervants to be confined. Having, in a fhort time, made his escape, he was glad to save his life from the wicked designs of his debtor. Upon his return to Rome, he was profecuted for lending money to Ptolemy, to corrupt the fenate, and for being an accomplice with Gabinius; but feems to have been acquitted. Three actions were also commenced against Gabinius, in two of which he was cast, and condemned to perpetual banishment. Before he left Rome, he is faid to have been reduced to great poverty *.

His death.

Piolemy and Cleopatra.

Auletes, notwithstanding the unheard of tyrannies with which he haraffed his subjects, died in the peaceable possession of his kingdom, about four years after his re-establishment, and thirty after he first ascended the throne, leaving behind him two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldeft fon and his eldest daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, and because they were both under age, he left them under the tuition of the Roman people. A copy of his will being transmitted to Rome, the people appointed Pompey guardian to the

young prince.

As Pothinus, an eunuch, and Achillas, commander in chief of the Egyptian forces, had the tuition of Ptolemy, they, to engross the whole power to themselves, deprived Cleopatra of that share in the sovereignty which had been left her by the will of Auletes, and drove her out of the kingdom. Cleopatra having raised an army in Syria and Palestine, marched back to Egypt at the head of it to affert her right by arms. Ptolemy marched out with another army to oppose her, and both armies encamped between Pelusium and mount Casus. Pompey, in the mean time, after the loss of the battle at Pharfalia, arrived off Pelufium, hoping to find in the kingdom of Egypt an open and fafe afylum. He therefore fent some of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permission to land and enter his kingdom. The king, being then but thirteen years old, gave no answer; but Pothinus and Achillas consulting with fome others, Theodotus, a rhetorician, advised them, as the the order fafest course, to invite Pompey on shore, and to cut him off, which advice was accordingly followed.

Pompey put to death by of Ptolemy.

^{*} Diod. Sic. lib. i. Cic. Epist. fam. lib: viii. Id. pro Rabir. Id. ad Attic. lib. iv. epist. 16. Cæfar,

Cafar, in the mean time, being informed that Pompey had Julius Cafleered his course towards Egypt, pursued him thither, and ar- far arrives rived at Alexandria, just as the news of his death reached that at Alexancity. For the greater expedition, he had purfued Pompey with dria. few forces, having with him, when he arrived at Alexandria, only 800 horse, and 3200 foot. He very near paid dear for his prefumption; and, to protect himself against the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar, on account of Pompey's death, he was obliged to shut himself up in the king's palace with part of his men, the rest having been driven back to their ships by the outrageous multitude. The Etesian winds their ships by the outrageous multitude. preventing Casar from leaving Alexandria, he fent orders to the legions he had left in Asia to join him with all possible expedition. The tumult being foon appealed, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he fpent his time in visiting the curiofities of that great and stately metropolis, and affisting at the public speeches and harangues made by the Alexandrian orators.

He likewise began to take cognizance of the difference be-He takes tween young Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra, and to solicit the cognipayment of the money due to him from Auletes, who had only zance of paid part of the sum he had promised to him in his consulship, the differcasar now exacting the remainder of the debt, Pothinus, the ences beking's treasurer, by several artifices made his demand appear tween Ptovery oppressive; for he plundered their temples of their gold lemy and and silver utensils, and persuaded the king, and all the great Cleopatra persons of the kingdom, to eat in earthen or wooden vessels, infinuating underhand, that Casar had seized all their gold and

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What most provoked the Alexandrians, was the haughtiness with which Cæsar acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, whom he not only cited to appear before him, but peremptorily commanded to disband their armies, and stand to the sentence which he should pronounce. This the Egyptians looked upon as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open encroachment on the prerogative of their sovereign, and the independancy of their kingdom. Cæsar appeased them, by alleging, that he acted only as an arbitrator appointed by the will of Auletes, the whole power of the Roman people, who had been lest by him as guardians to his children, being vested in himself as dictator. The cause was accordingly referred to his tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him.

Cleopatra, however, believing that her presence would be more persuasive with her judge than any advocate the could employ, embarked in a small vessel, with only one of her servants, Apollodorus the Sicilian, and in the dusk of the evening arrived under the walls of Alexandria. That she might elude the vigi- Cleopatra lance of Ptolemy's friends, and get to Cæsar's house without gains over being known, she caused herself to be tied up in a carpet, and Cæsar to was thus carried by Apollodorus on his back to Cæsar's apart-her inter-

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A GENERAL HISTORY

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ment. Casar was highly pleased with the stratagem, but much more with the person of Cleopatra, whose extraordinary beauty so charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night, and next morning sent for Ptalemy, and pressed him to receive his

fifter again upon her own terms.

Ptolemy found by this proposal, that his judge was become his adversary, and being at the same time informed that his lifter was then in Cafar's apartment, he quitted the palace in a violent passion, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who flocked round. The city being instantly all in an uproar, Ptolemy put himself at the head of the populace, and affaulted the palace; but being feized by some Roman soldiers, was delivered to Casar. Romans were dispersed through the city, and the violence of the mob encreased, Casar would have been absolutely overpowered. if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself from a balcony, which was out of the reach of the people, and from thence affure them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think fit to suggest to him. Having, by this means, appealed the tumult, the next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an affembly of the people, and then causing the father's will to be read, he decreed, as guardian, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, and that Ptolemy, the younger fon, and Arsinoe, the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added this last article to appeale the people, and escape their fury, which he then greatly dreaded. This decree pleafed all except Pothinus, who was apprehen-

He is befieged in Alexandria.

five of the refentment of Cleopatra for what he had acted against her, and therefore endeavoured still to exasperate the Alexandrians against Cafar, by alleging, that he privately intended to place Cleopatra alone on the throne, at the same time soliciting Achillas, who lay encamped at Pelusium, to advance with his army to Alexandria. His infinuations had a great effect with the populace; and Achillas approaching Alexandria with 20,000 regular and well-disciplined troops, all things were again thrown into confusion. Ptolemy, at Cæsar's desire, sent out two ambasfadors to Achillas, ordering him not to use any violence, as he was well pleased with what Cæsar had decreed. Achillas, however, caused the two ambassadors to be seized, and put to death, and advanced into the city; but Cæfar had posted his men so well in the streets and avenues of that part of the town which he had taken possession of, that he found no difficulty in supporting the attack of the whole Egyptian army. The Egyptians, not being able to force that quarter, went to the port, with the defign of making themselves masters of the fleet, and to cut off the communication of the Romans with the sea. Casar, however, frustrated their design, by setting fire to the Egyptian fleet, and feizing the tower of Pharos, in which he placed a ftrong garrison. Some of the ships, when on fire, driving to

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the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses, Great part by which accident the noble library, in the quarter of the city of the licalled Bruchium, was confumed.

Cafar fortified the quarter of the city which he possessed with burnt. walls, towers, and other works, and discovering that Pothinus, who attended the king, carried on a private correspondence with Achillas, he caused him to be put to death. Ganymedes, Arsinoe another eunuch of the palace, who was charged with the edu-declared cation of the princess Arsinoe, fearing, that as he had been privy queen by to the treasonable practices of Pothinus, he should share in his the Egypfate, fled with the princess to the Egyptian army, who, tians, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen. Achillas, being foon after accused by Ganymedes of having betrayed the fleet which Cafar had burnt in the harbour, was condemned, and put to death, and the command of the army was conferred on Ganymedes. Ganymedes, though a man of no probity, yet had great penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to diffres Cæsar; one of these we shall mention. Alexandrians being wholly supplied by the waters of the Nile, which were admitted once a year into vaults below their houses, and had a free communication with each other, Ganymedes flopped up the communications between the vaults in Cafar's quarters, and those of the rest of the city, and turned the seawater into the former. This raifed a general uproar among Cafar's troops; but by digging wells, they were foon supplied with fresh water.

Casar soon after receiving advice, that a legion, sent to him from Asia by Calvinus his lieutenant, was arrived on the neighbouring coasts of Lybia, he advanced with his whole sleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could, to attack him upon his return. An engagement accordingly ensuing, he was obliged to retire with loss, and Casar brought his legion safe into the port of Alexandria. Ganymedes soon after, having reinforced his sleet, entered the harbour, and a second engagement ensuing, Casar gained another victory, which was owing to the valour of the Rhodians, and their great skill in naval affairs. Casar, Casar vito improve his victory, endeavoured to seize the town of Pharos, gorously

and the mole leading to it called the Heptastadium; but after he attacked had landed his troops in the island, he was repulsed with the by the loss of above 800 men, and had almost perished himself: for Alexan-sinding the ship, in which he endeavoured to escape, ready to drians. sink, by reason of the numbers of people who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and by that means prevented them from being wetted.

The Alexandrians, finding that the Romans were rather encouraged than disheartned by their late loss, sent ambassadors to Grar, demanding their king, and assuring him, that his com-

pliance with their request, would gain over the multitude to him, and put a speedy end to the war. Cafar looked upon this embasily as an artifice of the Alexandrians; but nevertheless complied with their request, that all the blame of future hostilities might lie upon them. Ptolemy, early instructed in the art of diffimulation, begged of Cafar, with tears in his eyes, that he might be allowed to flay with him; but he was no fooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. Being entirely governed by Ganymedes, he attempted to intercept with his fleet all Cafar's provisions, which occasioned another sea-fight near Canopus, when the Romans were again victorious.

An army arrives in Egypt to the affiftance of Cafar.

Mithridates, king of Pergamus, in the mean time, had affembled an army in Syria, which being reinforced by 3000 Yews, marched to the relief of Cafar. This army, having taken Pelusium by storm, advanced towards Alexandria; but on approaching the province of Onion, they found the passes guarded by the Jews. Antipater the Idumean, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought letters to the Jews, prevailed on them to embrace Cafar's party. Their example was followed by the Jews of Memphis, and Mithridates being plentifully supplied by both, advanced to the Nile, where he defeated the Egyptians, who had endeavoured to oppose his passage. Ptolemy immediately advanced with his whole army against Mithridates and Antipater, who were informed of his march by Cafar, who had come from Alexandria and joined them. The Egyptian king, risking an engagement, was totally defeated, and in his retreat drowned in the Nile, as he was endeavouring to make his escape. He had reigned, from the death of his father, three years and three months. Twenty thousand Egyptians were killed in this battle and in the pursuit, and 12,000 were taken prisoners. On Casar's side 500 only were killed, and about 1000 wounded.

The king drowned in the Nile.

Cafar beflows the Cleotatra and Ptodemy.

Cæsar, returning to Alexandria, bestowed the crown of Egypt on Cleopatra, obliging her to marry Ptolemy her younger brocrown on ther, which was in effect giving the crown to Cleopatra alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old. Arsmoe, who was taken prisoner, was obliged to walk before the triumphal chariot of Cæsar, bound with chains of gold. After that show was over, the obtained her liberty, and took up her residence in the province of Asia, where Anthony afterwards, at the request of Cleopatra, caused her to be put to death. Casar, in acknowlegement of the affistance he had received from the fews, confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in Alexandria, and caused both the privileges and his decree to be engraved on a brazen pillar. He left part of his forces in Egypt to protect Cleopatra, and with the rest marched into Syria, with the delign of making war upon Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bojphorus.

Gleopatra, after Cæsar's departure, enjoyed the crown without the least disturbance. When her brother arrived at his 14th.

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year, being apprehensive that he would claim a share in the Cleopatra royal authority, she caused him to be possoned. Not long causes her after, Cæsar being killed at Rome, Cleopatra declared for the brother to triumvirs, Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius, and sent four le-be possons to the lieutenant of Dolabella, which were the remains ed. of the troops left by Cæsar, and of Pompey's and Crassus's armies. These four legions were taken by Cassus, who threatned to invade Egypt, because Cleopatra absolutely refused to affist him; but was called off from that enterprize by Brutus. Cleopatra afterwards sailed with a numerous fleet to join Anthony and Octavius, but falling sick, was obliged to return to Egypt, after having lost a great number of her ships by a violent storm.

Anthony, after the battle of Philippi, passed over into Asia to Anthony establish the authority of the triumvirate there; and being in-summons formed that the governors of some provinces subject to Egypt her to aphad fent fuccours to Cassius, he summoned Cleopatra to appear pear bebefore him. Cleopatra, who was then twenty-five years of age, fore him. and with a most agreeable person, had a penetrating underflanding and a lively wit, made no scruple to obey the summons. She provided herself with rich presents, vast sums of money, but above all with magnificent habits and ornaments. Her galley, which was accompanied with the rest of her fleet, was all over covered with gold, the fails were of purple, and the oars were plated with filver. A canopy of cloth of gold was raifed on the deck, under which appeared the queen, in the same attire and attitude as Venus was then generally painted, being furrounded with a great many comely youths, fanning her like cupids, and beautiful virgins representing some the nereids, and others the graces. Instead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other fuch instruments of music, warbling the foftest airs, to which the oars kept time, seeming in a manner to double the harmony. Perfumes burnt on the deck, spread their odours to a great distance, and filled the air with the most fragrant scents. In this manner she sailed up the She ar-Cydnus, which waters the city of Tarsus; and her arrival was rives at no sooner known, than the citizens of all ranks crowded out to Tarfus in meet her, infomuch that Anthony, who was distributing justice great in the forum, faw his tribunal all on a sudden deserted, not a pomp, lingle person remaining with him but his lictors and domestics.

She was no fooner landed, but Anthony fent to invite her to and entersupper; but the queen answered, that, according to the rules tains Anof civility, he ought to visit her first, and that therefore she exthony with
pected to see him that very night in the tents, which would the utmost
soon be set up on the banks of the river. Anthony complied magnifiwith her invitation, and was received and entertained with a cence.

magnificence not to be expressed. He invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was spared; but in spite of his utmost efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's. The more Anthony conversed with the sair Egyptian, the more he was charmed with her conversation, which tivated by

being attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had at-her. Vol. III, G g tractions

tractions still more irrefistible than her form and features. She foon got fo absolute an ascendancy over her judge, that, instead of mentioning the complaints made against her, he could refuse her nothing she asked, however repugnant to justice, humanity, or religion. It was at this time he caused her fifter Arsinge to

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be murdered in a fanctuary at Miletus.

Cleopatra, to attach Anthony the more to her person and interest, made daily entertainments during her stay at Tarfus, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and spending on those occasions immense sums of money. In one of these banquets, Anthony, expressing great surprise at the vast number of gold cups, enriched with jewels, which were displayed on all sides, the queen told him, that since he admired fuch trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her fervants to carry them all to his house. In one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relates of the queen's profuseness. The queen had at her ears two of the largest and finest pearls that ever had been seen, each of them being valued at 52,500 pounds sterling; one of these she caused to be dissolved in vinegar, and then swallowed it, to fhew how much fhe could fpend at one draught.

with her diia.

Anthony being obliged by his affairs to leave Tarfus, Cleopatra took leave of him at Tyre, whither she had accompanied him, He spends The triumvir was now so taken with her charms, that he could the winter not live without her, and appointing Plancus to be his lieutenant in Afia Minor, and Saxa in Syria, he hastened after her to at Alexan- Alexandria, and there spent the whole ensuing winter with her in fports, banquets, and all kinds of diversions. While he was thus amufing himself with trifling diversions, and indulging in all kinds of luxury, Labienus, at the head of a Parthian army, made great conquests in Syria, which obliged him to take his leave of Cleopatra early in the spring. As he was on his march against the Parthians, he altered his measures, and returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself with the young Octavius, and married his fifter Octavia, a woman of extraordinary merit. He foon, however, left his young wife, and returned to Cleopatra, with whom he indulged himself in riot and voluptuousness.

The spring following she went to Syria, to accompany him in his expedition against the Parthians, and influenced him to commit fuch flagrant acts of cruelty, as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many Syrian lords were, on false pretences, put to death, that she might have their forfeited estates. Anthony set out on his march without the queen; but being eager to return to her again, he conducted the affairs of the campaign with great indifcretion, and came back to Syria with the loss of 60,000 of his troops. Cleopatra, upon his return, went to him to Leucecome, a castle in Phanice, where they spent their time in feasting and revelling. She carried with her cloaths for the poor remains of his shattered troops, which, with a large donative in money, were distributed among the foldiers in her name, though the money was given by Anthony,

His imprudent conduct. She

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who accompanied her into Egypt, where they spent the winter in all manner of voluptuoufness.

Anthony, the following spring, again proposing to march into He be-Parthia, bestowed on Cleopatra all Cyrene, Cyprus, Cæle-Syria, stows fe-Ituraa, and Phanice, with great part of Cilicia and Crete. Her veral proboundless ambition, however, not being satisfied, she follicited vinces on him very earnestly to put to death Herod king of Judæa, and her.

Malchus king of Arabia Petræa, that their kingdoms might be thereupon granted to her. Anthony would not, by any means, comply with her request; but, to quiet her, gave her that part of the kingdom of Malchus which bordered upon Egypt, and out of Herod's the territory of Fericho, with the balfam gardens. Cleopatra accompanied him in his march as far as the Euphrates, and on her return was splendidly entertained at Ferusalem by Herod. Anthony, at the conclusion of the campaign, put his army into winter-quarters in Armenia, and haftened back to Alexandria, which city he entered in a triumphal chariot, being received in the forum by Cleopatra, who waited for him, feated on a golden throne, which was placed on a fcaffold overlaid with filver, and furrounded by the chief lords of the court in their best apparel.

A few days after, Anthony having feafted, at an immense His wild charge, all the people of Alexandria, fummoned them to meet conduct.

in the gymnafium; and there, being feated on a throne of gold, and Cleopatra by him on another, he proclaimed Cafarion, the fon of Cleopatra and Julius Cafar, king of Egypt and Cyprus, in conjunction with his mother. As he himself had three children by the fame Cleopatra, namely, Alexander, Ptolemy, and Cleotatra, he gave to Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia, and all the countries from the Euphrates to the Indus, when they should be conquered: to Cleopatra, the twin-fifter of Alexander, he gave Lybia and Cyrene; and to Ptolemy, Phænice, Syria, Ciliaa, and all the countries of Asia Minor from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, conferring on each of them the title of king of hings. At the same time he obliged Cleopatra to take the name of Iss, affuming to himself that of Osiris, and both of them affected from thenceforth to appear in public in the dress which

was deemed peculiar to those deities.

The following year Anthony, when he had entered Parthia, was informed that Octavius had stirred up the people of Rome against him. Hereupon, he dropped the Parthian expedition, and detaching Canidius, one of his lieutenants, with fixteen legions to the coasts of the Ionian sea, he hastened after him to Ephefus. In this journey he carried Cleopatra with him, who proved his ruin. His friends earnestly entreated him to send her back to Alexandria; but she, fearing lest in her absence Anthony, by Octavia's mediation, should be reconciled to Cafar, left no stone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him. last gaining Canidius, by rich presents, to speak in her favour, he prevailed upon him to comply with her request. She acordingly accompanied him to Samos, where the greatest part

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of their troops had their rendezvous. From thence they failed to Athens, and in both these places spent their time chiefly in luxury, pomp, and voluptuoufness. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem from the Athenians that they had conferred on Octavia; but she could only extort from them some forced civilities.

He deagainst Cafar.

Anthony, after consulting with his friends, declared war clares war against Casar, and divorced his fister Octavia. His preparations for the war were fo far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loss of time, the advantage would probably have been on his fide; but, to gratify his luxury, he put off taking the field till next year. Octavius, in the mean time, affembled a confiderable fleet and army, and declared war against Cleopatra. Anthony, after several encounters by sea and land, was prevailed upon by Cleopatra to put all to the iffue of a fea-fight, which was the worst counsel that could be given him, his landforces being far superior both in number and bravery to those of the enemy; whereas, he had been obliged to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners, and the rest were but very indifferently manned.

Is totally defeated at Actium.

This memorable battle was fought at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, near the small city of Actium, in fight of both ar-The victory continued doubtful, till Cleopatra, frightened with the noise of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herfelf to flight before the was in any danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, confishing of 60 large ships. Anthony, seeing her fly, made after her as if he had been quite destitute of his understanding, and by his slight yielded the victory to Cafar. As foon as Anthony came up with Cleopatra's galley, he went on board it, and fitting down in the prow, and leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he continued in that posture for three days, reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct. Arriving on the third day at Tenarus in Laconia, he at length faw and conversed with Cleopatra as usual. From Tenarus Cleopatra failed to Alexandria, whither she was soon after followed by Anthony, whose land army under Canidius had furrendered to Cafar.

Gleopatra failed into the harbour of Alexandria with crowns on the prows of her ships, as if she had obtained some signal victory; and having, by this means, got admission into her metropolis, she put all those to death who were any ways averle to her, to prevent the tumults which she feared they might raife, when the true state of her affairs should be known. avoid falling into the hands of Casar, the undertook the carrying of her ships in the Mediterranean into the Red Sea over the isthmus of seventy miles that lay between them. Q. Didius, however, who had seized on Syria for Cafar, prevailed on the Arabians, who inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, to burn all the ships she transported over, and the others she had there before. Anthony, on his arrival at Alexandria, declined feeing

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Cleopatra; but shut himself up in a house which he caused to be built on the shore, sequestering himself from the company and conversation of all men. But he did not long relish this way of living. His passion for Cleopatra soon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he fpent the remaining part of his life in his usual excesses of luxury, voluptuoufness, and folly.

Both he and Cleopatra tried, but without fuccefs, to appeale He and They fent three different embassies to him, and of- Cleopatra fered at length to refign all, and live a private life in Athens, or endeavour any other place he should appoint. The only thing they de- in vain to fired was, that the kingdom of Egypt might be given to Cleo- appeale patra's children. Cleopatra defired her ambassadors to treat se- Casar. parately for herself, and sent privately by them to Octavius a sceptre, a crown, and chair of gold, resigning as it were all her power and authority to him. Cæfar accepted her prefents, and in public told her ambassadors, that if she would lay down her arms and refign her kingdom, he would then confider whether fne should be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promifed her impunity, and even her kingdom, in case she would put Anthony to death. He would not fo much as fee the ambassadors of Anthony; but being desirous of having Cleopatra in his power, he fent her feveral messages, promising to treat her with great kindness if she would kill Anthony, who was the author of all her misfortunes. This she would not affent to; but promifed to deliver both him and her kingdom into his hands.

She accordingly ordered the strong city of Pelusium to be betrayed into his hands, tho' it was in a condition of holding out a long fiege. Anthony, in the mean time, had marched against Peritonium, the key of Egypt on the western side, the garrison of which confifted chiefly of troops which had ferved under him. When he approached the wall to harangue them, Cornelius Gallus, the governor, caused all the trumpets to be founded, which prevented his discourse from being heard. Gallus afterwards repulfed his land forces, and by a stratagem hemmed in his fleet, which he totally destroyed. After this defeat, Anthony hearing that Pelusium was taken, hastened to the defence of Alexandria. On his arrival, Cleopatra, the better to conceal her treachery, caused her jewels and most valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of a wonderful structure which she built near the temple of Iss. likewise she conveyed a great quantity of perfumes, aromatic wood, and flax, giving out, that should the town be taken, she would fet fire to that pile, and consume herself and her treasures in the flames. Casar soon after arrived before Alexandria, and

encamped in the Hippodrome. Anthony, who was ignorant of the intrigues of Cleopatra, re- Cleopatra folved upon a vigorous defence, and fallied out upon the ene-betrays my's horse, before they had time to refresh themselves. Hav- Anthony. ing entirely defeated them, he returned victorious into the city,

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and amidst the loud acclamations of the Alexandrians, threw himself, armed as he was, at Cleopatra's feet, and kissed her Anthony made another fally, but was repulfed with great loss; the Egyptians having, by Cleopatra's orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends told him in plain terms, that Cleopatra betrayed him; but instead of believing them, he expressed great wrath against those who feemed to fuspect her. Early next morning he failed out with his fleet to attack that of the enemy; but the Egyptian fleet, in compliance with the orders of Cleopatra, going over to Octavius, he hastened back to his land army; but was greatly surprised when he found that they had all, to a man, deferted to the enemy. He now gave credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy, and in the height of his despair sent to challenge Cafar to a fingle combat; but received for anfwer, that if he was tired of life, there were other ways to die besides that.

Seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, and ridiculed by Cæsar, he flew to the palace, with a defign to kill the perfidious queen; but she, by a timely flight, escaped his fury, and shut herself up in the above-mentioned monument, with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs, caufing it to be given out that she had killed herfelf, to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. Anthony too credulously believing the news, shut himself up in his apartment with a faithful flave called Eros, who had long before promifed to kill him when the state of his affairs should require that mournful office at his hands. He now put Eros in mind of his promife, and commanded him to run him thro' with the fword he put into his hand. But the flave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity to his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Anthony, encouraged by his example, fell gives him-upon his fword, and gave himself a mortal wound. As he was felf a mor-wallowing in his blood, Diomedes, the queen's fecretary, came and informed him that the was alive. He no fooner heard the name of *Cleopatra* mentioned, than he opened his dying eyes; and fuffering his wound to be drefled, caused himself to be carried to the gate of the monument, which Cleopatra would not fuffer to be opened, for fear of some surprize. Some ropes, Cleopatra, however, hanging down from the top of the monument, Anthony was made fait to these; and Cleopatra, affisted by her two women, with much ado drew him up. As foon as fhe had taken him in, she laid him on a bed, and there after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, fhe cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to those who died of

Anthony tal wound,

is conveyed to

and dies.

a violent death. Anthony having, by a draught of wine, raised his drooping spirits, endeavoured to comfort Cleopatra in the best manner he could, and advised her to consult her own interest to save her life and kingdom, provided the could do it with honour, and to trust none of Cafar's friends but Proculeius. With these words

words he expired; and the same moment Proculeius arrived at the monument, and urged the queen to furrender, and truft herself to the generosity of the conqueror. Proculeius not being able to prevail with her, Octavius fent Cornelius Gallus, a man of great learning and eloquence, to vifit her; and while he amused her with fine speeches, Proculeius, with two servants, scaled the wall with a ladder, and hastened down to the gate where the was conferring with Gallus. Cleopatra, upon feeing Cicopatra him, attempted to flab herfelf with a dagger, which fhe always taken, carried about with her; but was prevented by Proculeius, who wrested it from her, and shook her robes lest she should have any weapon or poison concealed in them; exhorting her at the same time to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodness and clemency of the conqueror.

Octavius, quickly after, entered Alexandria, talking with Cæsar en-Arius, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor. ters Alex-He went directly to the gymnafium, and having affembled a andria. tribunal, he commanded the citizens, who in great fear and consternation lay prostrate at his feet, to stand up; and then, in an elegant harangue, told them, that he freely pardoned them; first, for the take of Alexander their founder; fecondly, on account of the beauty and greatness of their city; and, lastly,

for the fake of Arius their fellow citizen.

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Cafar being now in possession of Alexandria, sent Proculeius to comfort the queen, and ask her, in his name, whether she had any request to make him. Cleopatra begged to be allowed to bury Anthony; which request was granted her without. difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the east, and placed it in the tombs of the kings of Egypt. The excess of her affliction, and the pain the felt in her breast, which became inflamed and ulcerated from the blows the gave it in the transports of her forrow, throwing her into a fever, she refolved, on pretence of her illness, to abstain from food, and by that means put an end to her days. Cæfar suspecting her design, prevailed with her to take patiently whatever food or phyfic was offered to her, by threatning, if the refused, to treat her children with feverity.

When she was pretty well recovered, he himself, after having Cleopatra asked her permission, made her a visit. According to Dio, she attempts received him in a room magnificently furnished, she herself ly- in van to ing on a very rich couch: but Plutarch fays, that when Cæfar captivate vilited her, her face was strangely disfigured, her hair in difor- him. der, her eyes funk, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises; but the grace and vivacity which enlivened her beauty, were not, however, wholly extinguished. She endeavoured, tho' in vain, to make a conquest of the young victor; but whether her charms had no longer the fame power, or that ambition was the ruling passion of Octavius, he was not affected either with her person or conversation. She was far from be-

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ing infensible of his coldness and indifference, which she looked upon as no good omen; but dissembling her concern, she thanked him for the honour, and told him, that in token of her gratitude, she designed to deliver up to him all the treasures

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of the kings of Egypt.

Being foon after informed by Cornelius Dolabella, one of Cafar's favourites, who had fallen in love with her, that she and her children were to be fent away within three days, she firmly determined to avoid, by a voluntary death, the shame of being led in triumph. With this design, she begged to be allowed to pay her last duty to the tomb of Anthony, and take her leave of him; which request was granted. Upon her return to her apartment, the bathed, fat down to supper, and had a very magnificent repast. When supper was over, she sent a letter to Cæfar, and putting every body out of the monument but her two women, the fastened the doors. She then dressed herself in her royal robes, and lying down on her bed, applied an asp to her left arm. This was a kind of serpent of a very venemous nature, which, to deceive the guards, had been brought to her in a basket of figs. The bite of the serpent quickly had its effect, and she died in the arms of her maids, who likewise put an end to their life by the same means. Some writers, however, fay, that Cleopatra, having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the poison of the asp, which she had prepared before hand, into it, and gently expired.

Cæsar, in the mean time, discovering by the contents of Cleopatra's letter that she intended to lay violent hands on herself, as all that she begged was, that she might be buried in the same tomb with Anthony, immediately dispatched some of her friends, to prevent her, if still alive, from attempting any thing on her own life. These found the guards at the gate mistrusting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they, to their great surprize, saw her lying dead on a golden bed, one of her maids likewise dead at her seet, and the other ready to expire. Octavius, tho' much grieved to see himself thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet granted the queen's last petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all

Thus died Cleopatra, after she had reigned 22 years, and lived 39. She was a woman of extraordinary parts; for she is said to have been thoroughly skilled in Greek and Latin, and besides to have conversed with the Ethiopians, Troglodites, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes and Persians, in the language of each people. The most odious of vices were united in her person, professed immodesty, breach of faith, dissimulation, injustice, and cruelty. In the midst of her vicious pleasures, however, she retained a taste for polite learning, and erected in the place where the samous library stood, a new one no ways inferior to the former, enriching it with 200,000 volumes of the library of Pergamus, which Anthony had presented her with. In her ended

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ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus, after it had ruled over Egypt, from the death of Alexander, 294, or, according to some, 293 years. Egypt, from this time, was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a prætor sent thither from Rome.

Octavius caused Cæsarion, the son of Cleopatra by Julius Cæsarion Cæsar, to be put to death, because he pretended to be the law-put to sul heir: but he treated her children by Anthony, and all her death. friends and servants, with great kindness *.

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BOOK XI.

The History of the Gomerians, Scythians, Armenians, and of the kingdom of Pontus.

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CHAP. I.

The history of the GOMERIANS.

T has been a dispute among the learned, whether the Go-The Celtes merians and Scythians were originally the fame, or two di-and Scystinct nations. Some have supposed them to have been thians originally the fame, because the facred historians make no men-confoundtion of them but by the names of their supposed progenitor +.ed toge-Prophane authors also have greatly confounded both nations, ther. by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one which belonged to the other; so that it is extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the Scythians, or when of the Gomerians or Celtes. It is evident at least, that Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Justin t, to name no more, have called the Scythians who remigrated into Asia, by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which upon closer examination are found to have belonged to the Celtes or Gomerians, whom they had driven thither out of their European territories. Strabo tells us, that the old Greek historians gave the name of Scythians, and Celto-Scythians, to all the inhabitants of the northern regions; tho' it is plain, that in a confiderable part they were inhabited by Celtes or Gomerians. Again he adds, that those

^{*} Plut. in Anton. Dio. l. v. Eutrop. l. vii. Orof. l. lxi. Vell. Pater. l. ii. Sueton. August. Florus. Liv. l exxxiii. Athen. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. xlviii. † Ezek. 38. ‡ Herod. l. i. c. 73, 103. & 4. c. 49—52. Ptol. Geogr. l. vi. c. 11, 13. Justin, l. i. c. 8.

people inhabiting beyond the Caspian sea, who should be the Scythians, were by the same Greek historians called, some Masagetes, and others Sacks; the latter of which names at least belonged only to the Celtes. For these reasons many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters under which they are diffinguished in history.

The Celtes from Gomer,

However, as the facred books are filent on the fubject, both descended the antient fathers and modern authors have more universally adopted the opinion of Josephus, who affirms, that the Celtes, or Gauls, are descended from Gomer, and the Scythians from Magog his next brother. There is not the least reason to doubt of the first part of his affertion; for besides the testimony of the Fewish historian, we have the following proof; that notwithstanding all the various denominations they have undergone, and which feem rather to have been given to them by other nations than affumed to themselves, they have still preferved their original name of Gomro, or Cymro, or descendants of Gomer, and retain it to this day in all those countries where the Celtic or Gomerian language is preserved in its greatest purity; as among the Welsh, who call their language Gomeraeg, or Cymbraeg*. To this may be added the concurrent testimony of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, Mela, and others, who mention them under the names of Comerians, Camarians, Chomarians, Cymbrians, Cymmerians, and fuch like. Cluverius also proves, that the antient Celtic nation, which according to him included the regions of Illyria, Germany, Gallia, Spain, the Britannic and other northern isles, did all speak the same language, which could be no other than the Gomeraeg or language of Gomer, preserved universally among all his descendants +.

and the Scythians gog.

Were we as well acquainted with the Scythian nation, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain head, and to from Ma- dispel that obscurity we find in antient authors concerning However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of Josephus. First, we find some antient monuments of the patriarch Magog, and of his two brothers Mesheet and Tubal, in the regions of leffer Asia, where they first planted themselves after the dispersion eastward from their brother Gomer 1. The descendants of this patriarch turning northwest, and entering Europe, we may reasonably suppose that those of Magog, instead of coasting along the Euxine sea, and gleaning fettlements after them, proceeded north-eastward betwixt the Euxine and Caspian, and in process of time penetrated into both the Scythias, the Muscovites and Tartarians being antiently called Mogli, which feems only a corruption or abbreviation of Magogli, the fons of Magog. To these we mi

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^{*} Lluid, Pezron, Lewis, &c. + Clav. antiq. Germ. & introd. ad Geogr. t Bochart, Phaleg.

may add, that there is scarce a nation under Heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody and dreadful character which the Scriptures give us of Gog and Magog, as that of the barbarous Scythians.

Thus was all Europe, and the northern and far greater part of Asia, peopled by those two famous nations, the Celtes or Gomerians inhabiting the former, and the Scythians the latter eastward, as far as the territories of China. It appears then, upon the whole, that the first rank belongs to the noble Celtic nation, as descended from the elder brother; tho' the preference has been given to the Scythians by the universal vote of profane authors, who knew not that their progenitor was Gomer's

younger brother.

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To begin, therefore, with the Gomerians or Celtes. As Moles relates that the isles of the Gentiles, by which is understood Europe, were divided amongst the posterity of Japhet, the eldest fon of Noah, Berofus and some others have, contrary to probability, planted Gomer's children in Italy, Asturia, Biscay, and other parts of Europe, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Others have ventured to bring Gomer himself into Gaul, Tubal into Spain, Askenaz into Germany, and Magog into Sweden and Denmark; which premature and precipitate migrations stand fufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility, were there nothing else to disprove them. Gomer, as we have formerly mentioned, is most probably supposed to have settled in Phrygia, and his children in his neighbourhood. As their posterity encreased, it was natural for them to proceed still further west, the descendants of Magog having already occupied the countries east from them.

They accordingly spread themselves by degrees through The Celter Thrace, Hungary, Germany, Gaul, Italy, even to the utmost bor- enter Euders of Spain. Thro' this extensive tract, in process of time, rope. they became a powerful nation under feveral leaders; but those who spread themselves on both sides the Rhine, and thence towards the fouth and west as far at least as the Pyrenees and German ocean, became the most famous of all, their country acquiring the name of Gallia and Galatia, while they themselves still retained their antient name of Gomero, or Gomerians *. The names Cimmerians and Cymbrians, which feem only a corruption of their original name, it is observable were given to none of the Celtes but those who inhabited the more northern regions of Europe. In lesser Asia they were called Titans and Sacks, which last name fignifies thieves and plunderers. In Europe they feem generally to have been known by the names of Celtes and Gauls, that of Gomero or Cymro being only pre-ferved among a few of themselves. The name of Galatians was given them also by the Greeks; but it is plain it meant the same

with Gauls, and accordingly antient authors make them de-

fcended from the fame father *.

Before they left Asia, it appears that they distinguished themfelves by their exploits; but these are so darkly and differently related, fo intricate, and built fo much upon conjecture, that the accounts can hardly be relied upon. As to their actions in Europe, we can speak with much greater certainty; however, we may observe that the posterity of some of them seem to have continued in Afia, Ezekiel threatning the Jews with bringing Gomer and his armies upon them from the north quarters, and Ptolemy placing the Chamarians and Gomarians the one on the river Oxus, and the other in the province of Sogdiana +.

Some of them ftill remain in Afia.

> The Celtes in Europe spread themselves from Thrace and the river Danube, to the western parts of Spain. It is difficult to ascertain how far they extended themselves northwards, whether to the Hyperborean ocean, or only to the Baltic. It feems most probable, that the latter was their northern boundary for many centuries; but it is certain, that in the time of Julius Cafar, not only Sweden and Denmark, but the northern islands of Britain, Ireland, and even Iceland, were inhabited and made part of the Celtic Gallia. Accordingly Cluverius, tho' he hath reduced its extent within narrower bounds than Ortelius, who supposes the general name of antient Europe to have been Celtica, proves it to have contained the countries of Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and the British islands; and adds, that they had all the fame language, tho' split into various dialects, and made but one large nation, tho' divided in process of time into a great multitude of tribes ‡.

> In the time of Augustus Casar, the Celtic nation, tho' greatly abated of its former grandeur, and shrunk into more narrow limits, was, however, so considerable, that it contained no less than 60 great people diffinguished by the names of cities or districts, according to Strabo. Tacitus says 64; but this is nothing to Josephus, who reckoned the number of these nations about 315, or to Appian, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really vil-

lages, to 1300.

Italy first de cendants.

It has been disputed whether Italy was first peopled by the peopled Celtes. Some suppose that the sons of Javan first came hither by Gomer's by sea from Greece. On the other hand, it is alleged, that the Umbrians are by many antient authors esteemed the most antient people in Italy ||. Pliny particularly tells us, that when the Hetrurians entered that country, and made war against the Umbrians, they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves that they must have been there a considerable time. Again, the

Umbrians

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^{*} Idem Joseph. Antiq. I. i. Eustat. Comment. in Examen. Hierom. tradit. Hebr. in Gen. 9. † Ptol. l. vi. Mela. l. i. Strab. l. ix. Antiq. Germ. I. i. Il Flor. l. i. Plin. l. iii, Dion. Halic. l. iii. Serv. in Virgil.

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Umbrians are affirmed by other antient historians to have been the descendants of the Gauls or Celtes *; from whence it may be concluded, that the Celtes, in the most early times, had penetrated into Italy, before we can suppose the Arcadians, or descendants of Javan, were acquainted with navigation. Plutarch indeed tells us, that the Celtes or Gauls inhabiting between the Alps and the Pyrenees, having tasted of the wine that came out of Italy, marched over the Alps under the conduct of a malcontent named Arron, and conquered those territories, which had been till then held by the Tuscans. But this must be looked upon as a late transaction, when compared to the early migrations of the Celtes, and does not invalidate what has been faid concerning their first peopling of Italy. Tho' their manners, religious cultoms and language might be nearly the fame thro' all the wide territories possessed by them, yet, as we have just observed, they composed a great number of independant political focieties, which, without doubt, frequently made war on each other. In Spain and Italy, as well as in feveral other countries in Europe, there are multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. met with in antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day; all which are plainly of Celtic origin. For the many examples of this kind, and the furprizing propriety and aptness of the etymologies, we must refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin +.

Tho' the Celtes, in the most early ages, retained an unifor- Celtic termity of manners, and nearly the same language in all their dif-ritories. ferent settlements; yet, in process of time, from various accidents, they by degrees loft their original name, their language altered, and they began to be diffinguished by new and different appellations. Cæfar, we find, confines those who were called Celtes in his time into very narrow limits, their country, according to him, being bounded on the north by the Seine, on the fouth by the Loire, and on the east and west by Burgundy and Low Britany. Whether this country was called Celtica by way of excellence above the rest, as the province of Holland is generally taken for all the feven, and whether the other Celtes were unknown to Casar, we will not pretend to determine. Dio Calfius, however, tells us, that all the inhabitants on each fide the Rhine were still called Celtes; and according to Diodorus and Plutarch, the Celtic territories extended from the Pyrenees and

Alps, quite to the Scythians 1.

By the conquest of the Romans, the Celtes in Gaul gradually lost their antient name, and by suture conquests were confounded with the Franks. Those Celtes who inhabited Britain, how-

^{*} Solin. ex Bochart. Isidor & al. ap. Pezron. † Wott. Archeol. Lluid. lexic. Pezron. Lewis hist. Mag. Brit. Hackew. original. Septen. Breerward de orig. ling. Pelontier. hist. de Celtes. † Dio. l. xxxix. Diod. l. v.

ever, did not share the same sate, especially those of the inland country, who were a distinct people, Casar tells us, from those on the coasts. These inland inhabitants are supposed to have come originally from Cambray, and to have been driven from the coasts more westwards and northwards by suture adventurers with whom they resused to associate. The Romans having possessed the island but a short time, never made an entire conquest of the antient inhabitants, who abhoring to live in subjection, retired to the western mountains, still retaining the original language of the Celtic nation, and the most antient name of Gomerians. By others they were called Gauls, by which name those in the Highlands of Scotland still call themselves. The English, by the change of the letter G into W, which among them is very common, have given them the appellation of Welsh*.

Tho' the Celtes exceed all other nations in antiquity, their descent being, as we have seen, from Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, the eldest son of Noah, yet we have but a very impersect knowlege of their government, laws, religion, &c. Pezron hath attempted to prove, that the descendants of Gomer very early entered Europe, under the conduct of Acmon, and afterwards of his son Uranus, two warlike princes, the last of whom led colonies even into Spain. Chronus, Jupiter, and Mercury were their three next successors, and the last, according to our author, settled the Gomerians in Europe, then called Titans, into a regular government, and gave them laws, their

name being then changed into that of Celtes.

All this our author brings proof for from antient authors; and in a letter to the abbot *Nicaise*, displays a noble and elaborate plan of *Celtic* antiquities, which had he lived to have finished, might have afforded us a much greater number of proofs. Nothing, indeed, is more likely, than that the *Celtic* government was originally monarchical, as well as that of other nations. In *Cæsar*'s time, their monarchs seem to have been under great restrictions, and the people to have possessed

notions of liberty.

What their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their fovereign, we cannot find. Pezron, indeed, tells us, that Mercury civilized them, and gave them laws; and we are informed by others †, that Samothes, otherwise called Dis and Discelta, a man of singular learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the Celtic monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the Hebrew tongue, but in the Phænician character. He may be supposed, perhaps, to have wrote in Hebrew, from the great affinity between that tongue and the Celtic; and the Phænician character, which he is said to have used, was antiently the most universal, and is

^{*} Lluid. Lewis ut supra. Mairland's Hist. of Scot. vol. i. † Lewis & aut. ab eo citat.

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now allowed to have been the same with the Samaritan or antient Hebrew. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them. However, as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethren the Scythians in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some laws for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline. The Curetes, and afterwards the Druids and Bards, were the Their gointerpreters of their laws, and judged all causes whether criminal vernment. Their fentence was reckoned fo facred, that whoever refused to abide by it, was by them excluded from affifting at their facred rites; after which no man dared to converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned even severer than death itself.

Their religion was very like that of the Scythians, that is, Religion. they neither built temples, nor reared statues to the deity; which they esteemed so derogatory to it, that they even demolished them wherever they could. They worshiped under large groves of oaks, and had a particular reverence for the oak, attributing feveral supernatural virtues both to its wood, leaves, fruit, and miseltoe; all which were made use of in their sacrifices and other parts of their worship. After they had adopted the idolatrous superstition of the Romans and other nations, and the apotheofis of their heroes and princes, they came to wor-ship them much after the same manner. Jupiter they called Taran, which in Celtic fignifies thunder; Mercury Heus, or Hefus; probably from the Celtic Huadh, which fignifies a dog, and might be the Anubis Latrans of the Egyptians. Mercury was held in the greatest veneration by traders, and Mars by their warriors. These gods, according to Pezron, had formerly been their kings, and after they came to deify them, they became addicted to all kind of superstition, divination, astrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion antiently was committed to the curetes, to whom the education of Jupiter was committed, and Cres, one of his fons, was of their fociety. It is not eafy to trace their original. Some derive their name from the Celtic word Curo, to strike or beat one thing against another; because when they kept young Jupiter concealed in a cave, they struck their shields with their javelins, that his jealous father might not hear his cries*. Some fay they went to the wars, and encouraged the warriors; but others affirm, that they, as well as the Druids, were ex-The Bards, however, who were in all empt from that duty +. other respects of the same order, were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and mufical compolitions.

⁺ De bell. Gal. * Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 1. ap. Pezron. Strab. l. x. Lewis ut sup. Pezron. Heylen & al. The

The Druids and Bards, Cafar tells us, were the performers of facrifices and all religious rites, and the expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another; which was both an incitement to virtue, and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them too facred to be committed to writing; and it was the labour of twenty years to get all their hymns and doctrines by heart. Diodorus speaking of the Celtes. tells us farther, that their Bards used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in such veneration, that if two armies were engaged in battle, they instantly ceased fighting if one of the poets or bards appeared, their fury giving way to wisdom, and Mars to the Muses. But the true reason was, that they were univerfally believed to be prophets as well as poets; for that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to disobev what they supposed came from the gods.

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Learning.

These prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were reforted unto by a great number not only of their own youth, but even of other countries; so that Aristotle says, Greece had its philosophy from them, and not they from the Greeks. Diodorus mentions another circumstance in their praise from Hecateus, namely, that their Druids or learned men had some kind of instruments, by which they could draw distant objects nearer, and make them appear larger and plainer, and by which they could differ even feas, mountains, and valleys in the moon; which shews that they must have made some great progress in that fort of learning above other nations. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality. Suetonius and Lucan, however, call their religion an impious one.

Their cruel cuftoms.

It must, indeed, be owned, that in process of time they adopted feveral barbarous customs, such as facrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than the facrifices of brute animals. Diodorus also mentions another inhuman cuftom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters. They killed some of their flaves, or some prisoner of war, if any they had, with a scimiter, to draw their augury from

the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

At first they were above minding any thing of agriculture, and when they came to it in time, they commonly left the care of it to their wives and children. In time they degenerated from a plain and simple life, and suffered drunkenness and luxury to creep in among them, after they were fettled in towns and cities; which last they fortified, and adorned with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. The Romans upbraided them with the unjust maxim, which gives to the strongest what the weakest cannot defend. This they acknowleged and gloried in, and indeed were fo greedy of conquest and plunder, and of defending what they had gained, that they even

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even fought with fuch strength- and fury that nothing could withstand them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people. Those prisoners they spared they sold to their great men, who made flaves of them, and appointed the mort lightly of them for their They were expert horsemen; so that considering their martial genius and discipline, their cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots, and their dexterity in managing of them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, fcymetars and daggers. They likewife wore shields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the bufiness of their poets to record the actions of those that fignalized themselves in songs and stories, which were afterwards sung at their games and other folemnities. It was also their custom before a battle to observe the moon, and if possible to avoid fighting till after the full of it, from a superstitious belief that it would prove more fortunate. They used also, like other nations, to confult their priefts or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement; and nothing but absolute necessity could prevail on them to fight if the augury was not favourable. Their martial laws used likewise to be couched in verse, and set to some warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to fing upon proper occasions.

Their language was the old Celtic or Gomerian, and almost Lanthe very fame that is still preserved by the Weish, which has guage. been fufficiently proved by numberless antiquarians, who also make it evident that it was univerfally spoken thro' Europe and beyond, except that thro' length of time, distance of place, and intermixture with the Scythians and other nations, it had fplit itself into a great variety of dialects, which still retained the plain marks of their original mother *. Even the Galatians settled in Lesser Asia, many centuries before the age of St. ferom, are affirmed by that father to have spoken the same language with the inhabitants of the province of Triers, which was a mixture of old Geltic and Teutonic, then common to Gaul and Germany. This city is only mentioned by that father, as being in his time the metropolis of Gaul, in which he had made some abode. Those who are best acquainted with their language readily acknowlege, that no tongue, either antient

or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than the Gomraeg.

Vol. III. Hh

^{*} Camb. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierward. inquir. orig. ling. Lluid. Davies & Robert. Gram. Wotton. Hick. lexic. Lewis & Pezron, Hottoman. Franco Gallia, c. 11. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. l. i. Pelloutier ut supra.

Tho' it must be supposed, in process of time, to have been very much blended with the Greek, Latin, and German, yet it retains still so much of the admirable simplicity of the Hebrew grammar and conftruction, that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the same tongue from which the languages above-mentioned, and even the Arabic, feem to have sprung. It is so near akin to the Hebrew, that an antiquary, who was mafter of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a confiderable number of phrases out of the Old Testament, which are so like in both, that they seem to have been originally the fame, and their difference to be only owing to distance of time and place, and other such like causes by which a language is naturally altered. It diffinguishes cases like the Hebrew, by preposite articles. It often changes the radical primitive letter of a word according to the prepolition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, and it hath its aspirations and gutturals more or less dense, like those of the Hebrew, Arabic, &c. That is was the mother of the Arabic, Greek, Latin, and German, Pezron has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and to confirm also by historical facts. He has at last given a most rational account for that furprizing affinity which the learned have found between the Celtic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, High Dutch, and some other European and Asiatic languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for *. That the Gomerians have still preferved their tongue in its original purity, is doubtless owing to their little intercourse with foreign nations, they having chosen, rather than submit to a conqueror, to leave their fertile abodes, and retire among mountains almost inaccessible. The little refinements they have made in civil life, in the sciences and arts, and their aversion to novelty and attachment to their antient customs, doubtless contributed to the permanency of their language.

It were labour lost to endeavour to find what their antient poetry was, in which their Curetes, Druids, and Bards recorded all the exploits of their heroes. As to their music, they are supposed to have brought it from Crete, where it is said to have been invented by reflecting on the different sounds of the hammers on a smith's forge. But as the invention of music, according to Moses, is much more antient, they probably received the knowlege of the art by tradition. As their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and houshold furniture, we may reasonably suppose all those arts and manufactures that tended to it, to have been likewise encouraged among them. Whatever luxury

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^{*} Pezron ant. ling. Celt. passim. Pelloutier.

they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find they used any in their food. Pulse was their com- Their mon diet, especially that which the Greeks called Elimos, pro-food. bably the same with Lim, which in the Celtic signifies millet. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; but as to flesh, they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine.

Concerning their antient traffic, little can be faid. Mercury Their is supposed to have made great improvements in trade and com- traffic. merce; on which account his name feems to have been given him from the Celtic Merc, merchandise, and Ur, a man. After his death, he was worshiped as the patron and protector of trades, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as Cafar

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The antients, in their character of them, recount, among Their their virtues, their extreme love of liberty, which made them character. prefer the worst of deaths to an ignominious slavery; their faithfulness and love of justice, for which several Roman emperors chofe them for their life-guards, and most nations courted them for their allies; their extraordinary hospitality, which obliged them to have their houses and tables free to all forts of strangers; their conjugal fidelity, respect to their parents, to their princes and chiefs; their unanimity, courage, and hardinefs under all difficulties; and other fuch-like focial virtues. Among their vices they reckoned their cruelty, superstition, fondness for and extravagance in their featting, contempt of learning, and looking upon all those with contempt that could either write or read; their degenerating into downright drunkenness, gluttony, and ferocity, and fuch like.

All that has been faid concerning the time of their migration from Afia, as well as of their famous exploits in that part of the world, it must be acknowleded, is built upon mere conjecture; and it would be a mad attempt to fettle it upon a better foot. Sir Isaac Newton thinks, that both the Celtes and Scythians had spread themselves over Upper Asia and Europe long before the year of the flood 1220; that is, about the latter end of the Israelitish judges. But before that time, according to Pezron, they had fignalized themselves in Asia under the names of Sacks and Titans, and had a succession of kings. first of those princes, according to him, was cotemporary to, if not before, Terah the father of Abraham; that is, about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of his hif-Tho' this learned author, in many places, has laid too great a stress upon conjectures, yet it must be owned he adduces surprizing testimonies from antiquity, and that his history of the Celtes carries a greater share of probability, than any that has been attempted concerning this antient and populous nation. His notion, that the heathen deities were Celtic princes reigning in Asia about the times of Terah and Abraham, seems to carry much more evidence from antient writers, than the lystem of bishop Cumberland, who supposes the Chronus or Sa-Hh 2

turn of the Phænician historian Sanchoniatho, to have been Ham the son of Noah. Here the reader will find a probable history, at least of those heroes and of the Celtic and Titanic nations, divested as much as possible from fable; and there is at least more reason to believe that there really were such men and na-

tions, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

We shall begin with mentioning the migrations and exploits of the Gomerians in the several parts of Asia, before their spreading into Europe. Tho' they are mentioned by antient geographers and historians under the names of Titans, Sacks, Parthians, Celtes, and the like, yet it is plain they were really the fame people, and the descendants of Gomer; for they themfelves not only preserved the name of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors who mention them under their other names, the name of Titans excepted. Thus Ptolemy tells us, that the Saccae were of the Curetes and Chomarians; and observes elsewhere, that the Chomarians in Battriana were more civilized than the Scythians, and had a capital city called Chomer. Pliny also says, that the Persians called the Scythians Sacks, from their next neighbouring nation, which nation could be no other than the Celtes. Thus it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the Scythians, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of Gomerians, tho' they used in the main other appellatives. As to the name of Titans, our author thinks the Celtes assumed it to themselves, fome deriving it from the Celtic Tit, which fignifies earth, and implies the fame as Terrigenæ, or earth born: but his arguments in support of this are merely conjectural.

From Phrygia then, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of Chomarians and Sacks, fixed along the river Jaxartes, beyond the Caspian sea quite up to the province of Bactria*. And as we find the Saccae in the more fruitful plains of Armenia, Cappadocia, Gallogræcia, and all those provinces that lie along the Euxine sea, we may from hence form a kind of route how they spread themselves thro' all that part of Asia till their course was stopt by the Sogdians, who being of Scythian race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the Chomarians had reached that of Bactria. Some of them, he supposes, also passed over the vast mountains that lie on the fouth of Margiana, and entered the country of the Median Arii; where having made a fettlement, and being as it were divided from or exiled by the rest, they were called in fcorn Parthians, which fignified in the Celtic, parted or divided from. This origin of the Parthians is confirmed by Arrian, Fornandes, and other authors, particularly Justin; only with this difference, that he makes them of Scythian extraction, according to the vulgar error of the antient Greek

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^{*} Mela. l. i. c. 2. Ptol. Geogr. l. ii. & vi.

writers, who, as Strabo tells us, called all the nations towards the north of Afia, Scythians and Celto-Scythians *.

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That the Saccæ possessed themselves of at least the best part of Armenia, is affirmed by Strabo; who adds, that they called the country by their name. It appears also from the same author, that they penetrated into Cappadocia towards the coasts of the Euxine sea †. This expedition, he supposes, was undertaken under the conduct of Acmon the father of Uranus, and of his brother Daas, where they gave their name, the former to the capital city called Acmonia, in which we are also told was a grave dedicated to him after he was dessed ‡, and the latter to the spacious Doean plains near the city of Themsscyra, along the river Thermodon. Proceeding to the Palus Meotis, they crossed into Europe, and gave their name to the Cymbrian or Cimmerian Bosphorus ||. It is not, however, improbable, that some of them, before this time, as we have already observed, had entered Europe by crossing the Hellespont.

Acmon, with those under his command, is supposed to have fettled in Phrygia, where monuments are found both of him and his brother; namely, another city called Acmona, faid by the fame authors to have been founded by him, likewife another facred grave, and fome spacious plains called Doeantes. He supposes, that the Gomerians, at this time, dropt the name of Sacks, and assumed the name of Titans, signifying earth born, or by another Celtic derivation, sons of the sun. As for the Celtes being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very antient author §, who was no friend to the Celtes or Gauls, and yet he fays, that the MEATOR Were obligated Titans, the descendants or late posterity of the Titans. If it be objected that the Druids in Casar's time did boast themselves descended from Dis or Pluto, he was also, he says, a Titan prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is, Europe, to his share, whilst Jupiter kept the eastern part to himself; so that both Cafar and Callimachus agree in the main point.

Acmon, the first prince of note of the Gomerian or Titanic race, was the son of Mon, Man, or Maneus; which seems to be implied in his name Acmon, or perhaps rather Ac-man. Including Maneus in the lift, he gives us a succession of six Titan princes; namely, Maneus, Acman, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Theutat, whose government, according to him, lasted about 300 years, Acmon, the second prince, reigning in the days of Terah, the father of Abraham.

By enquiring with the utmost pains into antient authors, he The time says, he finds that Jupiter began to reign when Isaac had at of Jupiter seems, ten's reign.

^{*} Arrian in Parthic. Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 6. Justin, 1 xii. Strab. l. xi. † Strab. l. xi. † Appollon. Argon. l. ii. Steph. Byzant. voc. Acmon. || Pezron. § Callimach. hymn. in Delum. v. 170, 171. Cæsar. Com. l. vi.

tained one half of his age, which may be made out from Evemerus, Ennius, Thallus, and some others, who all agree, that Jupiter reigned in the time of Belus, the first king of Assyria. The Sybillan verses expresly say, that Saturn, with his brothers Titan and Japhet, began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom the people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in virtue and strength. Now the 10th generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of Abraham; Uranus, the father of Saturn, must therefore have been potent both in Asia and Europe in the time of Terah, Abraham's father. Besides other monuments of antiquity, the chronicle of Eusebius, which has been regulated from antient histories, and especially those which related to the island of Crete, he says, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about these times, that is, between the 50th and 60th year of Abraham's life, Cres, one of the Curetes, reigned in Crete, gave name to the island, and took care of Jupiter's education. Jupiter, according to this calculation, must have begun his reign about the latter end of Terah's life. Nevertheless, for many reasons. he thinks *Jupiter* ought not to be placed higher than the middle of Isaac's life.

Maneus. Acmon.

Nothing is recorded concerning Maneus, but that he is reported to have been the father of Acmon *. Acmon is supposed to be the same with the Elion of Sanchoniatho, and is said to have had a fon named Epigeus Autochton, called afterwards Ouranus; and that, being killed by a wild beaft, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified, and worshiped by his descendants +.

Uranus.

Uranus, according to the same antient author, succeeded his father, and married his own fifter In, Ge, or the earth, who is even sometimes called by the Greeks Titea, which in Celtic has the same signification. The name Ouranus, which, he says, was not given him till after his death, and for which he could give no reason, appears to be derived from the Celtic, Ur man, and En heaven, and he probably was called Ouren, a man of heaven, from his being addicted to the study of astronomy and aftrology. How long he reigned we are not told. Besides the Tethren- account of his being killed by a wild beaft, he is faid to have ed by Sa been dethroned and imprisoned by his unnatural son Saturn, who usurped the throne.

turn.

Saturn, afterwards furnamed Chronos, by Sanchoniatho is faid to have been the eldest son of Uranus; but, according to others, he was the fourth and youngest, and his eldest brother, who was called Titan, did for a long while contest the crown with him, but was at length overpowered. Saturn is supposed to have been the first who took upon him the regal dignity, all his

^{*} Byrane sub voce Acmon.

⁺ San hon lib, iii.

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predecessors having contented themselves with the title of princes *. Tertullian, upon the authority of Pherecides, relates, that he was the first who wore the diadem, whence he is supposed to have been surnamed Chronos, which in the Celtic signifies crowned, and his other name, Saturn, is most naturally deduced from the Phrygian Sadorn, which signifies strong and potent. Tertullian also says, that he much delighted in wearing a red cloak, or short coat of the Galatic dye, from which perhaps came the royal purple of the antients, which colour, Pezron supposes, the Greeks called Coccos, from the Celtic, Coch, which signifies red.

Uranus, who had some suspicion of Saturn's treasonable designs, wanted to anticipate him, and sent his daughter Rhea to put him to death. Saturn's mother, Titea, however, having forsaken her husband, because he had taken many other wives, informed her son of his sather's design, who not only diverted Rhea from her enterprize, but brought her over to his side.

Having, after a contest of several years, driven his father

from the throne, he succeeded to his kingdom, assumed the title of king, and married his fifter Rhea, which name, in Celtic, fignifies a lady, as Rhey fignifies a lord. His mother and wife, and another great philosopher and confummate politician, named Hermes Trismegistus, who was councellor, prevailed on the grandees of the court, and especially his other brothers, to fubmit to him, and acknowlege him; fo that his dominions and conquests vastly exceeded those of his predecessors. His happiness, however, was sourced many different ways; being extreamly distrustful of his children, who, he was apprehensive, would ferve him as he had ferved his father, he even destroyed fome of them. His brother Titan at length surprised him and Saturn is his wife Rhea, and kept them in close confinement in some pro- taken privince of Alia, till Jupiter came with a confiderable army of soner by Cretans, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and Titan. kingdom. This remarkable transaction is preserved to us by Rescued Lactantius, who produced it, to prove against the heathens, by Jupithat the gods they worshipped had been mere men, declaring, ter. that he scorned to have recourse to the fables of the poets, but would urge nothing but what was recorded as truth by historians. Saturn's jealous temper was probably the reason why Rhea took fuch pains to preserve her youngest son Jupiter, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and fending him privately to be educated in another. According to Callimachus, he was born on mount Lycaus in Arcadia; and it is generally supposed, that he was educated by the Curetes in Crete. This pious and generous action did rather increase, than dispel, the jealousy of his father, who, being alarmed to find a fon that he did not know of before, not

^{*} Enn. ap. Lactan. lib i. H h 4

ter.

only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, was apprehensive lest he should, in time, deprive him with the fame facility of his kingdom and life. Lastantius adds, that being warned by the oracle and diviners. twixt him whom he confulted, to beware of his fon Jupiter, who would and Jupi- be likely to dethrone him, he invaded Crete with an army, where his fon had again taken up his residence. Finding that the Cretans were all in his fon's interest, and that he was more likely to be entrapped by them than obeyed, he returned into the *Peloponnese*, whither *fupiter*, enraged at his cruel design He retires against him, followed him with an army, and forced him to reinto Italy, tire into Italy, where he was kindly received, and was admitted by Janus, king of the country, into a kind of partnership with him in the kingdom, the place where he reigned adjoining to the Tiber, being from him fince called Saturnia. His tomb being shewn in Sicily, it is supposed he went and ended his days in that island *. Jupiter was properly called Jou, from his being the youngest

Jupiter

of Saturn's children, the word Jou, which in Celtic fignifies young, being preferved, according to Pezron, in the Latin inflexion Jovis. He did not enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His wars with uncle Titan, or perhaps one of his fons, raised a war against the Titans. him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of Titan and his army. war feems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the giants or Titans against the gods; and it must be owned, that this fystem of history, for we dare not venture to give it a ftronger name, not only gives a greater light to the darkness of fabulous times, but is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as christians, than that of the learned Cumberland. Jupiter gave the final defeat to the Titans near the antient city of Tartesa in Spain, not far from Cadiz, whither, it feems, he went in person with a great fleet and powerful army, which feems confirmed by Justin +. Having gained this fignal victory, by bringing over the confederates of the enemy, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life. After the example of his predecessors, he married his sister fune, fo called probably from the Celtic, Ghuin, which fignifies fair, white, and beautiful. As he was feldom without fome amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous iffue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. He carefully attended to the administration of justice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, and was diligent in rooting out robbers and banditti, who sheltered themselves in the forests of Thessaly, Macedonia,

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^{*} Tertull. Apollog. Clem. Alex. admonit. ad Gentes. + Justin. lib. xliv. chap. 4.

and Illyria. As he had made mount Olympus, one of the most delightful parts of Thessaly, his chief residence, he was under a necessity to clear those countries of the robbers, that his subjects might have freer access to his court.

Before his death, he is affirmed to have divided his kingdom, Division and to have given the western, or European, part of it to his of his uncle Dis, or Pluto, furnamed also Agesilaus and Agesander, kingdom. whilst himself kept the Asiatic or eastern part of it. He is said also to have given the northern coast of Africa to his nephew Atlas; but having afterwards either conceived some jealousy of

him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he is reported to have caused him to be put to death.

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Atlas was called also by the Greeks Talamon, from the Celtic, Tellman, on account of his high stature, and was also a great aftronomer. He had a daughter named Maia, who, being married to Jupiter, bore him a fon named Mercury, or Theutat. Juno, enraged at this marriage, plotted continual feditions against her husband, who is accused, by reason of the frequent revolts, which he was always fo fuccessful as to discover, to have degenerated into a tyrant.

On the other hand, the Cretan historians extolled his vir- The chatues to the skies. Diodorus Siculus and Ennius, upon their au- recter of thority, bestow the greatest encomiums upon him for his Jupiter. strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholfome laws for the public good. He lived His death. 120 years, of which he reigned 62. He was buried in the island of Crete, in the city of Gnossus, and the stately monument, erected for him by his fons, was shewn many ages after by the inhabitants. Cres, one of his fons, who, at his father's death, was chief of the Curetes, took the government of that island, the rest of the large empire being divided among his friends and relations. In what manner the division was made is not to be guessed at, only we find that his son Theutat, or Mercury, had the western part affigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle Dis, or Pluto *.

Mercury, the fon of Jupiter by Maia, was likewise called by Mercury. the Greeks Hermes, and by the Latins Faunus, the first appellation being derived from the Celtic Armes, which fignifies divination; but no etymon is found in the Celtic for the latter. He was tamed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. Being active, couragious, and eloquent, and always attached to his father's interest, he became his chief favourite and councellor, and was also, by the fabulous writers, affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us, that he went down into Egypt, to He goes penetrate further into their mysterious arts and sciences, and into tg pt.

^{*} Suid. Sub voce Magres. Chron. Alex.

Intro-

Celtic fignifies the father of his people, though the author thinks he assumed it from the Thout or Mercury of the Egyptians *. It was probably from the Egyptians that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is faid to have first brought into Europe. Having also instructed duces traf- his subjects in the arts of commerce, and compiled for them a fic among body of laws, he, by degrees, polished that rude and favage the Celtes, nation, which till then feems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. On these accounts his memory was still held dear to them in Cafar's time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all the other

Some attribute the invention of the Olympic games to him, others to Hercules; but if Pausanias be right, they must have been much older, fince he tells us that Saturn and Jupiter had wrestled together at them +. He reigned, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, thirty-four years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign is not easy to say. According to Suidas and the above-mentioned chronicle, his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he was obliged to retire into Egypt, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand Livy acquaints us, lib. xxii. chap. 24. that there was a large tomb near New Carthage, in the time of Hannibal, which was called the tomb of Mercury Theutat, which would incline one to think he died in his own dominion's. no mention of the princes that reigned after Mercury, or the state of the Celtic nation after his death, till the time of the conquest of the Celtic nation in Gaul by Julius Cæsar. Long before that time, the Carthaginians had taken possession of Spain, and the Romans had extended their conquests over the Alps into Gallia, where they had formed a province called Gallia Narbonnensis, besides the other provinces beyond the Alps. The Scythians, it is likely, did also encroach upon them on the north fide, and very probably feized upon that part of their territories which was afterwards called Scythia in Europe. Whether those encroachments of their neighbours, or intestine divisions among themselves, forced them to look for new settlements, sure it is, that several powerful colonies of these Celtes and Gauls returned into lesser Asia, where, finding almost every where some antient monuments of their progenitors, they fettled themselves there in feveral parts by main force, and gave fome of their new-gotten names to them, such as that of Galatia, Parthia, Saccacene, and others.

^{*} Cyril. Alex. cont. Jul.

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CHAP. II.

The bistory of the antient Scythians.

CCORDING to Herodotus, Scythia was so called from a fon of Hercules, which was born to him in that country Screbia, by a monster half woman and half serpent. Rejecting this fa-whence so bulous account, some derive the name from the Greek σχυζεσθαι, calledwhich expresses the fierceness of their countenances and natural temper; and others derive it from the Teutonic word Scheten or Shuten, to shoot, in which art this nation is affirmed to have been so singularly expert, by Herodotus, Lucian, and others, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account, the word Scythian, according to this supposition, fignifying a great shooter or archer. The Tartars and Moscovites, however, as we have observed, called themselves Mogli, supposed to have been an abbreviation of Magogly, the fons of Magog. The name Scythian might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the Celtes, whose language originally differed little either from the Scythian or Teutonic. The vast territory which the Scythians inhabited was divided

into Scythia in Europe and Scythia in Afia, including also the Its vast two Sarmatias, or Sauromatias according to the Greeks, now the Circassian Tartary, which lay between the two Scythias. Saurom tia was also divided into European and Asiatic: but the Sarmatians differed so little from the Scythians in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe Herodotus, that they may be reasonably supposed to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the Amazons, with whom, that author tells us, they having intermarried, begot the Sarmatian offspring. We may therefore fay, that the two Scythias were only parted by the boundaries of Europe and Asia, that is, by the river Tanais, which empties itself into the Palus Mæotis *. The Asiatic Scythians extended northward to the Hyperborean or frozen sea, called also the Amalchian or Almachian, Cronian, and dead sea. On the south they were bounded by the Caspian sea, mount Caucasus, and the Eoum or Indian lea; and on the east they extended to the Cassian mountains,

which parted Scythia from the kingdom of Seres, now Callai or

northern China, and even this, by some of the antients, was

taken for part of eastern Scythia. The notion of the antients,

that Scythia was bounded on the north by the Hyperborean ocean, feems founded rather on conjecture than experience;

^{*} Herod. lib. iv. Ptol. Mel. Strab. Cluver. Bochart. Phaleg. & al.

for the country was wholly unknown to them beyond the 70th degree of north latitude. The fouthern regions they divided into three parts, namely, Scythia within, and Scythia without, or beyond the Imaus, and Sarmatia, which lay between the former and the European Scythia. The Scythia on this fide Imaus, according to Ptolemy, contained thirty-seven nations; but among them all he mentions but one city, namely, Dahava. In the Scythia beyond the Imaus he mentions only seven nations. Sarmatia contained Albania, Iberia, and Colchis, which now make the Circassian Tartary, and the province of Georgia.

Scythia in Europe, which was bounded on the east by the river Tanais, to the south had part of the Euxine sea, the Ister or Danube, the Alps, and the Rhine. But with regard to its southern limits, they must be supposed to have been in a constant suctuation, the Celtes and Scythians having constantly encroached upon each other, whenever they had power and opportunity for it. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch from the spring heads of the Boryshenes, or Nieper, to those of the

Tanais and Wolga *.

The antients divided this country into Scythia Proper, and Scythia Arimaspea, which lay eastward adjoining to Scythia in Asia, and had on the west Sarmatia Europeana; but where these two countries were divided, it is not easy to find out. In Scythia Proper were on the north the Arimaspæi; on the south, along the Danube, the Getæ or Dacians; and between those two the Neuri. Sarmatia is supposed to have reached northward, to that part of Swedeland called Feningia, now Finland, which they divided from northern Germany, now the west part of Sweden and Norway, by the Mare Sarmaticum or Scythicum, which they supposed to run northwards into the Hyperborean ocean. Finland also they supposed was cut off from the continent by the gulph of that name.

We may plainly perceive the antients were but little acquainted with those countries, from their account of the inhabitants. In Finland they placed the Oænes, so called from their living mostly upon the eggs of sea-fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes; and the Hippepodes, so named from their having set like horses, or from their going barefoot. The Panoti were so called, from the largeness of their ears, which was such that they could cover their whole body with them. The mountaineers were affirmed to have been bald from their infancy. The Arimaspians got their name from the Scythian Arima, which signifies one, and Spon eye, not, as was believed by many, because they had but one eye; but, according to Bochart, because they were excellent archers, by taking aim with one eye. Some of the inhabitants were reported to have goats feet, not unlike the fabulous satyrs; and among them they had monstrous ani-

^{*} Mel. lib. ii. Cluver. Cellar. and others.

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According to Herodotus, the Hyperboreans were not of Scythian race, but another kind of people, one fort of which were Androphagi, or men-eaters, herce and cruel, and another the bald heads, or Agrippeans, a wife and peaceable people, effected facred by all their neighbours. But he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not even uninhabited *.

Of the antiquity of the Scythians, and of their progenitor, Governwe have already treated. How foon they began to fettle them- ment of felves into a regular government is equally impossible to guess, the Seras to conjecture of what kind it was. It appears, however, thians, from Herodotus, that one or two tribes at least, that is, the royal and free Scythians, were under a monarchical government, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest +. The tribe, to which the royal dignity was confined, probably retained a kind of authority over those who were settled near it, while those, who were most remote from the center, had lords, laws, and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward. Thus, when the Scythians were threatned with an invasion from Darius, Herodotus tells us, the king invited all the Scythian princes to come to his affiftance; the refult of the fummons was, that three of the nations joined with the king of Scythia, but the others refused to assist him, under pretence that he was the first ag-

grellor. Though we have no system of the Scythian laws, yet, from Their the justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and character. the simple and primitive way of living, that prevailed among the Scythians, we may conclude, that their laws would not need to be numerous. The Scythians, according to Justin, were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft, among them, was reckoned fo great a crime, and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living lofing them. upon their milk and cloathing themselves, with their skins. Instead of using houses, they conveyed their families from place to place in covered waggons, made capacious enough to carry also all their furniture for bedding, and for the kitchen. Gold, filver, diamonds, pearls, and other coftly stones, were as much despised by them, as they were esteemed by other nations. Those virtues, which the Greeks did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them; so much

^{*} Mel, lib. ii. Herod. lib. iv.

more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in

the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other. Laws.

To a nation of this character and way of life few laws would be necessary to secure their property. Some they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either; which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of affifting at the royal feaft, till they had killed an enemy. Some historians give a very different character of the Scythians. and represent them as a fierce and barbarous nation, who even devoured the flesh of their enemies. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all comprized in that vast tract of country.

If we may guess by some successions mentioned in history, their crown feems to have been hereditary. Their kings, however, were fometimes deposed, and even put to death, for the

violation of their laws.

When any of their monarchs fell fick, it was their custom to fend immediately for three of their most famous prophets (E) who commonly told him, that some Scythian, whom they named, had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which, it feems, was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were fent for, and if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers; if they acquitted him, a new supply of prophets was sent for, and if the majority of them did absolve him, the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and fet in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen. Having then stopped the mouths of the false prophets, they fet fire to the wood, which confumed the cart, the men, and the oxen. Our author adds, that the male children of those whom the king condemned to death, seldom escaped the same fate *.

Another instance of their great respect to their monarchs is the pompous folemnity of their funerals. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and placing it in an open chariot, carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all

* Herod. lib. iv.

(E) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who made a thew of divining by willow flicks, gathered up into bundles. women had much the larger share great it reverence, as they pre-

tended to prognofficate, not by means of these wands, but by immediate inspiration. In general, all the old women were held in great reverence among the Scyin this trade, and were held in the thians, and other northern na-Keyster. Antiq. Septen. tions.

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the people under his dominion. Wherever the funeral proceffion was received, the people were obliged to imitate the royal Scythians in their mournful ceremonies, which confifted in cutting off part of the ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow. When the circuit was finished, they deposited the body among the Gerrians, on the banks of the Borysthenes, upon a bed, raised in the middle of a large square hole made in the earth. In the vacant places they placed one of his favourite concubines, his head cook, groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necesfary utenfils, particularly golden cups. This being done, they threw the earth upon it, and endeavoured to raife the mound as This was not all: when the anniversary high as they could. of his interment came, they strangled fifty of the dead king's officers, who were persons of quality, and likewise fifty horses, and fet the bodies of the young men aftride upon the horses, fastening them together by an iron stake.

The Scythians worshiped a plurality of gods and goddess: Their rebut that which they reckoned their principal deity was Vesta, ligion. whom they called Tabiti. The two next were Papeus, or Jupiter, and Apia, or the earth, which they esteemed his wife. Jupiter, it seems, they challenged for their progenitor, and Vesta for their queen *. Besides these, they worshiped Apollo, the celestial Venus, and Neptune, under the names of Oetosyrus, Strippasa, and Thammimasades; but their favourite god seems to have been Mars, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. As to their temples, Herodotus is the only author who mentions them. They were, indeed, famous for erecting fumptuous groves, and in these they affected to have one, or more oaks, of a monstrous fize, which were accounted so facred, that it was death to lop so much as a branch or sprig off them, or even to wound their bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, infomuch that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrusted with it +.

Some of them are faid to have worshipped the fire, as the principle of all things, under the name of *Vulcan*. Zamolzis was also one of their deities, to whom they committed the souls of the dead, and offered facrifices on their behalf. They used to swear by the wind and the sword, the one as the author of life, and the other of death.

The spaciousness of their groves may be conjectured from the vast extent of the altars, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. The altar was made of small wood, tied up into bundles, and covered three stades of land in length and breadth, though it was not of a proportionable height.

^{*} Herod. lib. iv. chap. 59. Alex. adhort. Lucian. Toxar.

[†] Keysler. Antig. Septent. Clem.

Three of its fides were built up perpendicular, but the fourth had a gradual declivity to render the top of it easy of access. An old iron scimitar was erected on the top of each altar, as an image or emblem of the deity, to whom, besides all other cattle in common with their other gods, they facrificed horses, and, what was most shocking, every hundredth man they took prifoner from their enemies. With respect to the other victims, which they facrificed either to Mars, or to any other deity, they observed the same rites every where without variation. Of all the beafts, the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested them, not only as unfit to be eaten, but even to be fuffered to live among them. They were careful to offer to their gods the first fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the spoil they took in war; and some confiderable part of the latter they were wont to fend to the Delphic Apollo, a number of their honourable virgins accompanying it thither, under a sufficient escort; but the length and difficulty of the journey obliged them to disconti-

As to the account of their manners and customs, which we have from the Greek historians, our readers may observe, that as the Scythians had often invaded and ravaged Greece, the Greek writers were probably not well affected to them, and have related many things to the dishonour of that antient and warlike nation, some of them of so horrid a nature, as to exceed our belief, especially as the excellent character given them by Justin has been learnedly vindicated by Bochart. So barbarity is, indeed, found in all their customs. Some mixture of

Contracts.

They ratified alliances and contracts in the following man-Some wine being poured into an earthen veffel, the contracting parties mingled some of their own blood with it, and dipped into the mixture the point of some warlike weapons. The parties then uttered fome dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having taken each of them a draught of the liquor, defired fome of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract.

Valour.

They were greatly celebrated by the antient writers for their valour, and no nation is fo famous in history for conquering wherever they carried their arms, themselves remaining still unconquered. According to Thucydides, no nation, either in Europe or Asia, could equal them for strength, valour, or conduct in war, nor indeed could any thing refift their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves. Their women, as we observed, were even inspired with this warlike temper; and their youth, if Herodotus may be relied on, were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they took in fight to their mo-Barbarous narch. The worth and merit of a man rifing in proportion to the number of enemies flain by him, they used to preserve the skins of the flain, to tan them, and then hang them to the horses

bridles,

bridles, where they ferved both for trophies and napkins to the owner. Their pride, or rather, barbarity, went fo far with fome of them, that they covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies, with the skins of the slain, nay, even turned their skulls into drinking cups *.

As they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, it is probable, that the different tribes were continually making incursions against each other, without, however, forgetting their affinity so far, as not to join their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it. They themselves too seldom either invaded their southern neighbours, or were invaded by them, to give their young women opportunities

of fignalizing themselves in that kind of warfare.

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Their freedom from care and ambition, as well as the plainness of their diet, and the coldness of their climate, gave fuch plumpness to their flesh, that, to prevent their growing too unwieldy by it, they not only used a great deal of the hardest exercife, but, to diminish in part their superfluous radical moisture, they are affirmed to have cauterized their arms, shoulders, backs, breafts, and the palms of their hands, which, our author fays, rendered them more strong and expert at the use of their missive and other weapons. They were remarkable for their faithfulness and friendship, but seldom engaged in a strict friendship with above two, or at most three, persons, esteeming it very difficult, if not impossible, to keep it inviolate with a greater number. When such a friendship was once contracted, there was no danger or death which they would not expose themselves to for one another. Their revenge and refentment were no lefs ardent and persevering than their friendships.

How populous the Scythians were, is not agreed. Supposing that they made frequent and bloody inroads upon each other, fuch hostilities must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, confidering their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, conftant exercise, hardiness, and other such like advantageous circumitances, which rendered them lufty and ftrong, prolific, and long-lived, one can hardly conceive they could be other than a populous nation, though not to be compared to those kingdoms, which abounded with large and flourishing cities, and where agriculture and the refinements of civil life were known. If they invaded their neighbours with numerous armies, this was owing, probably, not fo much to the populousness of their country, as to the wide extent of territory from whence the forces were raised, as is the case in the modern empire of the Russians. When they took the field, they mustered their fighting men, according to Herodotus, by making each man throw the head of an arrow into one common heap; and he gives us the following instance of the largeness of their armies. One of their kings, observing the brazen heads of the

^{*} Strab. lib. vii.

arrows thrown together at a muster to form a large heap, caused them to be melted, and cast into the form of a bowl, which, he says, remained in his time, was six inches thick, and contained 600 amphoras, that is 50 hogsheads.

Manufactures.

The arts and sciences are said to have been wholly neglected by them. Some rude efforts probably they made, like the American Indians, by which they might supply themselves with a few mean utensils. They do not seem to have known any thing of writing till they brought it with them from Asia; neither are there any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians, as were the Curetes, bards, and druids among the Celtes; so that the fragments of history, collected by Herodotus, must have been merely traditional.

Their language. Their language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The difference of their tribes, and their intermixture with other nations, must, in process of time, occasion a vast number of dialects, from which, most probably, have sprung the Muscovitish, Sclavonic, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Saxon, and many others; between which there is barely discovered such an affinity, as makes them appear to have sprung from the same mother. Besides, from a visible vein of the Celtic, which runs through all those various languages, it may also be concluded, that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.

Their weapons, which were probably made by themselves, were scimitars, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they are said to have been so expert, that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark, even as they rode on horseback, insomuch that it became a common proverb, That the Scythians were as dextrous at their bows as the Greeks at their lyre. They were no less expert horsemen, and their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men *.

Agriculture neglected by them.

All the Scythians, excepting one tribe mentioned by Herodotus, on the north fide of the Borysthenes, seem wholly to have neglected agriculture. They rather chose to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contented themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth. As their cloathing is faid to have been the skins of beasts, we may conclude, the wool of their slocks was not manufactured by them. Smiths they must have had; both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools. They wore standards of a particular make, which, when blown open with the wind, resembled serpents and dragons of several shapes, and these were commonly borne by men on horseback †.

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^{*} Herod. lib. i. Lucian in Toxar. & Hermot. Mela. lib. i. Bochart. † Suid. in voc.

Their chief riches and food confisting in their numerous Shepherds herds, they entrusted the care of them to shepherds, who were and mararank of Scythians below the martial men, and had slaves and tial men. captives under them. These moving about from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families which were unfit to go to the wars, chiefly lived upon honey, cheese, and milk, and more especially that of their mares; but their choicest food was

the venison they killed.

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From the practice of one or two of their kings, it feems as if Polygathey had allowed of polygamy, and been not very strict in their my. marriages. Plato feems even to intimate, that they had their women in common *; though this custom, if there was any fuch, must have been only among the more savage fort, for the royal and free ones had wives. We do not find that they were much given to feasting; Plutarch, in his banquet of the seven wife men, fays, that they neither had vines, nor players on instruments, nor public games. One wine feast, however, they had once a year in every diffrict, for those who had fignalized themselves by killing one or more of their enemies; and another we read of, which was used at funerals. Some others they might have, but in general they were abstemious to a wonder, except in their affections for their favourite women. They talked little, but concifely and strongly, especially about their warlike affairs. When they travelled, they carried with them a certain composition in small pieces, like pills, one of which, upon occasion, would yield sufficient nourishment for several days. Pliny fays, they likewife carried fome composition for feeding their horses, upon the strength of which they could travel ten or twelve days without eating or drinking.

We shall now mention a few particulars, in which other Sarmapetty kingdoms of Scythia differed from the royal Scythians. tians.

The Sarmatians are said to have been the offspring of the Scythians by the Amazons, who, in their slight from the Grecians,
landed near the precipices of the Palus Meotis, and marrying
to the Scythians, persuaded their husbands to pass into Sarmatia,
on the other side the Tanais. The Sarmatian women retained
still the Amazonian temper and way of life, and here chiefly it
was that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had

dispatched an enemy in the field.

The Taurians had this inhuman custom, that they sacrificed Taurians, to a virgin demon whom they worshipped all that were ship-wrecked, and all the Grecians which they caught upon their coasts. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very

The Agathyrsians are said to have had their women in com- Agathyrmon, in order to link the men more strongly together, and to sians.

prevent jealousies.

^{*} De Repub.

Neurians.

Budians.

The Neurians, leaving their own province on account of dangerous ferpents, fixed in that of the Budians. They pretended to great skill in magic, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for some part of the year, which is supposed to mean no more but their wearing of skins, with the fur outward, during the cold weather. The worst of all were the Androphagi, or men-eaters, who observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common with the rest, but their dress. and breeding of cattle. The Budians were a populous nation. famed for blue eyes and red hair. In this province, above all the rest, they built themselves a city, and called it Gelonus. the houses and high walls of which were of timber, and the walls on each fide were 300 ftades in length. It had temples and chapels, dedicated to the Grecian gods, and here they celebrated the Bacchanalia triennially. Our author, however, is of opinion that the Geloni, who followed agriculture, were really a different kind of people from the Budians, their language and manners being different, though in time they were greatly blended with the Budians, and learned the custom of painting their bodies from them, whence Virgil calls them Pidi Geloni *.

Geloni.

The No-

The last two nations, or tribes, of the Scythians, worth our mades and notice, were the Scythian Nomades, inhabiting the north-west of the Caspian sea, and the Massagetes on the east. The Nomades were so called from the Greek Nour, pasture, which expressed their kind of life. They differed little from the royal Scythians. and like them followed a wandering life, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return.

Maffagetes.

The Massagetes did likewise imitate the free Scythians in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; they used besides bows and arrows, javelins and scimitars. Brass served them instead of steel for making their offensive weapons, and to those that were defensive they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles and other furniture were adorned with gold. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common; fo that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her, without any further ceremony than the hanging up his quiver at the head of the waggon. A more inhuman custom than this the fame author tells us they had, namely, when a man had once attained to old age, which was not fo much limitted by law, as inferred by concurring fymptoms, all his relations met and facrificed him, together with a number of cattle of feveral kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they fat down to it as a feast. This kind of death was accounted by

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^{*} Herod. I. iv. Mela ubi fupra. Plin. I. iv. Steph. Byzant.

them the most happy, as that of dying by fickness was reckoned the most unfortunate. The sun was the only deity they

worshiped, and to him they facrificed horses.

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As to the Amazons, tho' what the antients have related con- The Amacerning them may justly be reputed in many things fabulous, xons. vet it were unreasonable to reject their accounts of them altogether, as tho' they were guilty of wilful forgery or too great credulity. The Scythian women in general, and more particularly the Sarmatian women, were noted for their warlike genius; and both among the Scythians and Celtes they had great authority, and were admitted to courts of judicature, and other affemblies, where they frequently prefided *.

According to Justin, (l. ii.) the occasion of this new female government was as follows: Some Scythians, about the time of Sefostris king of Egypt, having been expelled their country by a contrary faction, took possession of the region of Thermosciria on the river Thermodon, and having for feveral years infefted their neighbours by their continual incursions, they were at length all furprised and treacherously murdered. Their wives, partly thro' fear of flavery, and partly thro' defire of revenge, immediately took arms; and that nothing might obstruct their fury, renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling that state an unworthy kind of slavery. By their valour and fuccess, they soon obliged their neighbours to sue to them for peace, which they granted; and one of the conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, to keep up the breed, the girls only being brought up by the mothers, and the boys murdered, according to fustin, but Herodotus fays they were fent to their fathers. The right breaft of the girls was feared in their infancy, to prevent it from growing, that they might have no obstruction in drawing the bow; and they were from thence called Amazons. Having conquered great part of Europe and of Afia, their kingdom continued till the time of Alexander the Great.

Some of them having been once conquered and taken prifoners near the river Thermodon by the Greeks, who were carrying them off in three ships, they rose upon their conquerors and put them all to death; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, they were driven by the wind and tide to the precipices of the Palus Meotis, where some Scythian youths married them, and were prevailed on by them to proceed northward to Sarmatia, where they continued still in our au-

thor's time +.

^{*} Tacit. de mor. Germ. Polyæn, Stratag. Plut. de Virt. Mulier. Keysler antiq. Septent. Cæsar, l. i. Strab. Geograph. + Herod. l. iv.

Scythes.

Sagillus.

Madyes.

SECT. II.

The history of the SCYTHIAN kings.

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As the Scythians were quite destitute of records, their antient transactions are involved in an impenetrable obscurity. The names and exploits of their kings lie occasionally scattered in Herodotus and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any hint to form a conjecture of their chronology, at least till their invasion of Asia.

The following is a lift of the Scythian kings, as we find them mentioned by Herodotus, Justin, Diodorus, Strabo, and Mela; but without any note of time either about the beginning or end of their reign; neither can we affirm that they succeeded one another in the order we have set them down, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations.

Kings of SCYTHIA.

- 1. Scythes. 2. Napis. 3. Phithra. 4. Sagillus, or Protothyas. 5. Madyes. 6. Thomynis. 7. Jancirus. 8. Indatyrsus. 9. Targitaus. 10. Calaxais. 11. Scholypethes, or Scythopetes. 12. Panaxagoras. 13. Tanais. 14. Saulius. 15. Spargapises. 16. Aripithes. 17. Scyles. 18. Octamasades. 19. Ariantes. 20. Atheas. 21. Lambinus.
- Scythes is that fabulous fon of Hercules, begotten on a monfler, whom we have formerly mentioned. The Greeks make him the progenitor of the Scythians, and feem to have invented the history for no other end than to fully the origin of the noble and warlike Scythians, the beginnings of their own nation being obscure and barbarous.
- Sazillus is faid to have fent his fon Panasagorus, the same perhaps with Protothyas the father of Madyes, with an army of horse to the assistance of Orithya queen of the Amazons, against Theseus king of Athens. Presently after his arrival, the prince, upon some disgust he took at those brave heroines, lest them to the mercy of their enemies, who soon after gained the victory over them.
- Madyes, who is supposed to have been the same with the Indathyrsus of Strabo, the different from that of Herodotus, was the son of Protothyas, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct the Scythians drove the Cimmerians, or northern Celtes, out of Europe, and pursuing them into Asia, invaded the country of the Medes, and held the greater part of Upper Asia in subjection 28 years. As we have mentioned in the history of the Medes, they carried their victorious arms to the borders of Egypt, took the city of Bethshean from the half tribe of Manasseh on this side Fordan, which they called Scythopolis, and plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon; for which sacrilege, the Phænicians

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Phænicians say they and their posterity were punished with emroids. Cyaxares, king of the Medes, put an end to their dominion in Asia in the manner we have related in that history. Many of those who survived the slaughter, might submit themselves to the Medes, and continue there. A much greater number of them went, as is supposed, and served Nebuchadnezzar; but the greatest part, according to Herodotus, marched towards Scythia, where they met with an unexpected reception from their flaves. Justin, who calls this their third expedition, fays, it lasted but eight years; during which time their wives having given them over for loft, married their flaves, who marched out to oppose the return of their masters. But Herodotus, who speaks of this expedition as their first into Asia, and affirms it to have lasted 28 years, adds, that their wives had taken their slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation had fprung who wanted to obstruct the return of their masters; which account feems confirmed by those writers who relate, that the Scythians held the dominion of Asia for 28 years. After the Scythians had been repulsed in one or two skirmishes, they went to the attack, not armed with bows and arrows, but with horse-whips; which so terrified the flavish race, that they immediately threw down their arms and fled. Those who were caught were put to the most cruel deaths, while their mistresses, conscious of their guilt, fought to avoid their husbands refentment by hanging or some other speedy death. This story, tho' attended with fome difficulties, is fo far from being a fiction, or doubted of by the Novogrodians, whose city stands in the Sarmatian Scythia, that they caused a coin, which they called a Dingoe Novogradskoi, to be stamped in memory of it, which had a man on horseback shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever fince throughout all Russia. The Muscovite women too, whether in remembrance of this transaction is uncertain, prefent their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship, with a whip wrought with their own hands *. After this fignal victory over their rebellious flaves, the Scythians, according to Justin, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of fancirus.

We must, however, except the invasion which happened Tamyris. under Thomyris, or Tamyris, who reigned when Cyrus the Great wanting a pretext to invade the Maffagetes, fent an embaffy to her to treat of a marriage. She prohibiting the ambaliadors to advance on their journey, Cyrus entered her territories with an army; but was cut off with all his forces. What credit ought to be given to this account, we have formerly remarked.

fancirus, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for fancirus. the noble answer which he sent to Darius king of Persia, when he demanded of him presents of earth and water in token of subjection. The occasion of the war is variously related by

^{*} Fletch. Ruff. Commonwealth, b. 4. ap Rawl. lib. x. 628. Justin 1 i 4

Justin and Herodotus, who feems to distinguish this prince with the name of Indathyrsus. Justin says, the Scythian monarch had exasperated Darius, by refusing to give him his daughter in marriage; whereas, according to Herodotus, Darius only intended to retaliate the invalions and depredations of the Sevthians.

After Darius had entered the Scythian territories, and made the demand of earth and water, fancirus, instead of complying as he expected, answered, that he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor Jupiter, and Vesta queen of the Scythians; and foon after fent him a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. Darius interpreted this present in his own favour, and looked upon it as fent in token of submission. But Gobrias, who knew the Scythians perhaps better than his mafter, comparing the anfwer and the present together, interpreted the latter quite otherwise; namely, that the Persians must not hope to avoid the effects of the Scythian valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the ground

like mice.

The king of Scythia was then joined by the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians, and perhaps some other tribes; but the Agathyrsians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlenians, and Taurians refused to join in the alliance, accusing the Scythian king of having been the first aggressor. Indathyrsus, or Jancirus, to be revenged on the five tribes that refused to join him, resolved to draw Darius into their territories, by continually retreating before him; having fent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, and filled up all the wells and fprings, and deftroyed all the grass and provision as they went. Darius, notwithstanding the difficulties of the march, pursued them through Sarmatia, till he came to a defart of about feven days march, where he stopped, and set himself about building some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. However, he left his cities unfinished, to pursue again after the Scythians; but at last his army being drawn into great distrefs, he was convinced of the fruitleffness of his undertaking, and marched back with all speed to the Ister, the Scythians haraffing him on his march, and foliciting the Ionians to break down the bridge on the river. The Ionians, however, at the persuasion of Hystiaus of Miletus, preserved the bridge, by which means Darius escaped with the small remains of his The Scythians, to make themselves amends for the ravages they had been forced to make in their own country, foon after invaded Thrace, and having laid it waste as far as the Hellespont, repassed the Ister, loaded with the immense spoils of that province.

Saulius. All that is related of this prince is, that he killed Anacharfis, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce into Scythia the nocturnal rites of the mother of the

gods, which he had feen used among the Grecians.

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Saulius.

Aripithes had a numerous issue, but particularly one fon Aripithes. named Scythes, by an Istrian woman, who brought him up in

all the Grecian customs and learning.

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Aripithes being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the Agathyrsians, Scythes found means to possess himself of Scythes. his father's kingdom, and married one of his wives, who was a Scythian. Being chiefly attached to the Grecian customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, he led his army to the capital of the Boristhenians, which is reported to be a colony of the Milesians, and entering alone into the city, continued there a whole month, conforming to the Grecian worship, customs and dress; after which he resumed his Scythian habit and departed. Not content with often repeating the fame practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. As he was going to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus, the outward court of his fumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing sphinxes and griffins, was demolished with thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but a Borysthenian acquainting the Scythians with it, and introducing fome of their chiefs into the city, in hopes of making converts of them likewise, they having seen the king celebrating Bacchanalian rites, persuaded the Scythians, upon their return home, to revolt from him, and chuse his brother Octomasades Octoma-Scythes flying into Thrace, his brother pursued sades. in his room. him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the Ister, where he found Sitalces king of Thrace advancing to oppose The brother of Sitacles, who was at the fame time uncle to Octomasades, being then a refugee in Scythia, the two kings, instead of engaging, restored to each other their brothers, and Scythes was immediately put to death *.

Ariantes was that prince who caused a large brasen bowl to Ariantes. be made out of the heads of the arrows thrown together by

his army at a muster.

Not to take notice of the bare names of feveral other kings, the next prince we shall mention is Atheas, or as he is called Atheas. by others, Matheas and Machæas. This prince being engaged in a war with the Istrians, a people of Mesia near the mouth of the Ister, asked the assistance of Philip king of Macedon; and upon his complying with his request, promised to make him The Istrians, at news of this his heir to the crown of Scythia. powerful fuccour, immediately retiring, he fent another meffage to Philip, telling him flatly, that he had neither fent for his affiftance, nor promised him his crown. Philip, who was then belieging Byzantium, fent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege; but Atheas eluded this reasonable demand, by urging the inclemency of their climate, and the barrenness of their soil, which

he faid, scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. Philip, to retaliate this trick, fent the Scythians word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to Hercules at the mouth of the Ister. Atheas. who fmelt his defign, fent and told him, that he need but fend the statue, and he would take upon himself the care of erecting it; but that he would by no means fuffer him to bring his army into his territories. Philip not minding his prohibition, raifed the siege of Byzantium, and marched against him; and a bloody battle ensuing, the Scythians, tho' superior in number, were defeated.

Tho' feveral antient authors make mention of Philip's war with the Scythians, yet it must be allowed, however, that some of them take no notice of this victory. However it be, the Scythian nation afterwards diffinguished themselves by their ex-Lambinus. Their last king is said to have been Lambinus; but the reason why the fuccession of their princes should have ended in him. is not faid *.

CHAP. III.

The History of the ARMENIANS.

HE country commonly called Armenia is supposed by the Greeks to have received its name from Armenus, one of the Argonauts, who fettled there. Others derive its name from Aram the fon of Shem, or from a king of Armenia of that name. According to Bochart, Armenia is a compound of Aar, fignifying in Hebrew a mountain, and Mini, the name of a province in this country mentioned by Jeremiah. The word Meni, or Menni, which was at first peculiar to one province, is thought to be originally derived from a Hebrew word fignifying metal, feeing Armenia abounded with mines.

The divifion of Armenia.

It was antiently divided into the greater and leffer, or Armenia Major and Minor. Armenia Major, according to Strabo, was bounded on the fouth by mount Taurus, on the east by both Medias, on the north by Iberia and Albania, and on the west by Armenia Minor, some Pontic nations, and the Euphra-Ptolemy divides all Armenia into three districts; the first comprehending that part which lies between the Cyrus and the Araxes; the second, those provinces that extend westward to the bending of the Euphrates; and the third, all the country lying between the springs of the Tigris and that part of the Its cities. Euphrates which separates Commagene from Armenia Major. In these divisions he enumerates many cities, among the chief of

^{*} Heyl. l. iii. p. 172. Justin, l. ix. & xxviii. Herod. l. i. ii. iv. which

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which was Artaxata, the capital of all Armenia, built by Artaxias, by the advice of Hannibal, in a plain bounded all round, except at a small isthmus, by the river Araxes. It was levelled with the ground by the Romans in the time of Nero, who, however, allowed Tiridates to rebuild it, and supplied him with workmen; on which account it was called Neronia. Other cities of note were Sebastia, seated on the banks of the Euphrates, not far from mount Taurus; Armosata, or Arsamosata, the next city of note to Artaxata, and fituated between the Tigris and Euphrates; Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes, and fituated in the fouthern part of Armenia, on the top of a steep hill, between the springs of the Tigris and the mountain Taurus;

Artagera, Carcathiocerta, Colonia, Theodosiopolis, and others.

Strabo mentions six rivers of great note in this country; Rivers, namely, the Lycus and Phasis falling into the Pontus; the Cyrus and Araxes, discharging themselves into the Caspian sea, and the Tigris and Euphrates. The most considerable mountains and of this country are the Moschick mountains, separating the mounwestern parts of Armenia from Colchis; the Paryadra, extend-tains. ing from the Moschick mountains to the borders of Armenia Minor and Pontus; the Massus, bounding the province of Sophene to the fouth; the Niphates and Abus, from the former of which springs the Tigris, and from the latter the Euphrates; the Gordyaan mountains, and the mountains of Ararat.

The country is in general very hilly and mountainous, but is interspersed with fertile and most beautiful dales and valleys. All forts of grain are but very indifferent in Armenia. In most places it yields but four fold; and if the inhabitants were not very industrious, and had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almost barren. The cold is so extraordinary here, that fruits of all kinds are more backward The hills are covered than in most of the northern countries. with fnow the whole year round, and it fometimes falls even in the month of June. Tournefort informs us, that even in the middle of July he often found ice about the springs before the riling of the fun, notwithstanding it was exceeding hot in the day time.

Herodotus, and after him Stephanus, derives the antient Arme- The orinians from the Phrygians, on account of several Phrygian words gin of the in the Armenian language. Strabo takes them to be originally antient Syrians, or rather confiders the Syrians and Armenians to be Armenitwo tribes of one and the same nation; which opinion Bochart ans. looks upon as most probable, finding a great agreement between these two nations both in manners and language.

Kingly government feems to have prevailed very early in Their fecond king Barzanes, according to Berofus, was conquered and driven out by Ninus; but according to Diodorus, Barzanes made an alliance with Ninus, and affifted him against the Bactrians. After the death of Barzanes, Armenia, it is faid, was divided into feveral petty kingdoms, which is vouched by Pliny, lib. vi. The

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Their tory.

The Armenians, in process of time, were subdued by the early hif- Medes, whose king, Astyages, as we read in Kenophon, made them tributaries; tho' they still continued to be ruled by kings of their own country. During the whole time they continued subject to the Persian empire, there is mention made of prefects appointed by the kings of Persia. Alexander the Great having possessed himself of Armenia, made Mithrines governor of both Armenias. His fuccessors were Phrataphernes and Orons. both appointed by Perdiccas. After the death of Orons, the Armenians, according to Diodorus, fet up kings of their own. However this may be, they were again brought under subjection by the Macedonians, there being nothing more certain than that Armenia was held by Antigonus, and after him by Seleucus and his posterity to the time of Antiochus the Great, when they again rendered themselves independant.

Tanais deities.

Strabo tells us, that the Armenians, Medes and Persians worand Baris shiped the same deities. However, the chief deity of the Artheir chief menians feems to have been the goddess Tanais, or as some stile her, Anaitis. To her several temples were erected all over Armenia, but more especially in the province of Acilesina, where fhe was worshiped in a most particular manner, and had a most rich and magnificent temple, with a statue of folid gold, and inestimable workmanship. In honour of this goddess, and in her temple, the Armenians used to prostitute their daughters, it being a custom among the young women to confecrate their virginity to Tanais, that is, to her priests. Baris was another deity peculiar to the Armenians, and had a stately temple erected to him, as Strabo informs us.

Their

The language of the antient Armenians was, according to language. Strabo, much the same with that of the Syrians, at least from Polyanus it appears that they used the Syriac characters. The modern Armenians use two languages, the vulgar and the learned; which last, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages, is very expressive, and enriched with all the terms of religion and of arts and sciences. This language is to be found only in their antient manuscripts, and is used in divine service, being studied by their vertablets or doctors, whose province is to preach, and to instruct the people.

Tho' the modern Armenians are very extensive traders, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by the Armenians in antient times. Sha Abbas the Great, king of Persia, is faid to have been the first who considered the economy and the

indefatigable industry of this people.

The history of the Armenians, till they shook off the Macedonian yoke in the reign of Antiochus, is quite involved in obfcurity. During the minority of Antiochus, Zadriades and Artamias, governors of Armenia, joining their forces together, seized on the countries they had been fet over, and erected two kingdoms, namely, that of Armenia Major, which Artaxias kept for himself, the other of Armenia Minor, which fell to Ladriades. As Antiochus was at this time very young, and his troops

Armenia divided into greater and leffer.

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troops employed against other rebels, they invaded with a confiderable army the neighbouring countries, and took from the Medes the provinces of Caspiana, Phaunitis, and Basoropida; from the Iberians, Chorzena and Gogarena, and from the Chalybes and Mossynæci, Pareneta and Xerxena, which bordered on Armenia Minor. By these new acquisitions, Armenia became Artaxias all on a sudden so considerable a kingdom, that Justin, in enu-king of merating those of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, Armenia power, and extent to any other, that of Parthia alone except the greated. Antiochus did not fail to lead a powerful army against the er. two governors: but not being able to recover one fingle province of the many they had usurped, he at length concluded a peace with them, defigning to fall upon them again after he had fettled the affairs of his kingdom. They, in the mean time, however, by entering into an alliance with the Romans. fecured to themselves and their posterity the provinces which they had usurped. Artaxias, being defeated by Antiochus Epiphanes, was made prisoner, and put in irons. Four years after this misfortune, he fent an embasfy to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, foliciting him to put to death Mithrobuzanes, one of the two fons of Zadriades, who had fled to him for shelter, and to beg his affiftance in the recovery of his own kingdom. Ariarathes sharply rebuked the ambassadors, and declaring that he would give no affiftance to one who could think him capable of committing fuch an infamous piece of treachery, restored Mithrobuzanes to his father's kingdom *.

By whom Artaxias was succeeded is uncertain, there being a chasm of about 70 years in the Armenian history at this period. All that we know of this time is, that Tigranes was by his father delivered up to the Parthians as an hostage. Parthians set Tigranes at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having first obliged him to yield up to them a consider-

able part of his kingdom by way of ranfom.

Tigranes being thus reftored to his father's kingdom, was Tigranes. prevailed upon by Mithridates Eupator to enter into an alliance Bef. Chr. with him against the Romans. Mithridates giving his daughter Cleopatra to Tigranes, the latter, after celebrating the marriage with all possible pomp and magnificence, ordered his two chief commanders, named Bagoas and Mithridates, to fall upon Cappadocia; which they reduced without the least opposition. Tigranes having thus got possession of Cappadocia, enriched him- Invades felf with the booty, but yielded the country to Ariarathes the Caupafon of Mithridates, whom he caused to be proclaimed with docia. great pomp and univerfal fatisfaction of the people. Tigranes, not long after, accepted of the crown of Syria, Is chosen

which was offered him by the Syrians, who were grievously king of distressed by the civil diffensions which had continued for many Syria. years with great animofity and much blood-field among the

* Appian. Syriac. Porphyr. ap. Hier. in Dan.

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descendants of Seleucus. At this time he must have been at peace with the Romans, as the Syrians, when they confulted which king to chuse, rejected Mithridates, for no other reason

but his being at war with the Romans.

Reduces feveral neighbouring countries.

The acquisition of Syria was only a spur to the ambition of Tigranes, who foon after invaded Armenia Minor, killed the king Artanes, and in one campaign reduced the whole kingdom. He next invaded the Asiatic Greeks, the Adiabenians, the Assyrians, and the Gordians, carrying all before him, and obliging the people wherever he came to acknowlege him for their fovereign. Soon after he again invaded Cappadocia at the instigation of Mithridates, who had been obliged by the Romans to withdraw his forces from thence. From Cappadocia Tigranes brought into Armenia no fewer than 300,000 captives, whom, together with the prisoners, he employed to build, and afterwards to people. a large and noble city which he founded in the place where the crown of Armenia had been first put upon his head, calling it

from his own name Tigranocerta.

Tigranes was folicited not long after by Mithridates, to join him against the Romans. The chief ambassador from Mithridates was a philosopher named Metrodorus Scepsius, whose probity and integrity had so recommended him to the king, that he had appointed him a judge, and ordered, that there should be no appeal from his fentence, even to himself. Metrodorus being defired by Tigranes to tell him honestly whether he thought it adviseable for him to enter into a war with the Romans, hefitated at first, but being urged several times, at last replied, As an ambassador, I advise you to join your father-in-law against the Romans; but as a counsellor, I am for your living at peace and amity with so powerful a people. Tigranes informed the king of what he had faid, which it is supposed lost him the friendship of Mithridates; for he died on the road as he was returning home, not without suspicion of poison. Tigranes, to express his concern, caused his body to be interred with the utmost magnificence, and at the importunity of his wife Cleopatra, afterwards fent confiderable supplies to Mithridates, who was nevertheless totally defeated by Lucullus, and obliged to fly for shelter into Armenia, where he was allowed by his fon-inlaw a princely retinue, and a table fuitable to his former condition. While the Romans were pursuing their conquests, Tigranes marched at the head of a numerous army against the Parthians, with a defign to recover the 70 vallies which that people had extorted from him before they fet him at liberty. Having easily retaken these, he added to them all Mesopotamia, the countries that lay about Ninus and Arbela, and the fruitful province of Migdonia, with the great and strong city of Nisibis, called by the Greeks Antiochia Mygdonica. He then took his march towards Syria, to quell a rebellion which had been raised there by Cleopatra, furnamed Selene, who reigned jointly with her fons in that part of Syria which Tigranes had not seized on. The rebels were quickly reduced, their country conquered, and Cleopatra

Cleopatra herself taken prisoner and confined to the castle of Seleucia, where the was foon after put to death by the order of Tigranes. The Armenian king having afterwards subdued Phanice entirely or in great part, all the princes of Asia, except those that were joined in alliance with the Romans, submitted, and paid homage to him either in person or by their deputies *.

Tigranes, elated with a long and uninterrupted feries of vic- His great tories and prosperous events, began at length to look upon him-insolence felf as invincible. He affumed the haughty title of King of and pride. Kings, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial fervants. He never appeared on horseback without the attendance of four kings running by his horse in a single vest; and when he gave public audience, they flood on either fide the throne with folded hands, that attitude, of all others, being accounted by those people the greatest acknowledement of vas-

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Lucullus, in the mean time, having entirely reduced the king- Lucullus dom of Pontus, and wanting a pretence to fall upon Tigranes, feeks a fent Appius Claudius, his wife's brother, to him with the cha- pretence racter of ambassador, to demand Mithridates. Claudius, upon for makhis arrival at Antioch near Daphne, being ordered to wait there ing war for Tigranes, employed that time in foliciting the neighbour-upon him. ing cities to shake off the Armenian yoke. Tigranes being at last returned to Antioch, Claudius, in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand Mithridates as belonging to Lucullus's triumph; and in case he did not readily comply with the demand, to proclaim war against him. Tigranes, tho' no ways accustomed to such freedom of speech, anfwered calmly, that he would not deliver up Mithridates, and that if the Romans began the war, he was in a condition to defend himself. After the departure of Appius, Tigranes being informed that Zarbienus king of the Gordians had entered into a private alliance with the Romans, put him, his wife and children to death. He also consented at last to see his father-inlaw, whom he kept in a manner a prisoner, tho' the unhappy prince had refided a year and eight months in his dominions. They held feveral private conferences, and in the end Mithridates was fent back into Pontus with 10,000 horse, to raise there what difturbances he could.

Lucullus being informed by Appius that he must prepare for war, left Ephefus, and marched back into Pontus; and having reduced the strong city of Sinope, which had been seized by the Cilicians, he began his march to Armenia with two legions He inonly, and 3000 horse, leaving Sornatius in Pontus with 6000 vades Armen, to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the defigns of menia. Mithridates. When he had passed the Euphrates, and entered Armenia, a certain person informed Tigranes of his arrival, and

^{*} Appian. in Syriac. Eutrop. l. vi. Joseph. Ant. l. xiii. Plut. in Lucul. Strab. I. xvi.

The imprudent Tigranes.

on that account was put to death by the king, who being intoxicated with his felicity, was perfuaded by his courtiers, that Lucullus, instead of invading his dominions, would abandon Asia upon his approach. Having thus rewarded the first perfon who brought him intelligence, all others feared to give him conduct of any information; so that while the enemy wasted and burned the country all round, he remained ignorant of what paffed. Mithrobarzanes, one of the king's friends, at length venturing to inform him of the truth, was fent out with 3000 horse, and a numerous body of foot, to bring Lucullus alive to the king: but was defeated and flain by the Romans.

He affembles an immense army,

Immediately upon this Tigranes repaired to mount Taurus, and fummoned his forces from all quarters to come and join him. He quickly affembled a powerful army, which confifted, according to Plutarch, of 20,000 archers and flingers, 55,000 horse, of whom 17,000 were compleatly armed, 150,000 foot, and 35,000 pioneers. Mithridates, however, entreated him by letters not to hazard an engagement, but to diffress the enemy by cutting off their convoys. Tigranes despised this advice, and marched directly to the relief of Tigranocerta, which was befreged by Lucullus. Upon the approach of the king's army. Lucullus left Murana with 6000 men before the city, and marched against the barbarians with 10,000 foot only, and about 1000 flingers and archers, and all his cavalry. Tigranes, when he faw the Romans encamped, faid, jeeringly, If they come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few: but next day, to his great furprise, when he thought them flying, they passed a small river that ran betwixt the two armies, and attacked him before he had leifure to draw up his forces. The barbarians were quickly thrown into diforder and fled, being purfued for feveral miles by the Romans, who cut great numbers of them to pieces. Such was their consternation, that they were overthrown before any wound was given; and tho' the flaughter did not begin till they fled, yet, according to Plutarch, above 100,000 foot were loft, and few of their horse escaped. Tigranes fled one of the first, with a few of his attendants; and observing his son in the same distress, he took the crown from his head, and with tears in his eyes presented it to him, conjuring him to direct his flight fome other way. The young prince delivered the crown to a trufty friend, who was taken by the Romans. In this battle only five of the Romans were killed, and 100 wounded.

but is totally defeated by the Romans.

> Mithridates, who was on his march to join Tigranes, received the difmal news of his overthrow from feveral naked and wounded Armenians, and foon after met the king himself quite disheartned and abandoned. He no sooner saw him, than alighting from his horse, he condoled with him upon their common misfortunes, and refigned to him his own retinue and royal apparel. He encouraged him to raife new supplies, and renew the war with fresh vigour. Tigranes was so taken with this obliging deportment, that he committed the whole manage-

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geent ment of the war to the conduct of Mithridates, owning him fitter to deal with the Romans than himself. He then dispatched messengers to all the præsects, enjoining them to raise what forces they could. Megdales, who had been governor of Syria for the space of sourteen years together, was ordered to hasten with his army to the king's affistance: and ambassadors were sent in the joint name of Mithridates and Tigranes to the neighbouring princes, particularly to Arsaces king of Parthia, soliciting them to rise up in arms against the common enemy.

Lucullus, in the mean time, taking advantage of a violent Lucullus dissension in Tigranocerta betwixt the Greeks and barbarians, reduces made himself master of the place by storm, part of the inha-Tigranga bitants favouring his defign. He feized to himfelf the royal certa. treafury, and abandoned every thing elfe to the pillage of the foldiers, and moreover gave to each of them 800 drachmas. He allowed the Greeks, and as many of the barbarians as had been forced by Tigranes to settle in Tigranocerta, to return to their respective homes, giving them also money for their jour-Lucullus being more defirous to be praifed for his justice and humanity than for his martial exploits, foon gained the hearts of the barbarians. Accordingly, the kings of the Arabians came and submitted to him. The whole nation of the Sophenians followed their example, and he gained fo much on the Gordyenians, that they offered to quit their habitations and follow him with their wives and children. In the granaries of the late king Zarbienus, whose funeral obsequies he now celebrated with the utmost magnificence, he found such stores of provisions, as enabled him to pursue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges.

The following summer he again marched against Tigranes and Mithridates, who were encamped in the plains on the south side of mount Taurus. Lucullus having attempted in vain to draw them to a general engagement, began his march for Artaxata, where Tigranes had left his wife and children, with the greater part of his treasures. Tigranes was solicitous to pre-Lucullus vent him; but no sooner appeared within sight of the Romans, gains anothan he was attacked by them, and again shamefully defeated, ther victually of his troops turning their backs as they were marching tory over up to the charge. Mithridates being under great apprehension Tigranes. of falling into the hands of the Romans, sted in the beginning of the battle, and his example was soon followed by Tigranes.

Lucullus now determined to march into the upper provinces; but the country being exceeding woody, and very marshy in many places, and great quantities of snow falling, tho' it was not yet the autumnal equinox, his soldiers mutined; so that he was forced to lead them back. Having repassed the the Taurus, he led his army into the temperate and sertile province of Mygdonia, and laid siege to Nissis the capital. Guras, the brother of Tigranes, had the title of governor, but Callimachus actually commanded, by reason of his great experience in war, and his capacity as an engineer. Lucullus, after the Vol. III.

flege had continued fome time, took the place by storm, and treated Guras with great humanity; but ordered Callimachus to be put in chains, because, rather than deliver a city which he had defended some years before, he had chosen to set it on fire.

The Rorefuses to obey Lucullus ..

The following fpring, the legions having been tampered with man army by P. Clodius, brother to Lucullus's wife, a man of a restless disposition and infamous character, absolutely refused to take the field; fo that Lucullus not being able to act, Mithridates and Tigranes recovered in great part the countries they had loft. The Roman foldiers, knowing that Lucullus was blamed by a strong party at Rome, expected every moment the arrival of a new general, and behaved to Lucullus in the most difrespectful manner. At last news arriving that Mithridates, who had returned to Pontus, had defeated Fabius, and was in full march against Sornatius, then out of shame they submitted to follow Lucullus. Soon after, however, they again mutinied, and when Lucullus went from tent to tent, entreating them to follow him, they threw their empty purses at his feet, and bid him go and fight the enemy alone, since he alone was to be the gainer. confented, however, at last to continue with him during the fummer; but so great was their insolence, that he durst not lead them against an enemy. Pompey, in the mean time, by the artful practices of the tribunes, and the favour of the people, having been declared general against Tigranes and Mithridates, arrived in Asia with an army, and required Lucullus to deliver up his troops to him. Mithridates and Tigranes, in the mean time, had over-run

Mithridates and Tigranes tages.

tus, and would have gained greater advantages, had not the gain seve- son of Tigranes, by name also Tigranes, taken up arms against ral advan- his father. Tigranes the fon being defeated by his father, fled to Parthia, where being joined by the discontented Armenians, he perfuaded Phrahates king of the Parthians to invade Armenia. They are The Parthians besieging Artaxata, Tigranes the king was obligagain un-ed to fave himself in the mountains, whence soon after, when fortunate. great part of the Parthians were retired, he unexpectedly fell upon the besiegers, whom he dispersed with great slaughter.

Cappadocia, and recovered all Armenia, with great part of Pon-

The young Tigranes fled to Mithridates; but finding him reduced to great straits, as he was a few days before defeated by Pompey, with the loss of 40,000 men, he went over to the Romans, and led them into Armenia against his father.

Tigranes Pompey,

Tigranes hearing that Pompey was marching against his capidubmits to tal, fent deputies to him, and offered to furrender the city upon certain conditions; which were rejected at the infligation of Tigranes the younger. The king being quite dispirited, and not in a condition to oppose the victorious Romans after the revolt of his fon, went and threw himself at the feet of Pompey; who railing him up, put, with his own hands, the diadem upon his head, which he himself had taken off when he came into his presence. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, where he gave him audience, and invited both him and his fon to fupper. and

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supper. The fon, however, absenting himself, Pompey began to conceive some jealousy of him. Tigranes appealing to Pompey for justice against his son, the next day the Roman general, after hearing both parties, restored the kingdom of Armenia to who rethe father, with the greatest and best part of Mesopotamia; stores him but fet a fine upon him of 6000 talents for making war upon to the the people of Rome without cause. To the son he gave the kingdom provinces of Gordiene and Sophene; but adjudged the treasures of A methat were kept in the latter to the father, because without them mia. he could not pay the fine. Pompey, however, foon after difcovering that the fon was endeavouring to ftir up Phrahates the Parthian king against the Romans, and had formed a conspiracy against his father, fent him in chains to Rome. P. Clodius, not long after, being bribed with a large fum of money, fet him at liberty, in spite of Pompey and the ienate.

Tigranes willingly yielded to the Romans Cappadocia, Cilicia, Tigranes Syria, and that part of Phænice which he possessed, and not only yields fepayed the fine laid upon him, but made large presents to Pom- veral propey and all the officers of his army; which gained him the title vinces to of a friend and ally of the Roman people. He afterwards waged the Rowar with the Parthians, by whom he was overcome, and mans. would have been driven out of the kingdom, had not a peace been concluded by Pompey's mediation. His fecond fon, by name Soriaster, also took up arms against him; but by the asfistance of the Romans, that rebellion was foon quelled. Tigranes died in the 85th year of his age, and was succeeded by Hisdeath.

his fon Artualdes, who is also called Artabazus, Artabanes, and

Artoadiftes. Artualdes, out of a private grudge he bore to Artavaldes king Artualdes. of Media, advised Marc Anthony to invade that kingdom, offer- Bef. Chr. ing to ferve him in person as a guide, and to affift him with all his forces. Anthony followed his advice; but Artuafdes being privately reconciled to the king of Media, led the Roman army through fuch difficult roads, that they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their baggage and all their warlike engines. For this piece of treachery, Anthony Treacheafterwards loaded Artuasdes with chains, and having obliged rously him to discover his treasures, seized them for himself.

The Armenians, upon the news of the king's captivity, plac- M. Aned his eldest fon Artaxias on the throne; who being defeated thour. by the Romans, was obliged to shelter himself among the Par- Artaxithians, Anthony, in the mean time, pillaging his kingdom, and as II. carrying his father Artuafdes, with his wife and children, captives to Alexandria, where they were led in triumph in golden chains. Artuasdes, not long after, was put to death by Anthony, and his head fent to his rival the king of Media. Artaxias, after the departure of Anthony, returned to Armenia with an army of Parthians and Armenians, and having defeated the Medes, recovered his paternal kingdom; which, however, he did not long enjoy, being strangled, according to Tacitus, by the treachery of his nearest friends, or driven from the throne, Kk2

as we read in Josephus, by Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and

Claudius Tiberius Nero, afterwards emperor.

Tigra.

Augustus, the Roman emperor, having sent Tiberius to settle the affairs of the east, he bestowed the kingdom of Armenia on Tigranes the younger brother of Artaxias; but after a short reign, was put to death by the orders of Tiberius, for keeping a private correspondence with the enemies of Rome. He was succeeded, if we believe Tacitus, by his sons, who per-

formed nothing worth mentioning.

After the death of Tigranes and his fons, the kingdom of Armenia was given by Augustus to Artuasdes; but the Armenians, already tired of the Roman yoke, drove him out, and called in Phrahates king of Parthia. This revolt gave uneasiness to Augustus, who sent against them Caius, a youth of 19 years of age, whom he had adopted. On the approach of the Roman army Phrahates withdrew from Armenia, and sued for peace; which Caius readily granted him, on condition that he should not affist Tigranes, who had assumed the title of king of Armenia. Caius having quickly expelled Tigranes, restored Artuasdes,

and marched into Syria.

Artualdes dying foon after, Tigranes fent ambassadors to Augustus with rich presents, begging of him the kingdom of Armenia. Augustus accepted the presents, and enjoined him to wait upon Caius in Syria: but Tigranes relying on his fword, raifed a confiderable body of Armenians, and took possession of great part of Armenia. Caius, however, returning with the Roman army, foon drove out Tigranes, and at the request of the Armenians, conferred the crown on Ariobarzanes, a Mede by birth. Ariobarzanes did nothing worth mentioning, and was fucceeded by Vonones, whom the Armenians chose for their king, he being driven out by his own subjects from the kingdom of Parthia. Artabanus, king of the Parthians and Medes, foon expelled Vonones from Armenia, and conferred the crown on his own fon Orodes, who was not long after overcome by Germanicus. The next king of Armenia was Zeno, the son of Polemo king of *Pontus*, who when he was crowned by *Germanicus*, affumed the name of Artaxias III. He enjoyed the crown for fixteen years, and was succeeded by Arfaces the son of Artabanus, who by the affiftance of the Medes and Parthians, easily conquered the kingdom; but was treacherously murdered in the first year of his reign. Orodes, the brother of Arfaces, upon the news of his death, came with a numerous army into Armenia; but was routed by Pharasmenes king of Iberia, whose brother, Mithridates Iberus, was declared king of Armenia by Tiberius Cafar. Mithridates had not long enjoyed the throne, when Artabanus having recovered his own kingdom, invaded Armenia the third time; but he was quickly driven from thence by the governor of Syria. Caligula foon after succeeding Tiberius, and conceiving some jealousy of Mithridates Iberus, caused him to be brought in chains to Rome. The emperor Claudius, however, restored him to his kingdom, ordering the Roman le-

gions

Tigranes III.

Ariobarzanes. Vonones.

Orodes.

Artaxias, 111. Arfaces.

Mithridates Ibegions to affift him in expelling the Parthians and reducing the Armenian malecontents.

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After he had obtained the quiet possession of the throne, his The treanephew Rhadamistus, the fon of the king of Iberia, came to his cherous court as a refugee, pretending to have fallen out with his fa-conduct of ther Pharasmenes; but in reality, having concerted a scheme Rhada. with him for expelling his uncle from the throne. Mithridates miffus, received his nephew with the greatest kindess, while the young man entered into intrigues with the malecontents, and disposed them to revolt. He then feigned to be reconciled to his father, returned home, and raifing a powerful army, invaded Armenia, under pretence that Mithridates had diffuaded the Romans from lending his father any aid against the Albanians. This unexpected irruption, and the revolt of feveral chief lords of Armenia, obliged Mithridates to shut himself up in the castle of Gorneas, which was defended by a Roman garrison. Cælius Pullio, the governor, being bribed by Rhadamiftus, prevailed on Mithridates to go out of the castle to an interview with his nephew, who met him in the most respectful manner, and falling down at his feet, embraced them, and gave him the title of fa-He afterwards invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretending that he had caused a facrifice to be got ready there, that their antient friendship might be confirmed in the prefence of the gods. Mithridates no fooner entered the grove, than he, his wife and his children were feized and put into covered waggons, where they were kept till the pleafure of Pharasmenes was known. That wicked prince ordering his brother and daughter, who was wife to Mithridates, to be put to death without delay, Rhadamistus, without remorfe, executed the orders, and also slew the children of Mithridates, because they bewailed their father's misfortunes.

The whole family of Mithridates being extinct, Rhadamif-who tus took possession of the kingdom of Armenia. Quadratus, the usurps the Roman governor of Syria, who very well knew by what means crown.

he had raifed himfelf to that throne, confulted with his officers whether he ought not to punish him. It was judged most expedient by the Romans to promote the diffensions among the barbarians: however, left they should forego their right to the disposal of Armenia, they dispatched messengers to Pharasmenes, enjoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time Julius Pelignus, governor of Cappadocia, a noted coward, and infamous for his vices, encouraged Rhadamistus to affume the title of king, and even affifted at his coronation, having received large bribes from him for that purpose. Vologefes king of Parthia, hearing in what manner Rhadamistus had raised himself to the throne of Armenia, entered that country with a powerful army, made himself master of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, which voluntarily submitted. He was, however, prevented from profecuting his enterprise by the rigorous season, which introduced a mortality among his troops, and obliged him to return home. Upon their departure, Rhadamiftus again invaded

invaded Armenia, and behaved in a most tyrannical manner to the inhabitants, who entered into a conspiracy against him.

and forced him to abandon the kingdom.

Not long after he returned again to Armenia, at the head of a powerful army of Iberians, but was a-new driven out by the Parthians. They being foon obliged, by their intestine broils, to return home, Rhadan. iftus invaded Armenia the fourth time: but the same year was forced by the Parthians to abandon it, when Tiridates, the brother of Vologeses, was declared king. The Armenians, being haraffed both by the Parthians and Iberians, begged the protection of the emperor Nero, who appointed Domitius Corbulo to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quadratus, governor of Syria, being ordered to affift him. Vologefes, being unprepared for war, delivered up the most illustrious of the family of the Arfacides as hostages to the Romans; but after he had affembled his troops, he openly declared, that he would neither fuffer his brother Tiridates to be driven from a kingdom which he himself had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power.

Corbulo invades Armenia.

Tiridates,

Corbulo, being resolved to recover, if possible, what had been formerly gained by Lucullus and Pompey, was very affiduous in restoring discipline among his troops, and for that purpose kept them encamped during the whole winter, though many of them perished by the extremity of the cold. Early in the spring he invaded Armenia, but could by no means draw Tiridates to a battle. He therefore divided his forces, ordering them to attack the Armenians in different quarters at once, which orders were accordingly executed, while the king of Iberia, and fome others, at the same time invaded Armenia. Tiridates having remonstrated to Corbulo against the hostilities committed by the Romans, that general advised him to recur to the emperor, and acknowlege his fovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of Rome. This counsel being rejected by Tiridates, Corbulo, and the officers who commanded the Roman detachments, renewed their hostilities, and soon conquered great part of Armenia. Corbulo marched against Artaxata, which he took, and razed to the ground. Tigranocerta also submitted; but the inhabitants presenting Carbulo with a golden crown as a token of hospitality, he spared the city, and left them in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

All Armenia being thus subdued by Corbulo, Nero conferred the grand that kingdom on Tigranes, who was the grandson of Herod the fon of He- Great by his fon Alexander and Glaphira, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. As he had lived many years at Rome Great, ob- in the quality of a hostage, he was entirely addicted to the Rotains the man interest, and assumed no more power than if he had been crown of one of their deputies. Several parts of Armenia were subjected Armenia. to the neighbouring kings, Pharasmenes, Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus, by way of reward for their fervices against Tiri-

dates and the Parthians.

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Vologefes, in the mean time, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, fent a powerful army into Armenia, under the conduct of Moneses, while he, at the head of another army, intended to make an inroad into Syria. Moneses, however, being obliged to raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and Vologefes being prevented from passing the Euphrates, the Parthians fued for peace. Soon after Vologeses concluded a peace with the Hyrcanians, and turned all his forces against the Romans, with a defign to recover Armenia. Cæsennius Pætus marched with two legions to the affiftance of Tigranes, but was foon obliged to retire for want of provisions. Vologeses, in the mean time, being prevented from entering Syria by Corbulo, who had guarded the passage of the Euphrates, marched against Pætus, whom he besieged in his winter-quarters. Pætus agreed, on condition the fiege was raised, to evacuate Armenia, and to deliver up all his stores, and the fortresses in his possession to the Parthians, who accordingly allowed him to withdraw into Cappadocia.

After the defeat of Pætus, Corbulo withdrew his several garrifons from beyond the Euphrates, as Vologeses had agreed to evacuate Armenia. Thus the Armenians were left, both by the
Parthians and Corbulo, to their own disposal, Tigranes having
died soon after the invasion of the Parthians. About the same
time, ambassadors arrived at Rome from Vologeses, who requested
the kingdom of Armenia for his brother; but the Romans, instead of granting his request, ordered Corbulo to make war on
the Parthians, commanding all the kings and tetrarchs in the
east, and the governors of the neighbouring provinces, to pay

entire obedience to the orders of Corbulo.

The Roman general invaded Armenia the following spring The Rowith a powerful army, and struck such a terror into the whole mans again country, that Tiridates sent ambassadors to demand a cessation invade of arms, and a day and place for a conference. At this inter-Armenia. view it was agreed, that Tiridates should resign the royal diadem before the image of Casar, never to resume it more, except from the hand of Nero. Tiridates, having accordingly resigned his crown, and left his daughter as a hostage, proceeded to Rome, where he was received by Nero with the utmost magniscence, and entertained, during his stay in that city, at the

On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor ap-Tiridates peared at the Rostra, sitting in a curule chair, attired with a crowned triumphal habit, and surrounded by his guards, and the cohorts by the em-Tiridates falling down at his feet, was immediately raised by the peror emperor, who honoured him with a kiss. The Parthian prince Nero. then addressing himself to Nero, and begging him to bestow upon him the kingdom of Armenia, which he should always acknowledge as a gift of Rome, Nero with his own hand placed the diadem on his head. From the Rostra they proceeded to

the diadem on his head. From the Rostra they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed Tiridates, after he had renewed his supplication, on his right hand. Nero, when Tiri
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dates left Rome, presented him with a sum, to the amount of near 800,000 pounds, to defray the expences of his journey. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of Artaxata, but ordered such Roman builders and artificers as the king desired, to attend him into Armenia. By the direction and affistance of these, the king restored that city to its former splendor, and by way of acknowlegment called it Neronia. Tiridates was ever afterwards faithful to the Romans, who affished him in recovering great part of his kingdom, taken from him by the Albani, He reigned nine years after his return from Rome, and was succeeded by several kings, who held the crown as vassals of the Roman empire.

Armenia made a Roman province.

The emperor Trajan adding Mesopotamia to the Roman dominions, reduced the antient kingdom of Armenia to the form of a province; but it foon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reigns of Constantine the Great and his fuccessor, to whom the kings of Armenia were feudatories. In the reign of Justin II. the Saracens subdued and held it till the irruption of the Turks, who possessed themselves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of Turcomania. While the Turks were engaged in a war against Persia, the Armenians again fet up kings of their own, by whom they were governed, till the country was subdued by Occadan, or Heceata, the son of Cingis, the first cham of the Tartars. Armenia, however, was not so absolutely conquered by the Tartars, but that some of the race of their kings still remained, as we find mention made of Leo, king of Armenia, who, in the reign of Richard II. came into England to fue for aid against the Turks. In the year 1472 of the christian æra, Ussan Cassanes, king of Armenia, succeeding to the crown of Persia, made Armenia a province of that empire, in which state it continued till the year 1522, when it was subdued by Selim II. and made a province of the Turkish empire. Since that time it has ever remained subject to the Turks, except the eastern part, which the Persians are masters of at this day.

A fhort account of A menia the leffer. Armenia Minor was parted from Armenia Major by the Euphrates, and was bounded on the fouth by mount Taurus, being feparated on the west and north from Cappadocia by a long chain of mountains, called in different places Mons Scordiscus, Amanus, and Antitaurus. This country, which is very mountainous, though here and there interspersed with pleasant and fruitful vales, was a part of Cappadocia till the reign of Antiochus the Great, when Zadriades and Artaxias, seizing on Armenia, and adding to it some of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the distinction of Armenia the greater and lesser. In the time of the Romans it was divided into these four provinces, Laviana, Mariana, Aravena, and Melitene, each of which had their several cities, all mentioned by Ptolemy.

The first that reigned in Armenia Minor was Zadriades, who, entering into an alliance with the Romans, was maintained by them on the throne which he had usurped. His posterity held

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the kingdom till the reign of Tigranes I. king of the greater Armenia, by whom Artanes, the last king of the Zadriadan race, was flain in battle. Tigranes was foon driven out by Pompey, who bestowed Armenia Minor upon Dejotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, for his eminent fervices during the Mithridatic war. Dejotarus lived in great intimacy with Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, Murana, Cato, Cicero, and Brutus. He proved very ferviceable to Cicero in the Cilician war, and in the civil war fided with Pompey, and diffinguished himself in the battle of Pharsalia. During his absence, Pharnaces, king of Pontus, conquered Armenia Minor; but he was foon driven out by Cafar, who, at the request of Brutus, pardoned Dejotarus, and restored Armenia to him, obliging him, however, to pay a large fum of money, and to quit Galatia. He was afterwards accused at Rome by Castor, his daughter's son, as if he and his son had formed a design to murder Cæsar during his stay in Galatia; but was cleared from that charge by Cicero. Dejotarus revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her husband. After Casar's death, having bribed Fulvia, the wife of Mark Anthony, he recovered whatever he had forfeited for fiding with Pompey. He foon after fent a body of troops to join Brutus; but Amyntas, who commanded them, went streight to Anthony's camp, whereupon, after the defeat of Brutus, Dejotarus was allowed to hold After his death, the tetrarchy of Galatia was be-Armenia. flowed upon Amyntas. Dejotarus II. reigned together with his father, and was no less addicted to the Romans than he, having been brought up by Cato, as Plutarch informs us. Upon his death, the family of Dejotarus being extinct, the kingdom of Armenia Minor was first given to Artuasdes, king of Media, and afterwards by Mark Anthony to Polemon, king of Pontus, whose successors were Archelaus the Cappadocian, and Cotys of Bosphorus. Nero bestowed this kingdom on Aristobulus, great grandson of Herod the Great, upon whose death it fell to Tigranes, his near relation. He dying without issue, Armenia Minor was, by Vespasian, made a province of the Roman empire, and continued fo till the division of the empire, when it was subjected to the emperors of the east. On the decline of their power, it was first subdued by the Persians, and afterwards by the Turks, who gave it the name of Gerech, and have held it ever fince.

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CHAP. IV.

The history of the kingdom of PONTUS.

THIS country is supposed to have derived its name from the neighbouring sea, which, being the greatest that was known to the antient inhabitants of that country, was called Pontus,

Pontus, or the sea, by way of excellency; whence the whole country extending along the coast was formerly, as Strabo in-

The proper Pontus was bounded by the Euxine fea on the

forms us, called Pontus.

The Pontus.

Its chief cities.

bounds of north, by Armenia Minor on the fouth, by Colchis on the east, and by the river Halys on the west. Ptolemy divides this country into three parts, namely, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Pontus Cappadocius. The chief cities of the first division were Amisus, Amasia, seated among mountains at three miles distance from the river Iris; Themiscyra, now Fanagoria, feated on the fea-coast fixty miles north-east of Amasia; Cabira, memorable for the defeat of Mithridates by Lucullus, and afterwards called Diospolis; and Comana Pontica, seated near the fouth borders of this province. In Pontus Polemoniacus, which extended from the river Thermodon to the country of the Chalybes, stood Neocæsaria, Sebastia, Zela, seated near the river Lycus, and afterwards called Megalopolis, and Polemonium, a famous town and harbour built by Polemon. In Pontus Cappadocius, which was fo called from adjoining to Cappadocia, the chief cities were Cerasus, whence cherries were first brought into Italy by Lucullus; Tripoli, about three miles from the coast, and Trapezus, or Trebisond, called now Tarabosan. This last, which was feated in a peninfula on the fea-coaft, and furrounded by steep mountains, was a Greek city, and antiently of great note. In the middle ages it became famous for the court of the Greek emperors, of the family of the Commeni, who retired this ther when the Latins reduced Constantinople.

The chief rivers of *Pontus* are the *Halys*, which divides *Pon*tus from Paphlagonia, and discharges itself into the Euxine sea, not far from Amisus; the Iris, now Casalmae; and the Thermodon, a river famous among the antients for watering the little empire of the Amazons. The air of this country is reckoned very wholesome, and the soil in many places fruitful. The hills are, for the most part, covered with olive or cherry trees, and

the plain abounds with all forts of grain.

The antient inhabitants of this country are commonly believed to have been the descendants of Tubal; but, in process of time, Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, Greeks, and other foreign nations, mixt with them. All we know, as to their arts and manufactures, is, that the inhabitants of Pontus Cappadocius, called Chalybes, are celebrated by the antients for their extraordinary skill in working of iron, and making of steel armour, whence they are said to have had their name. They were likely a trading people, having many convenient harbours in the Euxine sea, and great store of timber, proper for building of ships, growing on the coasts. Their chief deities were Ceres, Jupiter, and Neptune, to whom they offered burnt sacrifices, pouring on the fire honey, milk, oil, and wine.

The petty kings, who governed antiently in this country, were first subdued, according to Diodorus, by Ninus. The Medes and Persians were, in their turns, masters of this and all

The first inhabitants of Pontus. Their arts. &c. the countries bordering on the Euxine sea. The Persians divided Cappadocia into satrapies or governments, and bestowed that satrapy, afterwards named Pontus by the Macedonians, on one of the ancestors of Mithridates. This is supposed to have happened in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, who conferred this new kingdom on one Artabazes, of the royal samily of Persia. The Pontic kings paid tribute to the Persians, and were in a manner their vassals, till the reign of Ariobarzanes, who shook off the Persian yoke, and greatly enlarged his small kingdom. Mithridates VII. was afterwards looked upon as one of the most powerful princes that ever reigned in the east, having held out for forty years together against the Romans.

Artabazes, whom Darius Hystaspes preferred to the crown of Artabazes Pontus, is said to have been a descendant of one of the seven king of competitors for the kingdom of Persia, upon the death of Cam-Pontus.

The next king of *Pontus* mentioned by historians is *Rhodo-Rhodoba-bates*, who is faid to have reigned in the time of *Darius Nothus*, tes. whence it is plain, that he was not the immediate fuccessor of *Artabazes*, as *Darius Nothus* was about eighty years later than

Darius Hystaspes.

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Rhodobates was succeeded by Mithridates I. who refusing to Mithripay the usual tribute to Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, dates I. was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was soon after concluded between them by the mediation of Tissaphernes. Having entered into an alliance with Clearchus, afterwards tyrant of Heraclea, he was treacherously seized by him in that city, and detained prisoner, till such time as he paid a large sum for his ransom.

Mithridates was fucceeded by Ariobarzanes, who, being ap-Ariobarpointed governor of Lydia, Ionia, and Phrygia by Artaxerxes, zanes. employed the forces that were under his command against his prince, and to the kingdom of Pontus added great part of the neighbouring provinces. Autophrades, fent against him by Artaxerxes, laid fiege to Affos, while Cotys, king of Paphlagonia, fat down before Seftos; but they were both obliged to withdraw by Agesilaus, and Timothaus the Athenian, whom Ariobarzanes had with great promises invited to his affistance. The king rewarded Agestlaus with a great sum of money, and bestowed on Timothæus the cities of Erithon and Seftos. He used his utmost endeavours, as Demosthenes informs us, to reconcile the Lacedamonians and Thebans; but not being able to bring the Thebans to any reasonable terms, he affisted the Lacedæmonians with immense sums of money. He was murdered, as we read in Aristotle, (Polit. lib. v.) in the 28th year of his reign by one Mithridates. Alexander the Great, being then in Afia, seized the kingdom of Pontus; but after his death it was recovered by Mithridates II. fon to Ariobarzanes. Antigonus, in whose reti- M thrinue he was, having resolved to cut him off in consequence of a dates 11. dream, Demetrius, the fon of Antigonus, warned him to fly. He accordingly withdrew into Paphlagonia, where he possessed

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himself of a strong hold named Ciniatum. His army growing daily stronger, he made an irruption into Cappadocia, and from thence entered his paternal kingdom, which, in spite of all the efforts of Antigonus, he held for 26 years, and transmitted to his posterity. He is said to have lived to the age of eighty-four years, and was succeeded by his son

Mithridates III. Mithridates III. who added to the kingdom of Pontus all Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. After several unsuccessful attempts upon Heraclea, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of that city. He reigned thirty-six years, and left the kingdom to his son

Ariobarzanes II. who made war on the Galatians, but with what success is uncertain.

Ariobarzanes II. Mithridates IV.

Mithridates IV. succeeded his father Ariobarzanes II. As he was then very young, the Galatians invaded his kingdom; but being frustrated in an attempt against Heraclea, they returned home, and gave Mithridates an opportunity to recover what they had seized.

Mithri-

Mithridates V. the son and successor of Mithridates IV. made war on the inhabitants of Sinope, a Greek city on the coast of Paphlagonia, but afterwards abandoned that enterprize. He entered into a strict alliance with Antiochus the Great, who married one of his daughters, by name Laodice.

Pharnaces I. His fon, Pharnaces I. who succeeded him, took the city of Sinope by storm, and afterwards invaded the territories of Eumenes king of Pergamus, a great friend and ally of the Romans. Eumenes having secured his dominions against any further attempts of Pharnaces, by entering into an alliance with Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, the king of Pontus sent deputies to Rome to complain of Eumenes and Ariarathes, as if they had been the aggressors. Hereupon Marcius, and other Roman citizens of great integrity, were sent into Asia as umpires between the contending parties; but the ambassadors sent by Pharnaces to the conferences started so many difficulties, that nothing could be settled.

Marcius and the Romans returning to Rome, Eumenes again took the field, and Pharnaces fent Leocritus, his commander in chief, with 10,000 men to lay waste Galatia. Leocritus, on his march, besieged the city of Teios, and the garrison capitulating, he promised to convey them, with their arms and effects, to what place they should chuse; but after their departure having received orders from Pharnaces to put them to the sword, he pursued them, and slew them all to a man. Seleucus, king of Syria, had engaged to affist Pharnaces; but the Roman ambastadors reminding him of the articles stipulated between his father Antiochus and their republic, he thought it prudent not to pass mount Taurus. The kings of Pergamus and Cappadocia, in the mean time, being supported by the Romans, Pharnaces was soon obliged to sue for peace, which was granted him on the following conditions: That he should evacuate Galatia and Paphlagonia, restore to Ariarathes all his subjects whom he had carried

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carried into captivity, and all the places he had taken during the war; that he should restore to Morzias, a petty king in those parts, and to Ariarathes, the 900 talents which he had seized in the war, and pay down 300 more to Eumenes. Artaxias, king of Armenia, who had assisted Pharnaces, was obliged to pay 300 talents to Ariarathes. In this treaty were comprised Artaxias, king of Armenia, Gatalus, king of Sarmatia, Acusilochus, another petty king, and the free cities of Heraclea, Mesembyra, Chersonesus, and Cyzicus *. The city of Sinope remained to Pharnaces, who died soon after the peace; and left his kingdom to his son Mithridates.

Mithridates VI. was the first king of Pontus, who en-Mithritered into an alliance with the Romans, and sent them a considerable supply of ships in their third war with the Carthaginians. He likewise proved a faithful ally to them in the war which they carried on against Aristonicus, who, upon the death of Attalus, claimed the kingdom of Pergamus. On this consideration, he was rewarded with Phrygia Major, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome. After a long and Is treaprosperous reign, he was treacherously murdered by some of his cherously intimate acquaintance. He left two sons, the elder of whom, murdered, named also Mithridates, succeeded him in the kingdom of Pontus, and is generally counted one of the greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre.

Mithridates VII. furnamed the Great, was, according to Mithri-Strabo, eleven years old, according to Eutropius twelve, and dates VII. according to Memnon thirteen, when he came to the throne. Bef. Christ His father, by his will, appointed him and his mother, joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into prison, where he kept her under close confinement, till, through hard usage, she ended her days. Those to whom the care of his education was committed, observing him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life; but he was always on his guard against all manner of treachery, without shewing the least diffidence. From his in- He inures fancy he so accustomed himself to take poison, that in his old himself to age no poison could hurt him. In his youth, to inure his body hardship to hardships, he applied himself to the manly exercise of hunt- in his ing, passing whole months in the open fields, and often taking youth. his rest amidst the frozen snow. When he came of age, he

married his own fifter Laodice, and had by her a fon named

As he aspired to the empire of all Asia, he now undertook a Makes a progress through the various kingdoms of that great continent, progress with a design to observe the customs, laws, and manners of the through inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is the kingsaid to have spoken twenty-two, to take an estimate of their doms of strength, and above all, to view narrowly their strong holds and Asia.

^{*} Polyb. legat. 99.

fortified towns. Having spent in this journey three years, his wife Laodice, upon a false report of his death, gave herself up to all manner of lewdness, and, to conceal her guilt, welcomed him, on his return, with a poisoned potion, which had no other effect than to incense him more against her. He caused her, and all those who were any ways accessary to her incontinence and difloyalty, to be put to death.

ria.

He in-vades Pa- the neighbouring kingdom of Paphlagonia, which he divided phlagonia, with his friend and ally, Nicomedes king of Bithynia. As the Romans had not long before declared Paphlagonia a free state. they fent ambassadors to both kings, enjoining them to withdraw their forces, and restore that nation to its former condition, threatning war in case of refusal. Mithridates, instead of and Gala- minding their threats, marched directly into Galatia, which he made himself master of, though it was at that time under the protection of the Romans. He next hired one Gordius, who privately dispatched Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who had married his fifter. Upon the death of Ariarathes, Nicomedes invaded Cappadocia, drove out the fon of the deceased king, and married his widow, in hopes of establishing himself by that means on the throne.

He drives padocia.

Mithridates, under pretence of restoring his nephew, made Nicomedes war upon Nicomedes, and drove him quite out of Cappadocia. out of Cap- As it was not known that he had any hand in the murder of Ariarathes, and he had gained the reputation of humanity by the war, out of a regard to public fame, he restored the kingdom of Cappadocia to its lawful owner; but foon after repenting of what he had done, he began to feek fome pretence of quarrelling with his nephew.

With this view, he pressed him to recal his father's murderer from banishment; but the young prince refusing to comply with that request, matters by degrees were brought to that pass, that both princes took the field. Mithridates entered Cappadocia with a most powerful army; but finding his nephew prepared to oppose him, he invited him to a conference, in which he stabbed him with a dagger, in the presence of both armies. The Cappadocians were flruck with fuch terror and amazement at this and feizes barbarity, that they immediately threw down their arms, and fuffered Mithridates to take possession of their kingdom, which he conferred on his fon, a child but eight years old, appointing Gordius governor of the kingdom, and guardian of his fon. The Cappadocians, disdaining to be ruled by a public assassin, shook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on the throne the brother of their late king; but they were foon after again brought under fubjection by Mithridates. The young prince, who was the

last of the family of Pharnaces, which had reigned in Cappado-

He murders his nephew, Cappadocia.

cia from the time of Cyrus the Great, died of grief *.

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^{*} Appian. Mithridat. Justin. lib. xxx/ii, xxxviii.

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Nicomedes, being now very jealous of the enterprizing spirit of Mithridates, suborned a youth, of a comely and majestic aspect, to pass himself upon the Romans for the son of Ariarathes, as if he had left three fons, and not two only. The youth, being well instructed how to behave himself, and what he should fav, set out for Rome. Laodice deposing that the youth was her youngest son by her husband Ariarathes, the senate, after hearing the young man, promised to espouse his cause, and never to forfake him till he was reinstated in the kingdom of his fore-The cheat, however, being foon after discovered by Gordius, whom Mithridates had fent to Rome, the fenate began to suspect both kings, and commanded Mithridates to relinquish Cappadocia, and Nicomedes Paphlagonia, both which states were declared free. The Cappadocians, however, protesting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuse one of their own body, and accordingly conferred the crown on Ario-

L. Cornelius Sylla was foon after fent by the Romans into Cappa-L. Sylla docia, under pretence of an embassy, but in reality to watch the arrives in motions of Mithridates. Sylla, with a handful of men, defeated Asia. Gordius, and settled Ariobarzanes on the throne. Upon the de-Bef. Ch. parture of Sylla, Mithridates stirred up Tigranes, king of Armenia, against Ariobarzanes, who was obliged to sty to Rome. Tigranes placed a-new on the throne Ariarathes, son to Mithridates, and restored all things to the state they were in before the arrival of Sylla. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying about the same time, Mithridates invaded that kingdom, and placed on the throne his own brother Socrates, surnamed Chrestus, or the Thrifty.

The natural fon of the late king, who was also named Nicomedes, flying to Rome, the Romans decreed that both he and Ariobarzanes should be restored to their kingdoms. In purfuance of this decree, the two kings were reinstated in their do- The Rominions by Manius Aquilius and Marcus Altinius, two Roman mans strive legates, who charged them to make frequent inroads into the neigh- to probouring territories of *Mithridates*. This king, not thinking himself voke Mithen a match for the Romans, suffered his brother and his son thridates. to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had usurped, and allowed Nicomedes to ravage his dominions, without making any opposition, that he might not feem the aggressor in his war with the Romans. Having complained of the hostilities of Nicomedes to the Roman legates, who returned a contemptuous answer, he immediately fent his fon with a powerful army into Cappadocia, and again drove out Ariobarzanes. Having at the same time ient an embasily to Rome to complain of Nicomedes, the Roman fenate, in their answer, justified the proceedings of the king of Bithynia, and ordered Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ario-

The legates in Asia, in the mean time, drawing together They take what forces they could in Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, the field and Galatia, and being joined by Cassius governor of Asia, took against the him.

the field without waiting for the determination of the fenate, Cassius encamped on the confines of Bithynia with 40,000 men; Aquilius, with an equal number of men, possessed himself of the avenues leading from Pontus into Bithynia; and Q. Oppius, with other 40,000 men, secured the entrance into Cappadocia, while the Roman admirals lay with a fleet of 300 fail at Byzantium. Nicomedes marched also to their affistance with 50,000 foot and 6000 horse.

Mitbridates affembles a numerous army.

Defeats

generals,

Mithridates, on the other hand, having enticed many of the neighbouring nations to join him against the Romans, found at the general rendezvous 250,000 foot, 50,000 horse, 130 chariots armed with fcythes, 300 ships, and 100 gallies. Nicomedes, as he was on his march to take possession of an important post, was attacked by the forces of Mithridates, and after an obstinate engagement entirely defeated, with the loss of the greatest part Nicomedes being thus driven out of the field, Miof his men. thridates dispatched part of his army to fall upon Aquilius. The the Roman Roman legate, hazarding a battle, was entirely defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, and faving himself by swimming over the river Sangarius, arrived at Pergamus with a small body of horse, the rest of his army being totally dispersed. Upon the news of this double overthrow, the other Roman generals abandoned their posts, and left Mithridates master of the field. The fleet also dispersed, and the greater number of the ships were either taken or funk by the king's admirals.

and overruns all Afia.

Mithridates did not neglect to improve his present advantages, but immediately over-ran all Phrygia, Mysia, Asia Proper, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and whatever other countries in Asia either belonged to, or had fided with the Romans. He was received every where with all possible demonstrations of joy, and ambassadors came slocking to him from all parts, his kind treatment of the Asiatic prisoners on the one hand, and his known aversion to the Romans on the other, making them confide in him as a fure deliverer. The inhabitants of Laodicea on the Lycus, at his defire, fent Q. Oppius, the Roman governor of Pamphylia, to him in chains, and foon after the Lesbians sent Manius Aquilius to him in fetters, with many other Romans of distinction. As he had been the chief author of the war, Mithridates led him about with him, either bound on an ass, or on foot, coupled to a public malefactor, and when he arrived at Pergamus, caused him to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and then to be put to death, by pouring melted gold down his throat. The free cities of Asia now opened their gates to Mithridates, who was received at Magnesia, Mitylene, and Ephesus with loud acclamations. His generals too were attended with like fuccefs, and voluntarily contributed fuch large fums of money to defray the expences of the war, that he was enabled to maintain feveral numerous armies for the space of five years, without levying any taxes on his fubjects. As

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As many Romans were dispersed all over Asia, Mithridates Orders all resolved to rid himself of them at one time by a most cruel and the Romans barbarous method. He accordingly dispatched private letters in Asia to to all the governors and magistrates of the cities where the Ro- be massamans resided, enjoining them, on pain of death and utter de-cred. Struction of their country, to cause all the Italian race, women Bes. Ch. and children not excepted, to be murdered on the 30th day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other bestowed as a reward on the assassing. Whatever slave murdered his master was to receive his liberty; and one half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that should kill his creditor.

As most of the Asiatics bore a mortal hatred to the Romans. and were moreover animated by the promife of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution. The inhabitants of Ephefus, where Mithridates then resided, dragged fuch as had taken fanctuary in Diana's temple from the very statue of the goddess, and put them to death. The Pergamenians discharged showers of darts upon them, as they embraced the statues in the temple of Æsculapius. The Trallians were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to embrue their hands in the blood of their innocent guests; but as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one Theophilus, a Paphlagonian, to dispatch the few Romans that lived among them. Many Romans were faved on the floating islands of Lydia, called Calaminæ, where they concealed themselves, till such time as they found an opportunity of escaping out of Asia. Nevertheless, 150,000 Roman citizens were massacred that day, according to Plutarch and Dion, but according to others, only 80,000 *.

After this bloody and inhuman massacre, Mithridates em-Reduces barked, with part of his forces, in order to reduce the adjacent several islands. The Coans received him with great joy, and delivered islands in up to him Alexander, a young Egyptian prince, whose father the Archi-Alexander had been driven from the throne of Egypt. Mithripelago. dates gave the young prince an education suitable to his birth, but kept for himself the vast treasures which belonged to him. From Cos the king steered his course to the island of Rhodes, where all the Romans who had escaped out of Asia found a sanctuary. The Rhodians, having assembled their sleet, sailed to meet that of the king, and though inferior in number, repulsed the ships of Mithridates, the king himself, by an accident, being very near taken prisoner. He made a second attempt to invade the island, but was again forced to retire with disgrace.

^{*} Appian. in Mithr. Cic. in gret. pro lege Manil. & pro Flac. Memnon in excerpt. Liv. lib. lxxviii. Vell. Pater. Flor. Appian. Plin. lib. ii. Dion. legat. Plut. in Syll.

Yor. III. Mithridates.

He fends an army into Greece, himfelf master of Atbens. Bef. Ch.

87.

Mithridates, having laid aside all thoughts of reducing Rhodes, entrusted his generals with the command of his armies, and retired to Pergamus, there to fettle the civil government of Asia. Archelaus, commander in chief of all his forces, was fent into Greece with an army of 120,000 men, where he got possession of Athens, and either put to the fword, or fent to Mithridates, all those who favoured, or were suspected to favour, the Romans. and makes Metrophanes, another of the king's generals, entering Eubæa, laid waste the whole country; but as he was failing off with a great booty, the governor of Macedonia coming up with him. funk some of his ships, and took others, putting all the prisoners to the sword. Mithridates, upon the news of this loss, fent his fon Ariarathes with a powerful army into Macedonia, which he foon reduced, together with the kingdom of Thrace, The generals which he fent into other quarters were no less fuccessful; fo that when the Romans returned into Greece, no less than twenty-five nations paid him homage, according to Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, and Quintilian.

The Romans were, at this time, involved in a civil war. which was carried on with great animolity; but being informed that Mithridates defigned to invade Italy, and had even been invited thither by the Italians, who had revolted from them, they began feriously to deliberate on the means of opposing so powerful an enemy. Lucius Sylla, being appointed general, put to sea with five legions and a few cohorts, and landing in Attica, detached part of his forces to lay fiege to Athens. After a long fiege, the particulars of which we have formerly mentioned, he made himself master of the place, when he put to death all those who had bore any employment under the king, or any ways violated the conftitutions which the Romans had

established after the conquest of Greece.

As the fleet of Mithridates still remained masters of the sea, Sylla fent Lucius Lucullus, his lieutenant-general, to Rhodes, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Cyprus, where he collected a fleet that enabled the Romans to act offensively by sea. Soon after, Taxiles joining Archelaus with an army from Macedonia, engaged the Romans near Charonea, when the king's troops were entirely defeated, with the loss of 110,000 men, 10,000 of them having only escaped. The whole Roman army confisted but of 15,000 foot and 1500 horse, and only twelve of them were slain in the action, as Sylla himself witnesses in his commentaries. Sylla, foon after, in two other fuccessive engagements, gained two fignal victories, in which the king's generals loft upwards of 100,000 men, the Romans giving no quarter to men who had treated their fellow citizens after so barbarous a manner in Asia.

In the last battle Archelaus lay three days stript and naked among the dead, till he found a veffel, which carried him over into Eubæa. Sylla having plundered Bæotia, because the inhabitants had favoured the enem; took up his winter-quarters in Thessaly, designing to pass over into Asia in the beginning of the spring, and drive from thence not only Mithridates, but also his rival

Sylla recovers Athens,

and defeats his army in Greece.

rival Flaccus, whom the senate had, in opposition to him, appointed governor of that province. According to Livy, Aurelius Victor, Sallust, and Strabo, the great success of Sylla in Greece was owing to the treachery of Archelaus, but Sylla and Dio endeavour to clear him from all fuspicion of betraying his truft *.

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Flaccus the conful, in the mean time, being joined by the Flaccus Roman allies in Asia, had possessed himself of Byzantium, and sent by from thence proceeded to Bythinia; but some differences hap- the Romans pening betwixt him and his legate Fimbria, great part of his into Afia. troops declared for Fimbria, who feizing him at Nicomedia, whither he had fled, caused him to be put to death. Upon the Fimbria. death of Flaccus, Fimbria took upon himself the command of all his legate, the Roman forces in Asia, besieged and took a great many towns, usurps the but at the same time practised so many cruelties, that he ren-command. dered himself every where odious. Mithridates, perceiving that the minds of the Asiatics were alienated from the Romans by the cruelty of Fimbria, fent a numerous army into Asia, under the command of his fon Mithridates, and three other experienced generals, Taxiles, Diophantes, and Menander. Fimbria hazarded a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy, till night parted the two armies, when the Romans withdrew to the opposite side of a river to entrench themselves. Mean- and dewhile a dreadful fform arifing, *Fimbria* laid hold of that oppor- feats the tunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, made troops of fuch havock of the enemy, as they lay in their tents, that only Mithrithe commanders, and some few troops of horse, escaped.

Fimbria pursued them night and day without intermission, entered Pergamus sword in hand, and hearing that both Mithridates and his fon had fled from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the pursuit, and would have taken the king a prisoner, had he not thrown himself, with a considerable body of horse, into Pitane. Fimbria immediately invested the place by land, and dispatched a messenger to Lucullus, who commanded the Roman fleet in those parts, entreating him to block up the city by fea; but Lucullus, being fwayed by a party grudge more than by the good of the republic, refused to comply with his request, though he might thereby put an end to a war which afterwards cost the people of Rome so much blood and treasure. The fiege was continued by Fimbria; but before he could make himself master of the place, the king's fleet appeared, and, to the eternal difgrace of Lucullus, carried off Mithridates to Mitylene. Fimbria, foon after the king's departure, took the place He recoby storm, and reducing most of the cities in Asia, set large fines vers the on fuch as did not voluntarily fubmit. The Trojans offered to greatest submit to Sylla, who promised to hasten into Asia, and sent a pitt of messenger to Fimbria, warning him not to molest those who had Asia.

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^{*} Liv. lib. xxxii. Aur. Vict. de vir. illust. c. 76. Sallust. hist. lib. iv. Strab. lib. xii. & xvii. Plut. in Syll. Dio. legat.

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A GENERAL HISTORY

fubmitted to him. This embaffy firing Fimbria's haughty temper, he thereupon laid close siege to Troy, and on the eleventh day took the city by ftorm, when he put most of the inhabitants to the fword, not sparing even those who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Minerva. He levelled the walls with the ground. fet fire to the houses and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. He racked and murdered, in a most barbarous manner, those who had been employed on the embassy to Sylla, and did not leave one person alive in the whole city that he could

meet with.

Mithridates being thus pressed by Fimbria in Asia, and by Sylla in Greece, and his fleet being entirely defeated in two fea engagements by Lucullus, charged Archelaus to conclude a peace with Sylla, who being very desirous to return to Rome, where the adverse faction prevailed, hearkened willingly to the propofals made by Archelaus. Sylla proposed as a preliminary, that Mithridates should forthwith withdraw his garrisons from all the places that were not possessed by him before the war broke out, and that he should also deliver up his fleet. Mithridates had an interview with Sylla at Dardanus, a city of Troas, and defired that fome alterations might be made in the articles proposed; but the Roman general so terrified him with his passionate and threatning speech, that he at length consented, without exception, to all he required, and peace was concluded on the following terms: that Mithridates should content himself with his paternal dominions; that he should resign Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and release without ranfom all the captives and prisoners he had made during the war; that he should pay to the Romans two, or, according to Memnon, 3000 talents, and deliver up to Sylla 80 ships and 500 archers; laftly, that he should not any ways molest such cities or persons as had revolted from him during the war, and sided with the Romans.

Sylla, having now no other enemy to contend with, marched to Thyatira, where Fimbria lay entrenched, and fummoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him against the known laws of Rome. Fimbria, finding himself unable to oppose Sylla, suborned a slave to pass into his camp as a deferter, and there to stab him. The affassin, however, betraying himself through fear, Fimbria, who was abandoned by his troops, stole away to Pergamus, where he stabbed himself in the temple of Esculapius; but the wound not proving mortal, one of his fervants dispatched him at his request, and afterwards

killed himself.

Sylla re-Afratics who had adhered mans.

Sylla, having now an uncontrouled power in Afia, declared wards the the Chians, Rhodians, Lycians, Magnesians, and Trojans, whose city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of Rome; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay, in one year's time, 20,000 talents, and quartering his folto the Ro- diers in the houses of such as had shewn any disaffection to the Romans. By these impositions most of the inhabitants of Asia

were reduced to beggary, especially the Ephesians, who had, above others, exerted their hatred against the Romans. Sylla, when he set sail for Italy, lest behind him in Asia, Lucullus, with the character of quæstor, and Murana with that of prætor, consigning to the latter the two legions that had served under Fimbria.

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Mithridates, returning into Pontus, reduced those nations Mithrithat had revolted during the war, beginning with the Colchians, dates rewho, upon the approach of his army, offered to fubmit, pro-duces the vided he would appoint his fon Mithridates king over them, nations which was no fooner granted than they returned to their duty. who had The king, however, suspecting, from the request of the Col-revolted chians, that their revolt had been owing to his fon's ambition, from him. caused him to be put to death, without any regard to his eminent fervices during the war. Soon after, under prefence of reducing the Bosphori, who had also revolted, he began to make fuch preparations by fea and land, as raifed no fmall jealoufy in the Romans. Archelaus, who was accused by the king of having granted more to Sylla than he ought to have done, flying for refuge to Murana, and affuring him that these vast preparations were not defigned against the Bosphori, prevailed upon him to be beforehand with the king in making war.

Mithridates, being informed that he was on his march thro' Murana Cappadocia to invade Pontus, fent ambassadors to put him in mind invades of the peace; but Muræna replied, that he knew nothing of his terriany articles, for Sylla had fet down nothing in writing. He tories. then began to waste and plunder the country on the frontiers of Pontus towards Cappadocia, without sparing even the temples or the treasures consecrated to the gods, and afterwards possessed himself of 400 villages belonging to the king, on the east fide of the Halys. Mithridates fending ambaffadors to Rome to complain of his hostilities, one Callidius returned with them, and, in a public affembly, commanded Murana, in the name of the fenate, to forbear molesting a friend and ally of the Roman people; but as Callidius brought no decree, and called him afide to a private conference, it was supposed that he advised him to continue the war. Murana paid no regard to his public declaration, but made an attempt upon Sinope, the place where the king refided, and the royal treasures were kept, from whence, however, he was repulsed with loss. Mithridates at length Is put to taking the field, foon after broke into the Roman camp, and flight by forced them, with great flaughter, to fave themselves by flight Mithriover the mountains into Phrygia. Many of the cities of Asia, dutes, upon this unexpected victory, again declared for Mithridates; but Sylla, in the mean time, being declared dictator, recalled Murana, and appointed Gabinius to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes. An accommodation was accordingly effected, Mithridates giving his fon, about four years of age, as an hostage to the Cappadocian.

After this accommodation, Mithridates subdued the Bosphori, who reand appointed Machares, one of his sons, king of that country, duces to L13 He Bosphore

He then led his army against the Acheans, a Greek nation bordering on the Colchi; but was repulfed by them, with the loss of the greatest part of his army. On his return to Pontus, he made great preparations for another expedition into their country; but being informed of the death of Sylla, he thought it afforded him a proper opportunity for the recovery of those coun-Again in- tries which he had formerly refigned. Having therefore invades the duced his fon-in-law Tigranes to invade Cappadocia, he himself entered Paphlagonia with an army of 120,000 foot, disciplined territories. after the Roman manner, 16,000 horse, and 100 armed chariots.

Paphlagonia readily submitting to him, he marched from thence into Bithynia, which he also made himself master of, and then reduced the province of Afia, which being oppressed with most exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as a deliverer. Sertorius. who commanded for the Romans in Spain, and was an enemy of Sylla, had fent him M. Marius, or Varius, who had disciplined his army. Mithridates now caused this Roman to walk before him with the consular ensigns, by which means many cities fided with him, without knowing that they revolted from the Romans. Julius Cæsar, in the mean time, who was then at Rhodes studying oratory, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon the king's forces, drove them quite out

> The fenate, finding a new war unavoidable, committed the management of it to Lucullus the conful, who had formerly been legate to Sylla. Cotta, the other conful, was fent with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and defend Bithynia. Lucullus brought one legion into Asia, where he found four others, which having been inured to the luxury of that country, were at first very mutinous and refractory. While Lucullus was disciplining his troops, Mithridates fent a powerful army into Cappadocia, under the conduct of Diophantus Mathorus. In Pontus, Marius and Eumachus, two generals of great experience, commanded another army, and he himself was at the head of a third, confifting of 150,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 100 armed chariots. His fleet was composed of 400 ships of 30 oars, besides a great many fmaller veffels.

Mithridates directed his march first to Chalcedon, where Cotta dates gains lay with the Roman fleet. His two generals, Marius and Eumachus, defeating Rutilius, the legate of Cotta, and seyeral other Roman commanders being routed by his troops, he ordered his admiral to fail into the harbour of Chalcedon, and fire the Roman and burns fleet, which he did accordingly, and carried off 60 of them. their fleet. According to Memnon 8000 Romans were flain in this attack by sea, and 4500 taken prisoners, besides 5300 of the land forces, all Italians, who were either killed or taken prisoners, whereas Mithridates lost in all but 730 men.

On the news of this defeat, which feemed to threaten the loss of all Afia, Lucullus immediately marched against the king; but as he found his forces very numerous, he declined an engagement, and kept on the defensive. Mithridates, finding that he could

Lucullus fent against Mitbridates. Bef. Ch. of Alia.

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Mithria victory over the Romans,

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could not draw Lucullus to a battle, marched off in the night, Cyzicum and befieged the city of Cyzicum, which was greatly attached to befieged the Romans, and in the defeat at Chalcedon had loft 3000 citizens, by Mithri-Lucullus attacked the king's army as they marched off, killed dates. 10.000 of his men, and took 13,000 prisoners, and afterwards encamped on a rifing ground within view of Cyzicum. Marius. the Roman, who had hitherto ferved Mithridates, now treacheroully betrayed him, and advising him to withdraw his forces from an important pass, informed Lucullus that the pass was de-The Roman general thereupon feized an eminence, His army which cut off the communication betwixt the camp of Mithri- is blocked dates and the country. The army of Mithridates were foon re- up by Luduced to fuch great straits for want of provisions, that they were cullus. obliged to feed on human flesh; but the king, being kept ignorant of their diffress by his officers, continued the siege both by sea and land with great resolution. However, a great detachment of his army, which he fent to conduct a convoy of provisions from Bithynia, being cut off by the Romans, and the plague prevailing in his camp, he raised the siege, and sending off the He raises greatest part of his army by land, he himself retired with the rest the siege Lucullus overtook his army near the Æ fopus, where he with great cut 20,000 of them to pieces, and made a great number of pri-loss. foners. According to Eutropius, the king lost in this siege 100,000 men; but Plutarch, Appian, and Orofius make his loss, during the campaign, to amount to 300,000 men.

Lucullus, after defeating the king's troops at the Afopus, returned to Cyzicum, and from thence marched with his army along the coast of the Hellespont. Having equipped his sleet at Lucullus Troas, he put to sea in chace of Marius, Alexander, and Diony- gains a sus, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down victory at the sea with a sleet of 50 ships, and 10,000 land forces on board. sea. He attacked them near the island of Lemnos, took 32 ships, and put great part of the land forces to the sword. Next day the three generals, being discovered in a cave, were dragged from thence, and brought to Lucullus, who, after upbraiding Marius with sighting against his country, caused him to be put to death.

Lucullus, hearing that Mithridates had appeared on the coast of Bithynia, steered his course thither; but the king, having timely notice of his design, made what haste he could to gain Pontus, and arrived at Heraclea on board of a pyrate, with whom he was forced to trust himself, his sleet being dispersed by a violent storm, by which he lost great numbers of his ships, and the flower of his troops. The Romans, at the same time, were His genevery successful by land, Triarius having reduced Anamea, rals sucand the important city of Prusias. From Prusias, Triarius cessful at marched to join Cotta, who lay encamped near Nicomedia, land, where Mithridates himself then resided. Before the two armies joined, the king sound means to make his escape first to Heraclea, which was betrayed to him by one Lamachus, and thence to Sinope,

Lucullus

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Lucullus marches into Pontus,

and takes fome

ftrong

places.

Lucullus having reduced almost all Bythynia and Paphlagonia, penetrated into Pontus. In this expedition he fuffered greatly at first from flying parties of the enemy, but much more for want of provisions; so that he was under a necessity of forcing 30,000 Gallatians to follow the army, each of them carrying a fack of corn on his back. But as he marched on, fubduing every place thro' which he passed, he at last met with such plenty, that an ox was fold in the camp for a drachma. Lucullus having refreshed his troops, employed them for some time in wasting and destroying the country; which occasioned some discontent among them, as they wanted to be in possession of the cities, where they expected rich plunder. At length he invested at the same time Amisus, Eupatoria, and Themiscyra. Eupatoria was foon taken, but Themiscyra made a most vigorous defence before it surrendered. Lucullus sat down before Amisus himself; but he did not press the siege, pretending that he wanted to give Mithridates an opportunity of affembling another army, that he might defeat him the more compleatly. Mithridates accordingly arrived within a few miles of Amisus, with an army of 40,000 foot and 4000 horse; which Lucullus being informed of, he left Murana, the fon of that Murana who had ferved under Sylla, to carry on the fiege with two legions, and marched against the king. The cavalry of Mithridates attacking those of the Romans, and defeating them with confiderable lofs, the king was fo elated with this fuccefs, that he drew up his army in battalia for feveral days fucceffively; but finding that Lucullus declined an engagement, began to make the necessary dispositions for attacking him. Lucullus, that he might not be forced to an engagement, decamped in the night, and being conducted thro' the paffes by a Greek named Apollodorus, encamped in a very strong post. Mithridates still kept near him with his army, and foon diftreffed him for want of provisions. A large detachment of the Romans, however, which was fent

of Mithri dates mutinies.

ed.

out to cover a convoy, defeating two of the king's generals, and conducting the convoy in triumph to the camp, Mithri-The army dates resolved to retire. This resolution he no sooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to fend away their most valuable goods; which the foldiers finding out, they crowded to the gates of the camp, and fell to plundering the baggage, killing those that had the charge of it, without sparing even their masters. The troops, at the same time, struck with a panick, rushed in confusion out of the camp, and fled with precipitation. Mithridates was carried out of the camp with the preffing of the crowd; but mounting on horseback just as the Romans came up, he fled with a small retinue, first to Cabira, and thence into Armenia, to Tigranes his fon-in-law. Lucul-His camp lus allowed his army to plunder the king's camp, and aftertaken and wards reduced the city of Cabira, and feveral other towns and plunder- fortresses, wherein he found great treasures. Mithridates remembering

membering in his flight that he had left his suffers, wives, and concubines at *Pharnacia*, sent *Bachidas*, an cunuch, thither,

who put them all to death, according to his orders.

Lucullus pursued Mithridates for some days; but being informed that he was fled to Tigranes, he returned against Amisus, which he at length made himself master of, by ordering the general assault to be given at that time of the day when it was customary for the soldiers to quit the works and refresh themselves. Callimachus the governor, who was a very expert engineer, and had defended the place with great bravery, finding it now untenable, set it on fire, and in the confusion escaped. The Romans could not be prevailed upon by Lucullus to extinguish the slames, being so intent upon plundering the place. As the city was originally a colony of Athens, and many of the citizens were Athenians, who had lately abandoned their own country, Lucullus, before he left the place, repaired the ruins in great measure, and suffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houses and lands.

Mithridates having now abandoned his own kingdom, his The cities governors from all parts submitted to the conqueror. Among and forthese was the grandfather of Strabo the geographer, whom the king had disobliged by putting to death Tibias his cousin-ger-pontus man, and his son Theophilus. He was a man of such credit, that submit to it was no sooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fubmit to it was no sooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but futurellus. fifteen other commanders delivered up to Luculius the places they had been entrusted with. Triarius, at the same time, intercepted a fleet coming from Sertorius in Spain, with supplies for the king, and took or sunk sixty of the ships off the island

of Tenedos.

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Meanwhile Cotta, after having long in vain attempted to Triarius make himself master of Heraclea, sent orders to Triarius to block gains a up the place by fea, while his army carried on the attacks by victory at land. Triarius, upon his arrival, defeating the Heraclean fleet, sea, foon reduced the place to fuch great straits, that the third part of the garrison died for hunger. The governor of the place be- and takes ing resolved to purchase his own safety at the expence of the Heraclea. townsmen, soon after delivered up one of the gates to the Romans, who entering the city fword in hand, exercised all manner of cruelty on the helpless inhabitants. Cotta hearing that the city was taken and plundered by Triarius, flew into a paffion at feeing himself bereaved both of the rich booty and the glory of having reduced a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all hafte to the city, fell upon the Romans, who were bufy in plundering. Triarius, by promising Cotta and his men an equal share in the booty, put a ftop to the scuffle; but soon after marching out to recover some forts which the garrison of Heraclea had seized, Cotta, in his absence, plundered the city anew, risled and stripped the temples, put all the citizens he could meet with to the fword, and having fecured all that was worth carrying away on board his ships, let fire to the city in feveral places, and reduced it to a heap of

ashes. He had scarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ships being over-freighted with the spoils of the city, funk, and many others were dashed by a violent north wind on the shore.

Lucullus reduces tions on the borders of Pontus.

Lucullus, in the mean time, had reduced the Chaldeans, Tibarenians, and the inhabitants of Armenia Minor, and having fent feveral na. Appius Claudius, his wife's brother, ambassador to Tigranes to demand Mithridates, during his absence he settled the affairs of Pontus, which he made a Roman province. Tigranes, tho' threatned with a war by Glaudius, refused to deliver up Mithridates; and after the departure of the ambassador, he sent for his father-in-law, and condescended to see him for the first time, after he had refided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed that Tigranes should march against the Romans, and Mithridates, with 10,000 horse, return into Pontus, to renew the

Lucullus, in the mean time, resolving to penetrate into Arme-

war in that kingdom.

themselves to flight.

Tigranes in Armenia.

nia, left Ephesus, where he had spent the winter, and marched against Sinope, on the Paphlagonian coast, which still held out Hedefeats for the king. Having quickly taken the place, he from thence proceeded to Armenia, and entirely defeated Tigranes, before he was joined by Mithridates. The two kings having joined after the battle, Mithridates encouraged Tigranes to raise new forces, which were accordingly affembled from all quarters, and the management of the war was committed to Mithridates. The king of Pontus having formed an army of 70,000 foot and 35,000 horse, trained them up during the winter after the Roman discipline, and in the beginning of the spring left part of them with Tigranes, and marched with the rest into Pontus, Mithri- where he recovered many important places, and defeated M. dates reco-Fabius, whom Lucullus had appointed governor of that province.

Mitbrivers feve-

Mithridates being elated with this fuccess, which was chiefly ral places. owing to the unexpected revolt of the Thracians in the Roman fervice, belieged Fabius in the city of Cabira; but upon the approach of Triarius, he raised the siege, and withdrew to Cappadocia. Triarius followed him, and was attacked by him with great resolution. The battle was for a long time doubtful; but a bridge, over which the barbarians passed to the attack, breaking down, those who were engaged with the Romans saw themselves cut off from any farther supplies and began to give way, and the Romans charging them with vigour, they betook

Heis defeated by the Romans.

> During the winter Mithridates raised new forces, and receiving also considerable supplies from Tigranes, took the field early in the spring, in hopes of driving the Romans quite out of Pontus, before Lucullus could come to their affiftance. marched against Triarius and Sornatius, and offered them battle; but finding that they declined an engagement, he invested a caltle where the Romans had left all their baggage; which fo provoked them, that they in a manner forced Triarius to lead them out of their camp. When both armies were on the point

point of engaging, they were prevented by a violent storm. Triarius, however, hearing that Lucullus was approaching, refolved to hazard an engagement, in hopes of having the honour

of reducing the enemy.

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Accordingly next morning he attacked the king's camp, Hegains when after a most obstinate dispute, the Roman soot was forced another to give way, and was driven into a morass, where they were victory surrounded, and great numbers of them cut to pieces. Their over the horse was likewise put to slight, and pursued with great slaugh-Romans. ter, till a Roman centurion in the king's service, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill Mithridates. The king's life was saved by his breast-plate: but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, and the retreat was immediately sounded, the Romans thereby sound an opportunity to escape, and less their camp to be plundered by the enemy. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces, and upwards of 7000 Romans were slain in the battle, and among them 150 centurions and 24 tribunes; the greatest number of officers that had been lost in any engagement to that day. Mithridates, that he might not be exposed to such dangers for the suture, caused all the Romans in his service to be put to death.

Notwithstanding this victory, Mithridates industriously avoided coming to an engagement with Lucullus till the arrival of Tigranes, who was then on his march to join him with a powerful army. In all probability, however, if he had attacked Lu- The Rocullus, he might have gained a second victory, as the Roman man army general had for some time lost all authority among his troops, resusts to who had conceived a great aversion to him, because his chief obey Lucattention had been to enrich himself, and put them upon hard cullus.

known at Rome, Pompey's party were encouraged thereby to accuse Lucullus, and at length were so successful as to prevail with the senate to recall him, and appoint Manius Acilius Glabrio, conful for that year, in his room. Glabrio, on his arrival in Bithynia, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the senate had discharged Lucullus; who thereupon was abandoned by the greater part of his army, and forced to retire into Galatia. The two kings laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the best part of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Armenia Minor. Glabrio making but a faint opposition to the progress of the enemy, the Romans were dissatisfied with his conduct, and

committed the management of the war to Pompey, who was Pompey also appointed governor of Cilicia and Bithynia, and continued declared in that unlimited power by sea, with which he was invested when general.

he first set out against the pirates in Cilicia.

Pampey having just then ended the war with the Cilician pirates, took upon him the command of the army in Asia, requiring the allies of the Roman people to join him with all possible expedition. Before he took the field, he renewed the alliance with Phrahates king of Parthia, and sent friendly proposals to Mithridates, who at first seemed inclined to give ear to them.

them, and dispatched ambassadors to Pompey to treat of peace. The Roman general required him to lay down his arms, and deliver up to him all those who had revolted from the Romans during the war. This demand was no fooner known in the king's camp, than the deferters, who were very numerous in his army, betaking themselves to their arms, threatned to put Mithridates himself to death. He appealed them by affuring them, that he had fent ambassadors not to treat of peace, but only to take a view of the enemy's strength; obliging himself at the same time by a solemn oath, in the presence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendship with the Romans, nor to deliver up to them such as had served under

He intus and Armenia Minor.

Pompey finding his proposals rejected, advanced against the vades Pon- king with an army of 30,000 foot and 20,000 horse, or 30,000, according to Appian; but after he had entered Pontus, finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched into Armenia Minor. Mithridates followed the Romans at some distance, and encamping on a hill over against them, reduced them to fuch diffrefs by intercepting their convoys, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place; the king cutting off many in their rear, and haraffing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuscade laid by Pompey, whose personal courage and prudent conduct on that occasion, confirmed the king in his resolution not to hazard an engagement. The king still keeping near the Romans, and encamping on a fleep and craggy mountain, Pompey, who could not draw him to an engagement, furrounded his camp with a deep ditch, no less than fifteen miles in circuit.

Mithridates befieged in his camp.

Mithridates suffered himself and his army to be enclosed without the least opposition; in consequence of which conduct, his troops, after being besieged 45 days, were reduced to such straits, that they were forced to live on their dead horses. Mithridates, at last, forming a resolution of breaking thro' the Roman lines, put to the fword all those who were fick or disabled, and in the dead of the night attacked the guards, and overpowering them with his numbers, got fafe into the open fields, continuing his march all night towards Armenia Major, where

he was expected by Tigranes.

Pompey, by break of day, marched after the king, and having, with much ado, overtaken him, found him encamped on a hill, to which there was but one afcent, which was ftrongly guarded. When night arrived, the Romans again began their march, and proceeding forwards, possessed themselves of all the eminencies and defiles thro' which the king was to pass, in order to gain Armenia. Mithridates thinking that Pompey had returned to his former camp, about the dusk of the evening entered a narrow valley, furrounded on all fides by fleep hills, on which the Romans lay concealed. The Roman general, at the entreaty of his officers, refolved to attack the enemy that night; and it was agreed that all the trumpets should at once found the charge, that this fignal should be followed by an universal shout of the whole army, and that the soldiers should make what noise they could, by striking their spears against the brass vessels that were used in the camp. The king's army, at this He is to-sudden and unexpected noise, which was echoed again by the tally demountains, imagined at first that the gods themselves were seated by come down to destroy them. Being attacked on every side by Pompey. the Romans, they betook themselves to a precipitate slight; but were again driven back into the valley, where for many hours they were exposed to the enemy's shot, without being able either to attack them, or defend themselves. Mithridates, on this occasion, lost 10,000 men, according to Appian; but 40,000, according to Eutropius and other authors. On Pompey's side there fell between 20 and 30 men, and two centurions.

The king himself, at the head of 800 horse, broke thro' the He Roman army; but being closely pursued, he was abandoned by escapes, his escort, and travelled all night, attended only by his wife, and withor, as Plutarch calls her, his concubine, his daughter, and an draws in-

officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horse to Armeand 3000 foot, who were marching to join him; and by them nia, he was escorted to the castle of Sinoria, situated on the borders of the two Armenias. After rewarding those very liberally who had accompanied him in his slight, he took 6000 talents from his treasures which were lodged in that castle, and withdrew into Armenia, sending ambassadors before him to acquaint Ti-

granes with his arrival. Tigranes however, being on the point and from of concluding a separate peace with the Romans, clapt his am-thence in-bassadors in irons, so that Mithridates was obliged to leave Ar- to Col. his.

menia and retire to Colchis.

Pompey continued for some time on the spot where the battle was fought, and caused a city to be built there, which he named Nicopolis, and peopled with such of his soldiers as were old or disabled. As many people slocked to this city from the neighbouring countries, it became in a short time a very considerable place. Pompey sent several parties after Mithridates, but marched with his army against Tigranes, who, as we have mentioned in the history of Armenia, quickly submitted to him.

The Roman general, after fettling the affairs of Armenia, be-Pompey gan his march in pursuit of Mithridates thro' those countries pursues that lie about mount Caucasus. The Albanians, Iberians, and Mithriother barbarous nations who attempted to stop his march, were dates thro' put to slight; but the excessive colds nevertheless obliged him many barto delay his pursuit, and to winter near the river Cyrus. Early barous nain the spring he pursued his march; but was employed the tions. greatest part of the summer in reducing the Iberians.

Meanwhile Mithridates, having wintered at Dioscurias, between the Euxine and Caspian seas, where he was joined by such of his troops as had made their escape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his slight thro the Achaens, Zygians, Heniochians, Cercelans, Moschi, and Colchians. Pompey having

reduced the Iberians, took the same route, directing his course by the stars, and carrying with him even provisions of water to fupply the army in the vast defarts thro' which he passed. He fpent two years in warring with these nations, and was often in danger of losing both his life and his army. At last he overcame them all; and hearing nothing of Mithridates, whom he believed to be dead, he marched back into Armenia Minor, and after refreshing his army for some time, proceeded to Pontus. to reduce some strong holds which were still garrisoned by the The strong castle of Symphori was delivered up king's troops. to him by Stratonix, one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would spare her son, in case he should fall into his hands. She likewise discovered to him great treafures hid under ground, which he with great generofity bestowed upon her, referving for himself only some vessels to set off his triumph. Having taken another strong fort, he found in it great store of gold, filver, and other valuable things, which he afterwards confecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. Here looking over the king's manuscripts, he discovered where the rest of his treasures were concealed, what troops he could raise, what sums were yearly paid to him by his subjects and tributaries, and feveral other articles, whereby he could make a true estimate of his whole power and wealth. Amongst other manuscripts he found fome books of physic, wrote by Mithridates himself, which he defired Lenaus, a learned grammarian, to translate into Latin.

Mithridates pears at the head of a numerous army,

Pompey having thus reduced all Pontus, marched into Syria, with a defign to recover that kingdom; but while he was again ap- employed in this expedition, news was brought him that Mithridates had appeared unexpectedly in Pontus at the head of a confiderable army, and furprized Panticapæum, a famous empory at the mouth of the Euxine sea. Understanding the articles on which Stratonix had delivered up the castle of Symphori, on his arrival before the place he caused her fon to be put to death in her view, and his body to be left unburied. About the fame time he fent ambaffadors to Pompey to treat of a peace; but the Roman general infifting that he should come and treat with him in person, he laid aside all thoughts of an accommodation.

and reco-

Having a confiderable army under his command, he quickly vers seve- reduced several places of great importance. Soon after Castor, ral places, whom he had appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, killing one of the king's favourite eunuchs, and dreading the royal resent-ment, stirred up the inhabitants to a revolt. Four of the king's fons held the caftle for fome time; but the fortress being set on fire by the rebels, they were forced to furrender before the king could arrive to their relief. Cafter fent the four princes, with one of the king's daughters, to the Romans, and persuaded most of the neighbouring cities, which were oppressed with heavy taxes, to join in the rebellion.

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Mithridates, finding that he could not rely on his own sub- He folijects, fent ambassadors to solicit the assistance of the Scythians, cits the fending along with the ambassadors his daughters to be given in assistance marriage to those Scythian princes who would affift him. The of the Scyambassadors were eunuchs, and being hated by the soldiers who thians. escorted them, they were by them put to death; after which the foldiers delivered up the daughters to the Romans. Mithridates could not yet be induced to submit to the Romans, tho' Pombey promifed him honourable conditions provided he would come and treat with him in person. In his present desperate fituation, he endeavoured to stir up the princes of Asia, especially the Parthians; but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of Pompey, he had recourse at last to the European Gauls; and having fent some of his trusty friends to engage them in his favour, he took leave of his own kingdom He reand began his long march, defigning to pass thro' Bosphorus solves to Cimmerius, Scythia, Pannonia, and joining the Gauls, pass the march in-Alps and invade Italy. This defign was no fooner known in to Gaul. the army, but the foldiers began openly to complain and mutiny, and the chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but all their persuasions were to no purpose; for he was so unalterably fixed in his resolution, that he put those to death who with most warmth remonstrated against it, not sparing even one of his own sons.

Not long after, when they were encamped at Bosphorus Cim- Pharnaces merius, on their march into Scythia, Pharnaces, the king's fa- his fon revourite fon, whom he had appointed to fucceed him, observing volts. the general discontent that reigned in the army, formed a defign of usurping the crown, not doubting but the foldiers would stand by him if he declared against the intended expedition into Italy. The Roman deferters immediately espoused his cause, and the following night he engaged most of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the The army foldiery. Accordingly next morning those who had declared in declare his favour, with a loud shout proclaimed Pharnaces king.

Mithridates, who had taken up his quarters in the city, being awaked by the noise, sent to know what had happened in the army; and being informed of their mutiny, he mounted on horseback, and went out, attended by his guards, to appease the tumult. His guards, however, forsaking him, and his horse being killed under him, he fled back into the city, which was immediately invested by the rebels. Mithridates, having in vain endeavoured to move his fon to compassion from the walls, thanked, in a very obliging manner, those who stood by him to the last; and retiring to the apartment of his wives and concubines, first took poison himself, and then presented it to them Mithriand to his two favourite daughters, who not long before had dates at-been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus. To the wo- tempts in men it proved immediate death; but on the king, who from vain to his infancy had inured his constitution to poisonous potions, it poison had himself.

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had so slow an operation, that thro' fear of falling into the rebels hands, he was forced to have recourse to his sword; but the wound he gave himself did not procure immediate death. The rebels breaking into the town, found him wallowing in his blood, but still alive and in his fenses; which being told to Pharnaces, he fent some of those who were about him to dress his wounds, with a design to deliver him up to the Romans. But in the mean time a Gaul, who served in the army, entering the king's room in quest of booty, and observing him strugby a Gaul. gling on the ground with the pangs of death, drew his fword.

Bef. Chr. and at his request put an end to his agonies.

Thus died Mithridates at Panticapæum, in the 60th year of his reign, a prince endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the best of kings, had he not flained them with no less vices. He was an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatness of mind with which he bore his misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. He is faid to have written in the Greek tongue a learned treatife of botanics. Pliny tells us, that he had extraordinary skill in physic, and was the inventor not only of mithridate, but of many other useful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the Romans shewed when they first heard the news of his death. Pompey having notice of his death when on his march to Ferusalem, instantly caused a mount to be raifed of the faddles of those who were near him, from whence he harangued his army, who received the news of the king's death with joyful shouts, and solemnized the following day with feasts and facrifices throughout the camp. When his letters were read, the fenators were fo overjoyed, that they appointed, at the proposal of Cicero, then conful, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods.

Pharnaces, when he heard of his father's death, caused his body to be preserved in brine, with the design of presenting it to Pompey, who had promised to return to Pontus, and there fettle matters to his fatisfaction. On his arrival at Sinope, he was met there by ambassadors from Pharnaces, acquainting him, that their master had forbore the title of king till his will and pleasure should be known. The same ambassadors delivered up to Pompey those who had taken Manius Aquilius the Roman legate, and brought with them also all the prisoners, hostages, and deferters, and the body of Mithridates, with his rich apparel and arms. Both officers and foldiers flocked to fee the king's body, which Pompey caused to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence in the burying place of the kings of

Pompey bestowed the kingdom of Bosphorus on Pharnaces, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people the king- of Rome. Pharnaces being thus acknowleded king of Bosphorus, fent orders to all the garifons of Pontus to submit themselves, Bosphorus with the castles and treasures which they were entrusted with,

Pompey bestows on Phar-

naces.

to Pompey, who by that means amassed an immense booty, the

particulars of which are specified by Appian and Pliny.

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VOL. III.

Pompey had no sooner left Asia, than Pharnaces fell unex- Pharpectedly upon the Phanagorenses, a people of Bosphorus, whom naces II. the Romans had declared free, because they had revolted the first of all from Mithridates, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. Being defeated by Pharnaces in a battle, they delivered up themselves and their city The civil war foon after breaking out between Cafar recovers and Pompey, Pharnaces laid hold of that opportunity to recover part of his the provinces which his father had formerly possessed. He over-hereditary ran Pontus, Colchis, Bithynia, Armenia, and the kingdom of domini-Moschis; but Casar, in the mean time, having got the better ons. of Pompey and his party, appointed Cn. Domitius Calvinus governor of Asia, and enjoined him to make war on Pharnaces. Domitius ordered Pharnaces to withdraw his troops from Armenia and Cappadocia; but the king refusing to comply with his demand, he marched into Cappadocia, which he recovered without opposition. Soon after, however, he was defeated at Nico- Bithynia polis in Armenia by Pharnaces, and obliged to retire into Cappa- and Capdocia, and from thence into the province of Afia. The king padocia after defeating Domitius, reduced Bithynia and Cappadocia, but submit to was repulsed from Armenia the Lesser by Dejotarus.

He then began his march for the province of Alia; but hearing that Afander, whom he had appointed governor of Bosphorus, had revolted, and that Cæfar had fettled the affairs of Egypt and was advancing into Armenia, he dispatched ambasfadors to him to fue for peace. Cæsar courteously entertained the ambassadors; but in the mean time pursued his march with all possible expedition, and arriving on the confines of Pontus, ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him. Pharnaces, upon his approach, again dispatched ambassadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promifing to do whatever he should require. Cæsar infisted, as the conditions of peace, that Pharnaces should retire without delay from Pontus, should return all the captives and hostages, whether Romans or their allies, and restore the goods of the Roman citizens and publicans which he had feized fince he had first taken up arms. Pharnaces acquainted Cafar that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that Cæsar's affairs called him into Italy, he required a long time for the performance of what was stipulated betwixt them, starting daily new difficulties, in hopes that the Roman general would in the mean time be obliged to depart.

Cæsar, no longer able to brook the king's deceitsul behaviour, Is deseatattacked his camp, and quickly routed his army, Pharnaces, ed by
however, making his escape while the Romans were plundering Cæsar.
his camp. Cæsar divided the rich booty and the spoils of the
camp among his soldiers; and because Mithridates had erected
a trophy near that place as a monument of his victory over

M m

Triarius,

Triarius, he fet up another over-against it, to transmit to posterity his victory over Pharnaces. Having quickly recovered all the places which Pharnaces had possessed himself of during the war, he restored them to the allies of the people of Rome, declared Amisus a free city, and appointed Mithridates Perga-

menus king of Bosphorus.

Pharnaces, after the departure of Cæsar, was besieged in Sinope by his lieutenant Domitius, to whom he surrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he should be suffered to retire into Bosphorus with the small body that attended him. Being joined by a band of Scythians and Samaritans, he attempts to tempted to recover the kingdom of Eosphorus, which was still possessed by Asander, by whom he was defeated and flain, after he had held the kingdom of Bosphorus fifteen years, according to Appian, and seventeen according to others.

Marc Anthony, a few years after the death of Pharnaces, conferred the kingdom of Pontus upon his fon Darius, for his

fervices during the civil war.

Darius did nothing during his reign worth mentioning, and Polemon I. was succeeded in the kingdom by Polemon the son of Zeno, a famous orator of Laodicea, who obtained the crown from Anthony. He attended M. Anthony in his expedition against the Parthians, and being then taken a prisoner by the enemy, he was fent by the king of the Medes to conclude a peace with the Romans; in which embassy he acquitted himself so well, that Anthony added the kingdom of Armenia to his other dominions. After the battle of Actium, tho' he had declared for Anthony, he was received into favour by Augustus. He defeated Scribonius, who upon the death of Asander had usurped the kingdom of Bosphorus, and also reduced the kingdom of Colchis, which was bestowed upon him by Agrippa. He was afterwards defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by the Aspungitani, a

people bordering on the Palus Meotis.

Upon his death, his fon Polemon II. was by the emperor Caligula raised to the throne of Bosphorus and Pontus. emperor, however, afterwards obliged him to exchange the kingdom of Bosphorus with part of Cilicia; and Nero, with his confent, reduced Pontus to the form of a province. He fell in love with Berenice, daughter of Agrippa king of Judaa, and in order to marry her, embraced the Jewish religion: but as she became soon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, so he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the superstitions of paganism. Polemon dying without iffue, the antient kingdom of Pontus was parcelled out into feveral parts, and added to the neighbouring provinces; only Pontus Polemoniacus retained the dignity of a distinct province. During the civil discords between Vespasian and Vitellius, one Anicetus, first a slave and afterwards freedman to king Polemon, took up arms with a defign to rescue the kingdom of Pontus from the Roman bondage; and great multitudes joining him,

He atrecover the kingdom of Bojoborus.

Darius.

Polemon II. of-

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him, he possessed himself of Trapesund, a city sounded by the Greeks on the Pontic coast. Vespasian, however, sending a body of troops into Pontus under Verdius Gemmius, he prevailed with Sedochus king of the Lazians to deliver him up and all his followers who had taken sanctuary in his dominions. Pontus continued a province of the empire from this time till the reign of David and Alexis Comneni, who being driven from Constantinople by the French and Venetians under the command of Baldwin earl of Flanders, settled the one at Heraclea, and the other at Trebisond. Alexis Comnenus erected here a new empire, which comprehended great part of Pontus, and was known by the name of the empire of Trebisond. About 250 years after Mahomet II. subjected the empire of Trebisond to that of Constantinople, in which abject slavery Pontus has ever since continued *.

* Appian. in Mithridat. & bel. civil. Plut. in Pomp. in Cæfar. in Anton. in Lucul. in Syll. Dio. l. xxxvii. Strab. l. ix. Joseph. ant. Oros. Flor. Eutrop. Memnon. Tacit. hist. l. iii.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.

